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CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

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THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

No. 2

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

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CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION NO. 1, 1887

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY
EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

No. 1

THE COLLEGE

OF

WILLIAM AND MARY

WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL PROMOTION
OF HIGHER EDUCATION

BY

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JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON
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LETTER.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1887.

The Honorable the SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.:

SIR: The history of the higher education in the United States deserves organized inquiry and national attention. The origin, development, academic status, and practical usefulness of many of our older and better institutions of learning are scarcely known beyond their own scholastic environment. Documentary and manuscript material for such educational history and statistics is abundant, although often widely scattered, as will be seen by an examination of the bibliography appended to the present sketch.

The College of William and Mary, founded in 1693 by royal grant, and long supported by popular legislation in Virginia, has been suffered to decline almost to ruin since the civil war, which destroyed the greater part of its property. The oldest college in the South, in fact the oldest in the country with the exception of Harvard University, has been left to decay, while the latter institution, with which William and Mary College used to share the annual income of the bequest by Robert Boyle, the English philosopher, has lately celebrated its 250th anniversary amid general rejoicing, with the President of the United States and representatives of American and European universities to do honor to the occasion. The old college at Williamsburg, which gave Washington his first degree as civil engineer and to which he gave his last public service as chancellor, the college which trained in law and politics Thomas Jefferson, Governor Randolph, Chief Justice Marshall, and nearly all of the Virginia statesmen of the revolutionary and formative periods in our Federal history, has not now a single student. Its classic halls are closed and deserted. From a once flourishing faculty, which early and ably represented both history and political science with other liberal arts, only the president, who is also professor of mathematics and physics, now remains. At the opening of every academic year, in October,

Doctor Ewell causes the chapel bell to be rung, reminding Williamsburg that the ancient college still lives. To friends of the higher education in all of our States this fact will echo as a note of warning against public neglect and legislative indifference toward higher institutions of learning.

The present monograph has been prepared by Dr. Herbert B. Adams, the head of the Department of History and Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, in connection with his more extended inquiry for the Bureau of Education respecting the study of history in American colleges and universities.

This special inquiry is, however, not designed to be a special plea for the College of William and Mary, whose claim for reimbursement for damages suffered at the hands of undisciplined and straggling soldiers has more than once been presented to Congress, and more than once favorably reported by the Committee on Education and Labor, sustained by the opinions of lawyers and Federal officers. The primary objects of the present investigation have been to discover the historical beginnings of the higher education at the South; to trace the causes of the early prosperity of William and Mary College; to show its influence upon Virginia statesmen and the Southern States, its relation to the university ideas of Jefferson and Washington, and its significance to the whole country; to point out the causes of the decline of William and Mary College; to explain the rise of the University of Virginia, and the necessity of popular support for the higher education.

The most practical of all results from this historical study of William and Mary College is the suggestion of a possible revival in the city of Washington and throughout the country of the original Virginia idea of political education, which made Williamsburg a school of statesmen who were fitted in the college-capital to prepare the so-called "Virginia plan," from which our present Constitution grew. It is the idea of intimate organic connection between Education and Government in a municipal environment.

The promotion of political education by connection on the one hand with the people, and on the other with the administration of State and Nation, is an idea worthy of consideration in this centennial year of our Constitution, which was founded upon political wisdom and Federal democracy. In December, 1886, it was proposed, at a meeting in Philadelphia of delegates from the various States and Territories in the Union, to create a suitable memorial commemorative of the Constitution. Doctor Adams suggests a civil academy in the City of Washington for the practical training of representative college graduates appointed to government fellowships for two years from Congressional districts. He would combine, at the national capital, the West Point idea and the Williamsburg idea for the highest political education, and apply the results to the general improvement of civic life throughout the country. This eminent scholar writes with the freedom of one

who understands as well as loves his subject, and his article will commend itself to the hearty approval of all interested in American learning, in the history of our country, and in the faithful record of the first steps in American education.

In view of these facts I recommend the publication of the paper as a Circular of Information. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. H. R. DAWSON,
Commissioner.

Approved.

L. Q. C. LAMAR,
Secretary.

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

FIRST ENDOWMENT OF AN AMERICAN COLLEGE.

In 1619—one year before the Pilgrim Fathers came to the land named New England by Captain John Smith—Sir Edwin Sandys, president of the Virginia Company in old England, moved the grant of ten thousand acres of land for the establishment of a university at Henrico. The proposed grant, which was duly made, included one thousand acres for an Indian college; the remainder was to be "the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English." The very same year the bishops of England, at the suggestion of the King, raised the sum of fifteen hundred pounds for the encouragement of Indian education. Thus, by the combined authority of church and state, was anticipated by more than two centuries the endowment of such institutions as are now represented by the Hampton School and by the University of Virginia.

It was not from lack of generosity or good-will toward the cause of higher education and the improvement of the Indians, that these, the earliest of all American endowments, bore no immediate fruit beyond the subscription of one hundred and fifty pounds in 1621, for a preparatory or collegiate school at Charles City, and the appropriation of one thousand acres of land, with five servants and an overseer to improve the same. The Virginia Company was thoroughly in earnest with regard to its educational project. Tenants were sent over to occupy the university lands, and Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, came over to be the superintendent of the university itself. This first beginning of philanthropy toward the Indians and of educational foundations for the English in America was suspended by reason of the Indian massacre, in the spring of 1622, when Mr. Thorpe and three hundred and forty settlers, including tenants of the university, were cut off by an insurrection of savages.

ACADEMIA VIRGINIENSIS ET OXONIENSIS.

It was only two years after this terrible catastrophe that the idea of a university in Virginia was revived. Experience with treacherous Indians suggested that the institution should be erected upon a secluded, sheltered site—an island in the Susquehanna River. The curious trav-

eller, glancing at that charming river view to the northwest as he crosses to Havre de Grace on the Pennsylvania Railroad, may see this island-retreat in the foreground, serving now to support the piers of the Baltimore and Ohio bridge. The island was actually granted in 1624 for the "Foundinge and maintenance of a university, and such schools in Virginia as shall there be erected, and shall be called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*."[1] Such a refuge for learning in Virginia reminds the student of that river-encircled monastery, called Lindisfarne, among the savage Northumbrians. If one should continue his journey to Charlottesville, and to the present University of Virginia, he would be again reminded of the old monastic system of seclusion and protection from the dangers of the world. It was, perhaps, a pleasant irony of fate which led the free-thinking Jefferson to imitate the ground-plan of the monastic schools of Europe, when he laid the foundations of real university education in Virginia and America.

The project for a university called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*, upon that island refuge in the Susquehanna River, failed like the original project for a university at Henrico. The plan was broken off by the death of its chief advocate and promoter, Mr. Edward Palmer. But the idea of a university for Virginia was not lost; it slumbered on during the next generation, which was too busy repairing its material losses, and in strengthening its colonial position, to think of the higher education.

THE VIRGINIANS VOTE FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

In 1660, the colonial Assembly of Virginia took into their own hands the project of founding educational institutions within their borders. The motive of the Virginians was precisely the same as that of the great and general Court of Massachusetts, when it established Harvard College, and grammar schools to fit youth "for ye university." The Virginians voted "that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a Colledge and free schoole, and that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers."[2] It was also voted in 1660 that the various commissioners of county courts take subscriptions on court days for the benefit of the college, and that the commissioners send orders throughout their respective counties to the vestrymen of all the parishes for the purpose of raising money from such inhabitants as "have not already subscribed."

---

[1] This novel point in the educational history of Virginia was first suggested to the writer by President D. C. Gilman's Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge, Mass., July 1, 1886. The original authority upon the point is Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, 183.

The mention of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University recalls the fact that the parent chapter of this distinguished body was organized in Williamsburg, Va., at William and Mary College, December 5, 1776.

[2] Hening. *Statutes of Virginia*, ii, 25.

It appears from the record of this legislation in Hening's Statutes of Virginia that already, in 1660, "His Majestie's Governour, Council of State, and Burgesses of the present grand Assembly have severally subscribed severall considerable sumes of money and quantityes of tobacco," to be paid upon demand after a place had been provided and built upon for educational purposes.[1] A petition was also recommended to Sir William Berkeley, then governor of Virginia, that the King be petitioned for letters patent authorizing collections from "well-disposed people in England for the erecting of colledges and schooles in this countrye."[2] This action of the Virginians in 1660 ought to be taken as much better evidence of an early regard for education in that colony than the well-known saying of Governor Berkeley would seem to indicate. In reply to an inquiry by the lords commissioners of trades and plantations respecting the progress of learning in the colony of Virginia, Berkeley said, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."[3]

A WORD IN BERKELEY'S DEFENCE.

This answer by a crusty old governor has been quoted perhaps too often as an index of the real sentiments of colonial Virginia toward the cause of education. Not only is the tone of popular legislation entirely opposed to the current view, but Berkeley's own acts should modify our judgment of his words. He actually subscribed, with other gentlemen of the colony, for "a Colledge of students of the liberal arts and sciences." Undoubtedly Sir William did not believe in popular education as it is now understood. If he had done so, he would have been much in advance of his time. He believed in the higher education and in home training. Regarding elementary instruction, he said that Virginia pursued "the same course that is taken in England out of towns, every man, according to his ability, instructing his children. We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministry are well paid, and by consent, should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less." Here is an excellent type of John Bull. This growling, grumbling country squire would have been the first to subscribe for an increase in the parson's salary or for a "free school" in his own parish.

The times were not yet ripe for classical education in Virginia, for that was what the term "free school" meant in the seventeenth century. It was free in the sense of teaching the liberal arts, preparatory to college training. In old England, and in her colonies, free schools[4]

[1] Hening, ii, 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 30.

[3] Answers of Sir William Berkeley to the inquiries of the lords commissioners of foreign plantations, printed in full in Hening, ii, 511–517.

[4] For illustrations of this point, see *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. i, No. 12, "Free Schools of South Carolina," by B. F. Ramage; and vol. iii, Nos. 2–3, "Local Institutions of Virginia," by Edward Ingle (who has the correct view), p. 14.

were originally synonymous with Latin schools or grammar schools. It would be as absurd to identify the ancient and the modern meanings of free schools as to confuse a modern grammar school with the earlier or classical use of that term. When Sir William thanked God that there were no free schools in Virginia, we should not take the profane remark too seriously, for he had subscribed for the cause of classical education ten years before.

WHY FREE SCHOOLS AND THE COLLEGE WERE DELAYED.

It is not strange that little or nothing was really accomplished at this time for the cause of higher education in Virginia beyond the taking of subscriptions throughout the counties and parishes. Virginia was a new country, extraordinarily attractive from an agricultural point of view. Her settlers, instead of gathering in towns and villages, as the settlers of New England were by law required to do, dispersed more and more, imitating the English model of rural society already established by representative Virginians. It might well be expected that it would take a much longer time to develop an educational system in colonial Virginia than in Massachusetts or Connecticut, which were both made up of compact village republics. It took the University of Michigan nearly fifty years to get fairly under way, even with the aid of a national land grant, good territorial legislation, and the progressive spirit of the great West and of the nineteenth century. The Virginians were well enough disposed toward schools and colleges, but circumstances, such as physical geography and political economy, were against them. In rural districts subscriptions are always taken leisurely and collections even more so Virginia was no exception to the rule.[1] Some writers would have us believe that the college was actually planted as early as 1661, but this is highly improbable. Early educational enactments in Virginia were like many of those early towns—on paper only. And yet the Virginians really meant to have both towns and a college. In 1688–'89, twenty-five hundred pounds were subscribed by a few wealthy gentlemen in the colony and by their merchant friends in England toward the endowment of the higher education.

ROYAL ENDOWMENT BY WILLIAM AND MARY.

In 1691 the colonial Assembly sent the Rev. James Blair, the commissary or representative of the Bishop of London, back to England to secure a charter for the proposed college. Virginia's agent went straight to Queen Mary and explained the educational ambition of her colony in America. The Queen favored the idea of a college, and William

[1] See "A bill for facilitating ye payment of ye Donations to the College of William and Mary in Virginia," 1698, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, i, 61. Beverly, whose *History of Virginia* was first published in 1705, says: "The subscribed money did not come in with the same readiness with which it had been underwritten."

wisely concurred. The royal pair agreed to allow two thousand pounds out of the quit-rents of Virginia toward building the college. Mr. Blair then went to Seymour, the attorney-general, with the royal command to issue a charter. Seymour demurred. The country was then engaged in war, and could ill afford to plant a college in Virginia. But Mr. Blair urged that the institution was to prepare young men to become ministers of the Gospel. Virginians, he said, had souls to be saved as well as their English countrymen. "Souls!" said Seymour, "Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"[1]

John Bull is often brutally frank in the expression of his colonial policy, but quite as often, while swearing and grumbling, he opens his purse. The English Government concluded to give not only £2,000 in money, but also 20,000 acres of land, with a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, together with all fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, which were to be controlled by the president and faculty of the college. They were authorized to appoint special surveyors for the counties whenever the governor and his council thought it necessary. These privileges, granted by charter in 1693, were of great significance in the economic history of Virginia. They brought the entire land system of the colony into the hands of a collegiate land office. Even after the Revolution, one-sixth of the fees to all public surveyors continued to be paid into the college treasury down to the year 1819, when this custom was abolished.[2] In no way could the College of William and Mary have better grasped the political economy of Virginia than by taxing its tobacco and surveying its land. This union of the college with the practical interests of the colony developed the wisest statesman this country has ever seen—George Washington, who received his first public commission as county surveyor at the hands of the president of William and Mary.

COLONIAL ENDOWMENT.

Specific acts by the Virginia House of Burgesses strengthened the royal endowment of William and Mary. In 1693 an export duty on all skins and furs was permanently levied for the support of the college.[3] In 1718 one thousand pounds were appropriated by the Virginia House of Burgesses for the education of "ingenious scholars, natives of this colony."[4] The special right of Maryland youth to be educated at William and Mary was early recognized.[5] This was probably due to the fact that Maryland, like Virginia, was taxed one penny a pound on all exported tobacco, for the purpose of affording a permanent revenue to the college. In 1734 a tax was imposed upon all imported liquors "for

[1] *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Sparks, x, 111.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, xi, 310; *Code of Virginia*, 1873, p. 710.
[3] Hening, iii, 123.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 74.
[5] Jones. *Present State of Virginia*, 84.

the better support of the college—so as some part thereof shall be laid out and applied for buying such books for the use of the scholars and students in the college—and such books, so to be bought, shall be marked thus: *The gift of the General Assembly of Virginia*, in the year 1734." This is perhaps one of the best dispositions of a liquor tax on record. In 1759 the college received the proceeds of a tax imposed on peddlers. Altogether the annual revenues of William and Mary before the outbreak of the American Revolution were estimated at about £2,300.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

Various scholarships, or "foundations," yielding pecuniary support to students at William and Mary, were early established. The House of Burgesses founded three; Colonel Hill, of Shirley, and Robert Carter (King Carter), of Corotoman, together gave the sum of two hundred pounds for the endowment of a scholarship; Mrs. Thomas Bray, of New Kent, gave two hundred pounds; Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison, of Surrey, three hundred pounds; the Rev. James Blair, of Williamsburg, five hundred pounds; and Philip Lightfoot, of Sandy Point, the same sum. These scholarships were all founded before the American Revolution.[2]

BOYLE'S ENDOWMENT OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

The Hon. Robert Boyle, who died in England in 1691, by will enjoined his executors "to apply his personal estate to such charitable and pious uses as they, in their discretion, should think fit." It was finally agreed, in 1697, that the revenue of the Boyle bequest, which had been invested in a landed estate called the "Brasserton," should be annually paid over to the College of William and Mary, subject to an annual draft of ninety pounds, payable by the Virginia college to Harvard College. The intention of this endowment was the encouragement of Indian education and the propagation of the gospel among the natives. By means of the Boyle fund the College of William and Mary erected a building called the "Brasserton" upon the college green, and it long served as an Indian school.

An earnest attempt was made in Virginia to educate Indian boys. At one time, during Governor Spotswood's régime, there were nearly twenty Indian students at William and Mary College. The governor remitted the tribute of peltry formerly exacted from certain tribes, on condition that they should send the children of the "chief men" to Williamsburg to be educated. Juvenile hostages were also taken from hostile tribes for the same purpose, which served also to promote the *salus publica*. In a letter to the Bishop of London, dated July 26, 1712, Spotswood speaks of the success of the experiment, but of the inadequacy of the Boyle endowment. The Indians, he says, "have a Master to teach them and are decently cloathed and maintained, so that they

[1] Hening, iv, 432.

[2] *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 63. Richmond, 1874.

em very well pleased with the change of their condition, as indeed ir parents and others of their Nations who come frequently to see em express much satisfaction with the care that is taken of them, and equently lament their own misfortune in not having the like advan- ges in their Youth; but as the revenue of the College settled by Mr. oyle for that service is insufficient to support so great a charge, I hope our Lord'p will use your interest for obtaining some contributions om the Society for propagating the Gospell, and from other charitable ersons to help the College to promote so good a design."[1]

MOTIVES FOR FOUNDING THE COLLEGE.

The charter of the College of William and Mary shows that the ob- ects of the foundation were much the same as those originally pro- posed in 1619, and again in 1660. The General Assembly of Virginia had asked for a royal endowment of the college, "to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God."[2] This pious language would rve equally well in New England or Virginia to describe the highest otives of the founders of educational institutions. It is useless to ar- rogate any peculiar or particular piety in the educational establish- nents of any part of this country. The truth is that in old England, through many centuries, good men, ecclesiastics and laymen, sover- eigns and subjects, had been laying educational foundations, such as monasteries, colleges, and free town schools, upon which ideas the New World has built. The motives of the English, whether in Virginia or New England, in providing for the pious education of their sons in good letters and good manners, were but colonial outcroppings of the same public spirit which founded the various colleges which now make up the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians was perhaps a secondary considera- tion, but it was honestly attempted in Virginia as well as in Massa- chusetts.

Englishmen are much the same the world over, whether in America or Australia. They are a healthy union of public spirit and private interest, of measured philanthropy and enlightened selfishness. An

[1] Letters of Governor Spotswood, i, 174. On early attempts to educate Indian boys in Virginia, see Bishop Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, i, 116, 123, 124, 128. An Indian school was established at Christanna, in Southampton County, where at one time (1716) seventy Indian children were taught.

[2] An "Alt Heidelberg" friend of the writer, Dr. George Gary Bush, in his interest- ing and attractive history of *Harvard, the First American University*, published in 1886 by Cupples, Upham & Co., says, p. 64, of that institution, "The education of both 'the English and the Indian youth in knowledge and godliness' was, according to the charter of 1650, the object sought in the establishment of a college." For text of charter, see *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. iii, 195.

Englishman's struggle for the salvation of his own soul often ends in organized effort for the good of his community or of his country, and sometimes it takes the direction of foreign missions, in lands which he is striving to subdue. It is this curious blending of individual with social forces which has converted England and her colonies into vigorous powers for civilization.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT.

The power to establish and to organize "a certain place of universal study, or perpetual college, for Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six masters or professors, and an hundred scholars, more or less, graduates and non-graduates," was intrusted by the charter, issued February 19, 1693, to a self-perpetuating board of eighteen trustees, resident in the colony. They were to have the appointing power, and were to form the board of governors or visitors. Every year they were to elect from their own number a rector for the college. Every seven years they were to choose some eminent and discreet person to be the chancellor. Naturally the Rev. James Blair was by the charter made one of the original trustees, also the first annual rector and president of the college for life. He was a vigorous, aggressive Scotchman, and held his presidential office for fifty years, dying in 1743. The charter appointed the Bishop of London to be the first chancellor. The trustees continued, down to the time of the American Revolution, to associate the academic with the ecclesiastical office. Inasmuch as the first president, the Rev. Dr. Blair, was the Bishop's commissary, or deputy, in Virginia, it was but natural that these two offices should remain united down to the time of the Revolution. Thus the presidency[1] of the college and the primacy of the church in Virginia were represented by one and the same man. The charter

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[1] *List of Presidents.*

Rev. James Blair, D. D., commissary	1693 to 1743
Rev. William Dawson, commissary	1743 to 1752
Rev. William Stith, D. D., commissary	1752 to 1755
Rev. Thomas Dawson, D. D., commissary	1755 to 1761
Rev. William Yates	1761 to 1764
Rev. James Horrocks, D. D., commissary	1764 to 1771
Rev. John Camm, D. D., commissary	1771 to 1777
Rt. Rev. James Madison (the first Bishop of Virginia)	1777 to 1812
Rev. John Bracken	1812 to 1814
John Augustine Smith, M. D	1814 to 1826
Rev. William H. Wilmer, D. D	1826 to 1827
Rev. Adam P. Empie, D. D	1827 to 1836
Thomas R. Dew	1836 to 1846
Robert Saunders	1847 to 1848
Benjamin S. Ewell, LL. D	1848 to 1849
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Professor Jones was not altogether satisfied with the existing system of education at the College of William and Mary. In his book he suggests certain modifications, which are very remarkable for this early period. He proposed that one of the six professorships be devoted to the subject of *history;* but what is more surprising, he actually proposed that the college should be recognized as the *training school for the civil service of the colony.* The following are the professor's own words:

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Returning to America after long absence in England, the Rev. Hugh Jones resumed parochial work in Virginia, but he finally returned to Maryland, where he built up various parishes, notably William and Mary parish and Sassafras parish, in Cecil County. He persuaded the people to build brick churches instead of cheap wooden structures, and he invigorated society wherever he went. He continued pastoral work until he was ninety years old, when he retired, "having worthily won the title of venerable." This professor and ecclesiastic might be called the Venerable Bede of Maryland and Virginia. He died in 1760, at the age of ninety-one, having been in the ministry sixty-five years.[1]

ORIGIN OF WILLIAMSBURG.

The College of William and Mary, like Harvard College, was a state institution. It was founded by what was then the National Government, by royal endowment. The charter gave the General Assembly of Virginia the right to determine the best site for the college. It was voted to erect the buildings "as neere the church now standing in Middle Plantation old fields as convenience will permitt." Thus in Virginia, as in Europe, the church was the original centre around which educational institutions were planted. There was no town in "Middle Plantation old fields" at the time the college was built. Simply a church in Bruton Parish[2] and a scattered settlement, with an archaic system of common lands; these were the beginnings of what was yet to become a college town and the capital of Virginia.

It is a most interesting and remarkable fact that the founding of the College of William and Mary at Middle Plantation determined the political centre of Virginia and the founding of Williamsburg. The supposed healthfulness of the locality had indeed great weight with the Assembly in fixing upon Middle Plantation as a site for both college and capital, for the place "hath been found, by constant experience, to be healthy and agreeable to the constitutions of the inhabitants";[3] but in the preamble to the act passed in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, 1705, when Williamsburg was founded, this additional motive seems to have decided the location of the city: "It will prove highly advantageous and beneficial to his Majesty's Royal College of William and Mary *to have the conveniences of a Town* near the same."[4]

[1] Information concerning this remarkable man was obtained from Spotswood's *Letters*, i, 103; ii, 253; and from Bishop Perry's monumental work on the *History of the American Episcopal Church*, i, 307.

[2] The Vestry-book of Bruton Parish dates from 1674; but Bishop Meade (i, 146) says that there was a church at Middle Plantation as early as 1665.

[3] Hening, iii, 419. With regard to the removal of the seat of government from Jamestown to Williamsburg, Hugh Jones says, in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724): "When the State House and Prison were burned down, Governor Nicholson removed the residence of the Governor with the meeting of General Courts and General Assemblies to Middle Plantation, seven miles from James Town, in a healthier and more convenient Place, and freer from the Annoyance of muskettoes"!—Sabin's reprint, p. 25.

[4] Hening, iii, 422.

THE BRUTON PARISH CHURCH.

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were originally synonymous with Latin schools or grammar schools. It would be as absurd to identify the ancient and the modern meanings of free schools as to confuse a modern grammar school with the earlier or classical use of that term. When Sir William thanked God that there were no free schools in Virginia, we should not take the profane remark too seriously, for he had subscribed for the cause of classical education ten years before.

WHY FREE SCHOOLS AND THE COLLEGE WERE DELAYED.

It is not strange that little or nothing was really accomplished at this time for the cause of higher education in Virginia beyond the taking of subscriptions throughout the counties and parishes. Virginia was a new country, extraordinarily attractive from an agricultural point of view. Her settlers, instead of gathering in towns and villages, as the settlers of New England were by law required to do, dispersed more and more, imitating the English model of rural society already established by representative Virginians. It might well be expected that it would take a much longer time to develop an educational system in colonial Virginia than in Massachusetts or Connecticut, which were both made up of compact village republics. It took the University of Michigan nearly fifty years to get fairly under way, even with the aid of a national land grant, good territorial legislation, and the progressive spirit of the great West and of the nineteenth century. The Virginians were well enough disposed toward schools and colleges, but circumstances, such as physical geography and political economy, were against them. In rural districts subscriptions are always taken leisurely and collections even more so Virginia was no exception to the rule.[1] Some writers would have us believe that the college was actually planted as early as 1661, but this is highly improbable. Early educational enactments in Virginia were like many of those early towns—on paper only. And yet the Virginians really meant to have both towns and a college. In 1688–'89, twenty-five hundred pounds were subscribed by a few wealthy gentlemen in the colony and by their merchant friends in England toward the endowment of the higher education.

ROYAL ENDOWMENT BY WILLIAM AND MARY.

In 1691 the colonial Assembly sent the Rev. James Blair, the commissary or representative of the Bishop of London, back to England to secure a charter for the proposed college. Virginia's agent went straight to Queen Mary and explained the educational ambition of her colony in America. The Queen favored the idea of a college, and William

[1] See "A bill for facilitating ye payment of ye Donations to the College of William and Mary in Virginia," 1698, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, i, 61. Beverly, whose *History of Virginia* was first published in 1705, says: "The subscribed money did not come in with the same readiness with which it had been underwritten."

wisely concurred. The royal pair agreed to allow two thousand pounds out of the quit-rents of Virginia toward building the college. Mr. Blair then went to Seymour, the attorney-general, with the royal command to issue a charter. Seymour demurred. The country was then engaged in war, and could ill afford to plant a college in Virginia. But Mr. Blair urged that the institution was to prepare young men to become ministers of the Gospel. Virginians, he said, had souls to be saved as well as their English countrymen. "Souls!" said Seymour, "Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"[1]

John Bull is often brutally frank in the expression of his colonial policy, but quite as often, while swearing and grumbling, he opens his purse. The English Government concluded to give not only £2,000 in money, but also 20,000 acres of land, with a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, together with all fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, which were to be controlled by the president and faculty of the college. They were authorized to appoint special surveyors for the counties whenever the governor and his council thought it necessary. These privileges, granted by charter in 1693, were of great significance in the economic history of Virginia. They brought the entire land system of the colony into the hands of a collegiate land office. Even after the Revolution, one-sixth of the fees to all public surveyors continued to be paid into the college treasury down to the year 1819, when this custom was abolished.[2] In no way could the College of William and Mary have better grasped the political economy of Virginia than by taxing its tobacco and surveying its land. This union of the college with the practical interests of the colony developed the wisest statesman this country has ever seen—George Washington, who received his first public commission as county surveyor at the hands of the president of William and Mary.

COLONIAL ENDOWMENT.

Specific acts by the Virginia House of Burgesses strengthened the royal endowment of William and Mary. In 1693 an export duty on all skins and furs was permanently levied for the support of the college.[3] In 1718 one thousand pounds were appropriated by the Virginia House of Burgesses for the education of "ingenious scholars, natives of this colony."[4] The special right of Maryland youth to be educated at William and Mary was early recognized.[5] This was probably due to the fact that Maryland, like Virginia, was taxed one penny a pound on all exported tobacco, for the purpose of affording a permanent revenue to the college. In 1734 a tax was imposed upon all imported liquors "for

[1] *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Sparks, x, 111.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, xi, 310; *Code of Virginia*, 1873, p. 710.

[3] Hening, iii, 123.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 74.

[5] Jones. *Present State of Virginia*, 84.

the better support of the college—so as some part thereof shall be laid out and applied for buying such books for the use of the scholars and students in the college—and such books, so to be bought, shall be marked thus: *The gift of the General Assembly of Virginia*, in the year 1734."[1] This is perhaps one of the best dispositions of a liquor tax on record. In 1759 the college received the proceeds of a tax imposed on peddlers. Altogether the annual revenues of William and Mary before the outbreak of the American Revolution were estimated at about £2,300.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

Various scholarships, or "foundations," yielding pecuniary support to students at William and Mary, were early established. The House of Burgesses founded three; Colonel Hill, of Shirley, and Robert Carter (King Carter), of Corotoman, together gave the sum of two hundred pounds for the endowment of a scholarship; Mrs. Thomas Bray, of New Kent, gave two hundred pounds; Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison, of Surrey, three hundred pounds; the Rev. James Blair, of Williamsburg, five hundred pounds; and Philip Lightfoot, of Sandy Point, the same sum. These scholarships were all founded before the American Revolution.[2]

BOYLE'S ENDOWMENT OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

The Hon. Robert Boyle, who died in England in 1691, by will enjoined his executors "to apply his personal estate to such charitable and pious uses as they, in their discretion, should think fit." It was finally agreed, in 1697, that the revenue of the Boyle bequest, which had been invested in a landed estate called the "Brasserton," should be annually paid over to the College of William and Mary, subject to an annual draft of ninety pounds, payable by the Virginia college to Harvard College. The intention of this endowment was the encouragement of Indian education and the propagation of the gospel among the natives. By means of the Boyle fund the College of William and Mary erected a building called the "Brasserton" upon the college green, and it long served as an Indian school.

An earnest attempt was made in Virginia to educate Indian boys. At one time, during Governor Spotswood's régime, there were nearly twenty Indian students at William and Mary College. The governor remitted the tribute of peltry formerly exacted from certain tribes, on condition that they should send the children of the "chief men" to Williamsburg to be educated. Juvenile hostages were also taken from hostile tribes for the same purpose, which served also to promote the *salus publica*. In a letter to the Bishop of London, dated July 26, 1712, Spotswood speaks of the success of the experiment, but of the inadequacy of the Boyle endowment. The Indians, he says, "have a Master to teach them and are decently cloathed and maintained, so that they

[1] Hening, iv, 432.

[2] *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 63, Richmond, 1874.

seem very well pleased with the change of their condition, as indeed their parents and others of their Nations who come frequently to see them express much satisfaction with the care that is taken of them, and frequently lament their own misfortune in not having the like advantages in their Youth; but as the revenue of the College settled by Mr. Boyle for that service is insufficient to support so great a charge, I hope your Lord'p will use your interest for obtaining some contributions from the Society for propagating the Gospell, and from other charitable persons to help the College to promote so good a design."[1]

MOTIVES FOR FOUNDING THE COLLEGE.

The charter of the College of William and Mary shows that the objects of the foundation were much the same as those originally proposed in 1619, and again in 1660. The General Assembly of Virginia had asked for a royal endowment of the college, "to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God."[2] This pious language would serve equally well in New England or Virginia to describe the highest motives of the founders of educational institutions. It is useless to arrogate any peculiar or particular piety in the educational establishments of any part of this country. The truth is that in old England, through many centuries, good men, ecclesiastics and laymen, sovereigns and subjects, had been laying educational foundations, such as monasteries, colleges, and free town schools, upon which ideas the New World has built. The motives of the English, whether in Virginia or New England, in providing for the pious education of their sons in good letters and good manners, were but colonial outcroppings of the same public spirit which founded the various colleges which now make up the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians was perhaps a secondary consideration, but it was honestly attempted in Virginia as well as in Massachusetts.

Englishmen are much the same the world over, whether in America or Australia. They are a healthy union of public spirit and private interest, of measured philanthropy and enlightened selfishness. An

[1] Letters of Governor Spotswood, i, 174. On early attempts to educate Indian boys in Virginia, see Bishop Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, i, 116, 123, 124, 128. An Indian school was established at Christanna, in Southampton County, where at one time (1716) seventy Indian children were taught.

[2] An "Alt Heidelberg" friend of the writer, Dr. George Gary Bush, in his interesting and attractive history of *Harvard, the First American University*, published in 1886 by Cupples, Upham & Co., says, p. 64, of that institution, "The education of both 'the English and the Indian youth in knowledge and godliness' was, according to the charter of 1650, the object sought in the establishment of a college." For text of charter, see *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. iii, 195.

Englishman's struggle for the salvation of his own soul often ends in organized effort for the good of his community or of his country, and sometimes it takes the direction of foreign missions, in lands which he is striving to subdue. It is this curious blending of individual with social forces which has converted England and her colonies into vigorous powers for civilization.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT.

The power to establish and to organize "a certain place of universal study, or perpetual college, for Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six masters or professors, and an hundred scholars, more or less, graduates and non-graduates," was intrusted by the charter, issued February 19, 1693, to a self-perpetuating board of eighteen trustees, resident in the colony. They were to have the appointing power, and were to form the board of governors or visitors. Every year they were to elect from their own number a rector for the college. Every seven years they were to choose some eminent and discreet person to be the chancellor. Naturally the Rev. James Blair was by the charter made one of the original trustees, also the first annual rector and president of the college for life. He was a vigorous, aggressive Scotchman, and held his presidential office for fifty years, dying in 1743. The charter appointed the Bishop of London to be the first chancellor. The trustees continued, down to the time of the American Revolution, to associate the academic with the ecclesiastical office. Inasmuch as the first president, the Rev. Dr. Blair, was the Bishop's commissary, or deputy, in Virginia, it was but natural that these two offices should remain united down to the time of the Revolution. Thus the presidency[1] of the college and the primacy of the church in Virginia were represented by one and the same man. The charter

[1] *List of Presidents.*

Rev. James Blair, D. D., commissary	1693 to 1743
Rev. William Dawson, commissary	1743 to 1752
Rev. William Stith, D. D., commissary	1752 to 1755
Rev. Thomas Dawson, D. D., commissary	1755 to 1761
Rev. William Yates	1761 to 1764
Rev. James Horrocks, D. D., commissary	1764 to 1771
Rev. John Camm, D. D., commissary	1771 to 1777
Rt. Rev. James Madison (the first Bishop of Virginia)	1777 to 1812
Rev. John Bracken	1812 to 1814
John Augustine Smith, M. D	1814 to 1826
Rev. William H. Wilmer, D. D	1826 to 1827
Rev. Adam P. Empie, D. D	1827 to 1836
Thomas R. Dew	1836 to 1846
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"The office of the president would be to govern the College, be treasurer and censor, and have a casting vote in all debates. The six professors would be: One for Divinity, who should be chaplain and catechist; one for Mathematicks, one for Philosophy, one for Languages, one for History, one for Humanity, who should be Grammar Master."

This was the educational ideal of one of the best professors in the College of William and Mary at a very early period of its history. The scheme is remarkably well-rounded for those times. An earlier recommendation for a distinct chair of history and for a school of administration, it would be difficult to find in this country.

Returning to America after long absence in England, the Rev. Hugh Jones resumed parochial work in Virginia, but he finally returned to Maryland, where he built up various parishes, notably William and Mary parish and Sassafras parish, in Cecil County. He persuaded the people to build brick churches instead of cheap wooden structures, and he invigorated society wherever he went. He continued pastoral work until he was ninety years old, when he retired, "having worthily won the title of venerable." This professor and ecclesiastic might be called the Venerable Bede of Maryland and Virginia. He died in 1760, at the age of ninety-one, having been in the ministry sixty-five years.[1]

ORIGIN OF WILLIAMSBURG.

The College of William and Mary, like Harvard College, was a state institution. It was founded by what was then the National Government, by royal endowment. The charter gave the General Assembly of Virginia the right to determine the best site for the college. It was voted to erect the buildings "as neere the church now standing in Middle Plantation old fields as convenience will permitt." Thus in Virginia, as in Europe, the church was the original centre around which educational institutions were planted. There was no town in "Middle Plantation old fields" at the time the college was built. Simply a church in Bruton Parish[2] and a scattered settlement, with an archaic system of common lands; these were the beginnings of what was yet to become a college town and the capital of Virginia.

It is a most interesting and remarkable fact that the founding of the College of William and Mary at Middle Plantation determined the political centre of Virginia and the founding of Williamsburg. The supposed healthfulness of the locality had indeed great weight with the Assembly in fixing upon Middle Plantation as a site for both college and capital, for the place "hath been found, by constant experience, to be healthy and agreeable to the constitutions of the inhabitants";[3] but in the preamble to the act passed in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, 1705, when Williamsburg was founded, this additional motive seems to have decided the location of the city: "It will prove highly advantageous and beneficial to his Majesty's Royal College of William and Mary *to have the conveniences of a Town* near the same."[4]

[1] Information concerning this remarkable man was obtained from Spotswood's *Letters*, i, 103; ii, 253; and from Bishop Perry's monumental work on the *History of the American Episcopal Church*, i, 307.

[2] The Vestry-book of Bruton Parish dates from 1674; but Bishop Meade (i, 146) says that there was a church at Middle Plantation as early as 1665.

[3] Hening, iii, 419. With regard to the removal of the seat of government from Jamestown to Williamsburg, Hugh Jones says, in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724): "When the State House and Prison were burned down, Governor Nicholson removed the residence of the Governor with the meeting of General Courts and General Assemblies to Middle Plantation, seven miles from James Town, in a healthier and more convenient Place, and freer from the Annoyance of muskettoes"!—Sabin's reprint, p. 25.

[4] Hening, iii, 422.

THE BRUTON PARISH CHURCH.

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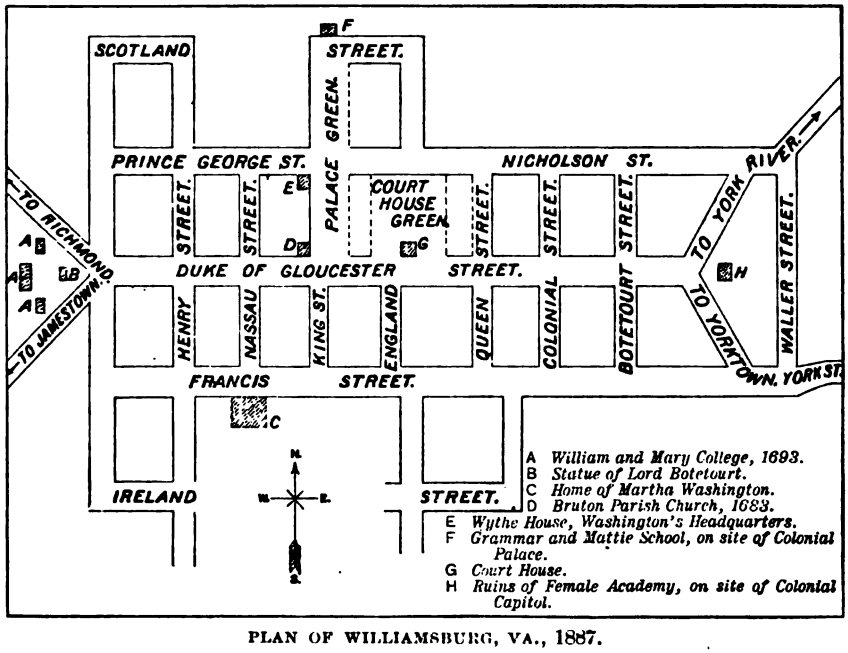
Clearly these early legislators of Virginia were in advance of their age. They believed what the nineteenth century is just beginning to find out—that a good municipal environment is favorable rather than injurious to the higher education; that the town is more suitable than the country for the growth of a college or a university. The early Virginians had no idea that professors and students should be turned out to pasture like superannuated horses and untrained colts, and expected to feed on grass like Nebuchadnezzar. It is a very bucolic view of the higher education to expect it to flourish in the open fields, apart from human society, away from great libraries, museums, schools, churches, and from all the helpful, quickening influences of municipal life. Civilization and culture are, historically speaking, the products of towns and cities. The idea of isolating students from the world is but the survival of the monastic system, which sought cloistered retreats within protecting walls. While society and education owe much to this system, it should be remembered that monasticism is a mediæval and not a modern idea. Indeed the monastery and the castle were but historic reversions to the more primitive idea of hill-forts and patriarchal burghs, from which ancient cities and classical civilization sprang.

PLAN OF WILLIAMSBURG.

Williamsburg was laid out in good old English fashion, with a spacious market-place or town-square (the Germanic type of the ancient



PLAN OF WILLIAMSBURG, VA., 1887.

forum or *agora*). A plot of land four hundred and seventy-five feet square was appropriated for a building suitable for the General Assembly

and for the courts. The building when completed was to be "called and known by the name of the Capitol,"[1] and it was resolved that "the space of two hundred feet of ground every way from the said Capitol shall not be built upon, planted, or occupied forever." Truly a noble reservation, worthy to become the forum of Virginia! Surviving types of the same idea may be seen in Capitol Square at Richmond, and in every court green around the court houses of the South and in every town common of New England. The main street of Williamsburg was called the Duke of Gloucester Street. It was the Pennsylvania Avenue of the period. It extended from the capitol to the utmost western limits of the city, where it "joins on ye Land belonging to ye Colledge."[2] This colonial boulevard, connecting the seat of government with the seat of learning, shows that politics and the higher education were interests closely associated in the minds and hearts of the Virginians, as indeed are Richmond and the University of Virginia to this day.

Of the appearance of the Duke of Gloucester Street in 1724, a brief description is given by Professor Hugh Jones: "Fronting the college at near its whole breadth is extended a noble street, mathematically straight (for the first design of the town's form is changed to a much better),[3] just three-quarters of a mile in length, at the other end of which stands the Capitol, a noble, beautiful, and commodious pile as any of its kind, built at the cost of the late Queen, and by the direction of the Governor."

APPEARANCE OF THE COLLEGE.

The original college building was burned down in 1705, but it was immediately restored in the same style, if we may trust tradition. A good description of the appearance of the college in 1724 has come down to us through that original tract on The Present State of Virginia. Professor Jones said of the college:

"The front, which looks due east, is double, and is 136 feet long. It is a lofty pile of brick building, adorned with a cupola. At the north end runs back a large wing, which is a handsome hall, answerable to which the chapel is to be built; and there is a spacious piazza on the west side, from one wing to the other. It is approached by a good walk, and a grand entrance by steps, with good courts and gardens about it, with a good house and apartment for the Indian master and his scholars, and out-houses; and a large pasture inclosed like a park, with about 150 acres of land adjoining for occasional uses. The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; and since it was burned down it has been rebuilt, and nicely

[1] Hening, iii; 420.

[2] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, i, 109.

[3] Governor Nicholson originally laid out the town of Williamsburg "in the form of a cypher [monogram?] made of W and M." Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, 25.

MAIN STREET, WILLIAMSBURG, FROM THE COLLEGE WINDOWS.

1—*Page* 24.]

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WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1859.

2—*Page* 24.]

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contrived, altered and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood, and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital."

Professor Jones was evidently familiar with the sights and scenes of old England, as well as with the best society of the period. Like Chaucer, he had seen the world as in his time. The parson-professor was in favor at court, as appears from a letter of Governor Spotswood[1] to the Bishop of London in 1717. The man was an excellent observer of social Williamsburg. He says, in one naïve passage: "At the Capitol, at publick times, may be seen a great number of handsome, well-dress'd, compleat Gentlemen. And at the Governor's House upon Birth-Nights and at Balls and Assemblies, I have seen as fine an appearance, as good diversion, and as splendid entertainments in Governor Spotswood's time, as I have seen any where else."

A PICTURE OF THE TOWN AND CAPITOL.

A complete picture of the town, as it was in 1724, is given by this observing professor, to whom Virginia owes a great historical debt, for he describes the whole colony as faithfully as he did its college-capital. He describes the public buildings, and all the public offices, courts, etc. "In each wing of the Capitol," he says, "is a good stair case, one leading to the Council Chamber, where the Governor and Council sit in very great state, in imitation of the King and Council, or the Lord Chancellor and House of Lords. Over the portico is a large room where conferences are held, and prayers are read by the Chaplain to the General Assembly; which office I have had the honour for some years to perform." He describes the parish church, a brick structure in the form of a cross, "regular and convenient, and adorned as the best Churches in London. This from the Parish is called Bruton Church, where I had the favour of being lecturer."

Clearly this professor was a useful man in the community. Not far from the church there was the market place, "near which is a Play-House and good Bowling Green." From the church northward was Palace Street, at the end of which stood the Governor's house, "finished and beautified with gates, fine gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal, orchards, etc." The house had a cupola, "or Lanthorn," which was illuminated on festival nights, together with most of the town. "These buildings here described," he says, "are justly reputed the best in all the English America, and are exceeded by few of their kind in England." He mentions "a pleasant, long dry walk, broad, and almost level from the College to the Capitol."

"Williamsburg," he says, "is a market town, and is governed by a mayor and aldermen." It is a town "well stock'd with rich stores, of all sorts of goods, and well furnished with the best provisions and liquors. Here dwell several very good families, and more reside here in their own houses at publick times. They live in the same neat manner, dress after

[1] Spotswood's *Letters*, ii, 253.

the same modes, and behave themselves exactly as the Gentry in London; most families of any note having a coach, chariot, Berlin, or chaise. The town is laid out regularly in lots or square portions, sufficient each for a house and garden. Thus they dwell comfortably, genteelly, pleasantly, and plentifully in this delightful, healthful, and (I hope) thriving city of Williamsburgh."

TOWN AND COLLEGE.

The College of William and Mary and the town of Williamsburg grew and flourished together, the one aiding the other in a thousand ways. The college appreciated what the General Assembly called "the conveniences of a town," and the whole colony quickly learned to value educational privileges for its ambitious sons. "At the first Commencement of the College, in 1700," says Campbell, one of the historians of Virginia, "there was a great concourse of people; several planters came thither in coaches, and others in sloops from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, it being a new thing in that part of America to hear graduates perform their exercises. The Indians had the curiosity, some of them, to visit Williamsburg upon that occasion; and the whole country rejoiced, as if they had some relish of learning."[1] A cultivated society gathered in Williamsburg, because it was the intellectual and political capital of Virginia. It became fashionable for the best families of the colony to spend the winter season "in town," just as social England to this day centres in London during the season. Bishop Meade, in his Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (i, 194), says: "Williamsburg was once the miniature copy of the Court of St. James, somewhat aping the manners of that royal palace, while the old church and its graveyard, and the College chapel were, *si licet cum magnis componere parva*, the Westminster Abbey and the St. Paul's of London, where the great ones were interred.' More truly than Jamestown the new capital became the historic as well as the political and social centre of Virginia. From this college-capital, where the plays of Shakespeare first found a public hearing in America, went forth Virginia's greatest sons.

A SCHOOL OF STATESMEN.

The gathering together of the best people of Virginia and the forming of student associations with all that was best in the history and politics of that colony and of Mother England were of untold influence in moulding the intellect, in testing the character, and in cultivating the manners of the rising generation. Whatever schoolmen may say, there is no school like the world of human society, like contact with men. A wise blending of scholastic and social culture makes all the difference between the mediæval monk and the modern man.

[1] Campbell. *History of Virginia*, 361, 362.

The mediæval monk shunned the world and the society of his fellow men, but the modern man has discovered virtue in both. It is greatly to the honor of the founders and builders of the College of William and Mary that they applied so early in the eighteenth century the idea of education in a social, municipal, and political environment. Williamsburg was the first exponent of a noble educational policy, to which this country will sooner or later return. It was a policy which struggled into existence in Prussia in 1810, when that child of conflict, the University of Berlin, was born in the capital of a kingdom that was to found an empire.

Wonder is often expressed that colonial Virginia, with her population widely dispersed, should have produced so many eminent public men, who became leaders in the American Revolution and who afterward gave such practical and sovereign direction to American politics. Virginia is called the mother of presidents, but the College of William and Mary, the alma mater of statesmen, is only another name for Virginia. The secret of that great family of patriot-politicians lies in the union of home education with the higher education, in the blending of private with public training, after the manner of our Mother England. In Virginia the historic process began with English traditions of family culture; it developed through the personal administration of rural estates, through vestry meetings and county courts and the House of Burgesses. The evolution of a higher class of politicians, of professional men and cultivated gentlemen, was first accomplished at Williamsburg, that school of citizens, churchmen, and statesmen. There were no educated lawyers in Virginia until the college began its preparatory work. Bishop Meade says: "The best ministers in Virginia were those educated at the college and sent over to England for ordination. The foreigners were the great scandal of the church."

Religious, political, and educational forces in society always thrive best by association, not necessarily by union. This was true of ancient society, and it is no less true in the modern state. While the separation of the school from the authority of the church and the separation of the church from the sphere of the state are among the greatest contributions of America to the world's advancement, nevertheless the association of these great forces must be preserved in a modified form. Neither the state nor the church nor the school can reach its highest efficiency when any one of these three institutions is cut off from association with the other two. A government without the support of religion and education, means ultimate lapse into moral and political anarchy. Ecclesiastical organizations, unrestrained by law and unenlightened by reason, may interfere with civil liberty and check the progress of thought. Schools, colleges, and universities, without public support and legal protection, without moral and religious associations, are hopelessly crippled in their usefulness to society.

In colonial Virginia there was an *entente cordiale* between the college, the church, and the state. The clergy held their conventions[1] in the college buildings, and, before the capitol was built, the House of Burgesses used to assemble in the academic halls. The head of the college was the head of the church in Virginia, and there was a representative[2] of the college in the House of Burgesses down to the Revolution. These facts merely illustrate the intimacy of educational, ecclesiastical, and political relations in that social microcosm at Williamsburg.

Never before or since in this country was there such a constant object lesson for students in the art of government and in the constitution of society. The College of William and Mary, almost from its original planting, was a unique seminary of history and politics—of history in the very making, of politics in the praxis. Without identifying the two subjects, we may accept the view of Gustav Droysen, Prussia's great historian, who says, "What is politics to-day becomes history to-morrow." The young Virginians did not study text-books of historical and political science. They observed the real things. The proceedings of their fathers at the capitol were to the sons analogous to those living processes of nature that are observed under the microscope in the modern biological laboratory. We might, however, better liken the position of the early Virginia students to that of the lesser clergy and inferior nobles, who came with the great barons of the realm to those itinerary Parliaments of England before the House of Commons was instituted. These young vassals and dependents looked on while their superiors took counsel with the royal Governor, the quasi king of Virginia. The day was to come when these budding knights and burgesses would themselves form a popular assembly, a new House of Commons called the Continental Congress, to shape the history and politics of a nation.

It is interesting to look over the catalogue of students at the College of William and Mary a few years before the outbreak of the American Revolution, and to notice what men this institution was training for service to state and country. There in 1759 was Thomas Jefferson, son of Peter Jefferson of Albemarle, author of the Declaration of Independence and of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and founder of the University of Virginia. By these three deeds he wished to be known to posterity. It would be glory enough for the College of William and Mary if she had educated him alone who is the father of American political thought and the first promoter of real university education. The roll of honor does not stop with Thomas Jefferson. There, too, appear Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, Thomas Nelson, and George Wythe, all signers of the Declaration. There also are Peyton Randolph, first president of the Continental Congress, and John Tyler, first governor

[1] An extract from the faculty records, August 29, 1754, illustrates this point: "Resolved, unanimously, Y^t Mr. Commissary Dawson be allowed ye use of ye Hall and great room during ye meeting of ye clergy."

[2] Hening, iii, 241, 356.

of Virginia; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General and Secretary of State; Beverly Randolph, governor of Virginia; John Mercer, governor of Maryland; James Innes, attorney-general of Virginia; James Monroe, President of the United States; John Blair, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; and John Marshall, the great Chief Justice.

For seventy years previous to the Revolution, there had been an annual average of about sixty students at the College of William and Mary. At the outbreak of the struggle for independence there were seventy students. Thirty-seven of them left college and joined the Continental army. Three professors also took arms for their country's cause. The institution, however, continued its educational work throughout the war until the memorable siege of Yorktown, when the college was temporarily closed for the accommodation of the American troops and their French allies. That school of churchmen, statesmen, and citizen-soldiers saw enacted before its doors the closing scene in one of the greatest dramas in modern history, when Washington and his Virginians, the Continental Army and the French allies, drew their investing lines around the forces of Cornwallis.

Upon the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, the president and professors of William and Mary sent an address of congratulation to Washington. He replied on the 27th of October, in a letter addressed to the "President and Professors of the University of William and Mary," accepting their felicitations and rejoicing at the return of peaceful security to his fellow citizens. "The seat of literature at Williamsburg," he said, "has ever in my view been an object of veneration. As an institution important for its communication of useful learning, and conducive to the diffusion of the true principles of rational liberty, you may be assured that it shall receive every encouragement and benefaction in my power toward its re-establishment. The sick and wounded of the army, whom my necessities have compelled me to trouble you with, shall be removed as soon as circumstances will permit—an event which will be as pleasing to me as agreeable to you."

One hundred years after the surrender of Cornwallis, representatives of England, France, Germany, and the United States united at Yorktown for the commemoration of that international event in which all these nationalities had once participated. A monument was then dedicated. Not long after this celebration the national monument to Washington was completed in the Federal City. Quite recently the old alliance between America and France has been nobly symbolized by the erection of a colossal statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. But amid all these monumental works and historical commemorations, there has been no thought of that old college in the Yorktown peninsula, the college which trained the statesmen of the Revolution, and which gave Washington his first public commission and opened the way to his entire career.

A brief review of the relation of William and Mary to George Washington will throw new light upon this great public character, and explain the origin of his idea of a national university.

WASHINGTON MADE SURVEYOR BY WILLIAM AND MARY.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of men as well as of institutions. It is generally known that Washington began his public life as a county surveyor, but, in all probability, few persons have ever thought of his service in that office as the historical and economic germ of his political greatness. Most people regard this early work as a passing incident in his career and not as a determining cause. And yet it is possible to show that Washington's entire public life was but the natural outgrowth of that original appointment[1] given him in 1749 at the age of seventeen by the College of William and Mary. That appointment, in the colonial days of Virginia, was the equivalent of a degree in civil engineering, and it is interesting to observe what a peculiar bias it gave to Washington's life before and after the Revolution.

As we have seen already, the land system of Virginia was early placed under the control of the college authorities, who appointed all county surveyors and also the surveyor-general, who represented the economic interests of the institution and took certain fees for its support. From the lowest position as surveyor Washington rose to the very highest. It was his early practical career as a measurer of land that first made him favorably known to influential Virginians. There were but few men really competent for the work of a surveyor in colonial times. Washington's services were in great demand throughout the counties of Virginia. He not only surveyed private farms and plantations in settled districts, but also public lands and land grants on the western frontiers, among the Alleghanies, and along the upper branches of the Potomac.

It was Washington's excellent public service as a surveyor which led to his public commission as a militia officer in command of a military district for the defence of the Virginia frontiers against the encroachments of the French. It was his special knowledge of the back country and its people, acquired as a civil engineer, that led to his diplomatic commission from the seat of government in Williamsburg to the

[1] It would be interesting if one could find Washington's first commission as a public surveyor. In lack of it, the following later form, found in the *Calendar of Virginia State papers*, vol. iii, page 246, will illustrate the probable character of the appointment:

"We, the president and professors of the College of William and Mary, do certify his excellency, the governor, that we have examined Samuel Taylor and, having found him properly qualified, we do nominate him to the office of surveyor of the county of Cumberland.

"Given under our hands and the seal of the college, this 2d day of August, 1782.

"J. MADISON, *President*.
"J. McCLURG.
"ROBT. ANDREWS.
"CHS. BELLINI."

commandant of the French posts in the Ohio Valley. From this expedition of Washington, at the age of twenty-one, when he surveyed French forts and French schemes with all the skill with which he had formerly surveyed land, proceeded the entire train of English policy leading to war with the French for the possession of the territory lying back of the Alleghanies. This frontier war established the military reputation of Washington, and made him commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces. His frontier record in the French and Indian war was the stepping-stone which raised him at the outbreak of the American Revolution to the position of commander-in-chief of the continental army.

If the Revolutionary war had never occurred, George Washington would have been one of the foremost men of his time. His superiority would have appeared in great economic enterprises for the public good, enterprises growing out of that original office of county surveyor which actually led him by a development process to take the office of surveyor general of Virginia and that of general-in chief of the armies of the United States. Of course that humble agrarian office, conferred upon a young Virginian by the College of William and Mary, did not make its incumbent great, but it gave an opportunity for greatness to develop. Washington's genius was economic.[1] His mind grasped the practical questions of his time—the land question in the Ohio Valley, and its connection with the opening of a channel of trade between the Atlantic seaboard and the Ohio River. The conquest of that territory by the English, the search in that quarter for good bounty lands, the instincts of an explorer and of a civil engineer, made Washington appreciate more keenly perhaps than most of his countrymen the economic significance of the great West. Long before the Revolution, indeed, as early as 1754, he began to study the problem of connecting the tributaries of the upper Potomac with those of the Ohio, and of binding the East to the West by ties of economic interest.

WASHINGTON ACQUIRES 70,000 ACRES OF LAND.

The facts indicate that George Washington was one of the most enterprising men in America. In 1763 he wrote to William Crawford, a Virginia officer, whom he had taught the art of surveying and who had served his chief as a land-looker in the back country: "By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land." Exactly how much land Washington patented in the course of his life it is impossible to say, but at the time of his death he owned over 70,000 acres, principally in the Ohio Valley, Kentucky, the Northwest Territory, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York along the Mohawk River, and in Virginia along the line of the Potomac and elsewhere. In the historical library at the Johns Hopkins University is a map of

[1] The economic side of Washington's character has been traced by the writer in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. iii, pp. 55–91.

a survey, made in 1773, of 28,400 acres on the Little Kanawha, with explanatory notes in Washington's own handwriting. In the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser for August 20, 1773, is an advertisement by George Washington of "upwards of 20,000 acres of land on the Ohio and Great Kanawha," which the subscriber proposed to divide "into any sized tenements that may be desired and lease upon moderate terms."

In this very advertisement there is evidence of the great thought of connecting the East and the West, the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers, for the "convenience of the settlers in transporting the produce of their lands to market." This thought was interrupted by the outbreak of the national struggle for independence, but after the close of the Revolution Washington returned to it with more energy than ever. Indeed, before peace had been formally declared he left his camp at Newburg on the Hudson and made a three weeks' journey of exploration on horseback through central New York in company with Governor Clinton. These two enterprising men secured together 6,000 acres of choice land on the Mohwak River, and talked of buying up Saratoga Springs. On that tour of exploration Washington saw with his own eyes the possibilities of that great commercial route to the West now represented by the Erie Canal and the New York Central Railroad. Returning to Virginia he bent every energy toward the development of his old plan for the Potomac route. He wrote to Jefferson in 1784, "I am satisfied that not a moment ought to be lost in recommencing this business, as I know the Yorkers will delay no time to remove every obstacle in the way of the other communication, so soon as the posts of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered."[1] The Potomac Company, of which George Washington became the chief promoter and first presi-

[1] With regard to opening the Potomac route, in 1784 Washington wrote to Jefferson these historical details: "More than ten years ago I was struck with the importance of it; and, despairing of any aid from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on conditions which were expressed, the extension of the navigation from tide water to Wills' Creek, about one hundred and fifty miles, and I devoutly wish that this may not be the only expedient by which it can be effected now. To get this business in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan, however, was in a tolerably good train when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in an excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties which were met with in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given (according to report) by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed, and perhaps not without cause, at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce which usually came to their market by land. The local interest of that place, joined to the short-sighted politics or contracted views of another part of that Assembly, gave Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was a warm promoter of the scheme on the north side of the Potomac, a great deal of trouble. In this situation I left matters when I took command of the army. The war immediately called men's attention to different objects, and all the money they could or would raise was applied to other purposes."

dent, evolved historically into the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

George Washington chose a very good specialty when he applied to the College of William and Mary for an elective course in land surveying. That first appointment gave direction and purpose to his entire life. It made him a far-seeing national economist, a man of wide-reaching enterprise and of almost boundless public spirit, which developed into schemes for colonizing his lands with Germans from the Palatinate, and for opening a route to the West which should become "the channel of conveyance for the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire." These remarkable words were written to Thomas Johnson of Maryland as early as 1770. They show that Washington was a man of large ideas in economics as well as in politics. He was, moreover, a man who grasped an infinity of practical details and shaped small things into great combinations. Such rare men make Napoleons in war and Alexander Hamiltons in peace.

CONNECTION WITH THE POTOMAC AND JAMES RIVER COMPANIES.

LIBRARY

Washington's connection with these economic enterprises, growing out of his early surveys, was of the greatest importance to Virginia and the country at large in other than commercial ways. In 1785, upon the final organization of the Potomac and Virginia Companies, in testimony of the gratitude of the native State for his public services, fifty shares of State stock in the Potomac Company and one hundred shares in the James River Company were presented to Washington by the legislature through Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia. The gift was most embarrassing to Washington. He never thought for a moment of accepting it; but how to decline it without giving offence—that was the question. He wrote to his friend Benjamin Harrison: "Not content with the bare consciousness of my having, in all this navigation business, acted with the clearest conviction of the political importance of the measure, I would wish that every individual who may hear that it was a favorite plan of mine may know also that I had no other motive for promoting it than the advantage of which I conceived it would be productive to the Union and to this State in particular, by cementing the eastern and western territory together, at the same time that it will give vigor and increase to our commerce, and be a convenience to our citizens. How would this matter be viewed, then, by the eye of the world, and what would be the opinion of it, when it comes to be related that George Washington has received twenty thousand dollars and five thousand pounds sterling of the public money as an interest therein?"

Through Patrick Henry Washington returned to the General Assembly his grateful acknowledgments, but firmly declined to accept the proffered bounty. He said that he had resolutely shut his hand against every pecuniary recompense during the revolutionary struggle, and that he could not change his position now. But, he said, if the legis-

lature would permit him to turn the destination of the proposed fund from his own private emolument to objects of a public nature, he would show his gratitude for the honor conferred upon him by the State by selecting objects which would meet the most enlightened and patriotic views of the Virginia Assembly. This proposition was accepted, and it was voted that the stock should stand appropriated to such public purposes as Washington might designate by deed during life or by his last will and testament.

RELATION OF WASHINGTON'S ENTERPRISE TO EDUCATION.

A proper disposition of this public stock was regarded by Washington as a sacred obligation, and caused him long and earnest thought. The shares were not likely to become immediately productive, so that there was ample time for deliberation. The evolution of his great purpose to employ at least a portion of his trust toward the endowment of a national university has never been traced, but an evolution there certainly was, and the old College of William and Mary played no unimportant part in the process. The germ of his purpose originated in a feeling of patriotic gratitude toward Virginia soldiers who had fallen in defence of their country. Washington, in 1785, proposed to Edmund Randolph and Thomas Jefferson the idea of employing the revenue from his Potomac and James River stock for the establishment of two charity schools, one on each river, for the education of poor children, particularly those whose parents had fallen in defence of American liberty. This was a noble purpose, and would probably have been carried out if the stock had become productive and *if Washington had not been chosen Chancellor of the College of William and Mary* (1788) *and President of the United States* (1789).

WASHINGTON THE CHANCELLOR OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

One year before Washington was chosen President of the United States, he was elected chancellor of the College of William and Mary by the board of visitors. This was an ancient and venerable office which had been held by the bishops of London continuously from the foundation of the college in 1693 down to the American Revolution. Washington was the first American elected to take up the historical succession to this old English ecclesiastical headship of the college. It was pre-eminently an honorary position, for besides the chancellor there was always a practical executive called the president, or rector. The old statutes defined the chancellor's office as follows: "The Chancellor is to be the Mæcenas, or patron of the college, such a one as by his favor with the King and by his interest with all other persons in England, may be enabled to help on all the college affairs. His advice is to be taken, especially in all such arduous and momentous affairs as the college shall have to do in England. If the college has any petitions at any time to the King, let them be presented by their Chancellor. If

the college wants a new president, or professor, or master, let the college senate rely chiefly on his assistance, advice, and recommendation."

In his first letter, dated Mount Vernon, February 20, 1788, respecting this election to the chancellorship, Washington expressed himself as "duly honored and greatly affected with the receipt of the resolution of the visitors and governors of William and Mary College," but deferred his acceptance until the terms of the above statute were communicated to him, whereupon he wrote the following letter to Samuel Griffin, who had conveyed the information:

MOUNT VERNON, 30 *April*, 1788.

DEAR SIR: I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th of April, in which you did me the favor to enclose an extract from the original statute, designating the duties of the office to which I had been appointed. Influenced by a heartfelt desire to promote the cause of science in general and the prosperity of the College of William and Mary in particular, I accept the office of chancellor in the same; and request you will be pleased to give official notice thereof to the learned body who have thought proper to honor me with the appointment. I confide fully in their strenuous endeavors for placing the system of education on such a basis as will render it the most beneficial to the State and the republic of letters, as well as to the more extensive interests of humanity and religion. In return they will do me the justice to believe that I shall not be tardy in giving my cheerful concurrence to such measures as may be best calculated for the attainment of those desirable and important objects. For the expressions of politeness and friendship blended with your communications, you are desired to receive my best acknowledgments.

I am, dear sir, your obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SAMUEL GRIFFIN, Esq.,
Rector of the College of William and Mary.

This was the beginning of George Washington's official connection with the cause of liberal education in America. He was now the acknowledged head of the only college in Virginia, the college which had given him his first local office many years before. Washington's chancellorship of William and Mary antedated his presidency of the United States and continued until the day of his death. The institution which first recognized his merits enjoyed the honor of his last public service. Although the duties of the chancellorship were never burdensome, they were nevertheless sufficiently honorable and distinguished to turn Washington's attention, even while President of the United States, to the thought of representing for the entire country what he already represented for Virginia. He was the actual Mæcenas or patron of learning in his native State; what more natural than that he should advance from the local to the national in his ideas of education? This process had been characteristic of his development in relation to economics, war, and politics. It was in the same way that he came to the larger idea of his relation to science. In his mind, the College of William and Mary, which already in 1781 Washington had called a "university," was an historical stepping-stone from the idea of charity schools in Virginia to the higher thought of a national university in the Federal City. Men's minds always move along lines of individual experience

and of least resistance. There was absolutely no other experimental way by which Washington could have risen from his original purpose to his educational ideal save through his connection with the chancellorship of William and Mary. The duties of this office were indeed trifling as compared with Washington's larger political career, but the two lines of presidential activity ran parallel with one another, and the very subordination of the one office may have suggested to Washington, in the other, the possibility of utilizing for a great national purpose the idea of higher education which William and Mary represented to him and to all Virginians. Thomas Jefferson obtained his first idea of the University of Virginia from his alma mater at Williamsburg, and Washington undoubtedly drew his national thought of education from the same local source.

JEFFERSON'S RELATION TO WILLIAM AND MARY.

The father of Thomas Jefferson was a practical surveyor, who had been chosen with Joshua Fry, professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary, to continue the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, a task begun by Colonel Byrd. The two men were also employed together in making the first map of Virginia. Thus through association with a Williamsburg professor the father of Thomas Jefferson became inclined to give his son a liberal education and to train him to the art of surveying. This art the youth acquired, and he afterward became surveyor of Albemarle County.

Jefferson's autobiography is the best source of information respecting his connection with the college. He says he went to William and Mary in the spring of 1760 and continued there two years. "It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small of Scotland was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind. He, most happily for me, became soon attached to me, and made me his daily companion when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science, and of the system of things in which we are placed. Fortunately, the philosophical chair became vacant soon after my arrival at college, and he was appointed to fill it *per interim;* and he was the first who ever gave, in that college, regular lectures in ethics, rhetoric, and belles-lettres. He returned to Europe in 1762, having previously filled up the measure of his goodness to me, by procuring for me, from his most intimate friend, George Wythe, a reception as a student of law, under his direction, and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who had ever filled that office. With him, and at his table, Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum,* and myself, formed a *partie quarrée,* and to the habitual conversations on these occasions I owed much in-

struction. Mr. Wythe continued to be my faithful and beloved mentor in youth, and my most affectionate friend through life. In 1767, he led me into the practice of the law at the bar of the general court, at which I continued until the Revolution shut up the courts of justice."

Was ever education more liberal for the son of a Virginia farmer? Here is a young man, at the age of seventeen, fresh from classical training by scholarly Presbyterian clergymen, brought under the formative influence of three men of the world, the best minds in Williamsburg: first, Doctor Small, the Scotch mathematician and philosopher; second, Mr. Wythe, the lawyer who trained John Marshall at William and Mary; and third, Governor Fauquier, the ablest politician of his time. Is it surprising that a natural genius like Jefferson should have reproduced the types represented by his three best teachers, and have become a mathematical philosopher, a scholarly lawyer, a politician, governor, statesman, and diplomatist?

Educational heredity is sometimes as clearly manifest as are family traits. The mathematical bent of Peter Jefferson, the surveyor, of Albemarle, became even more marked in the mind of his son Thomas, who rose, like George Washington, from the position of a county surveyor[1] to that of surveyor-general of Virginia, the agrarian representative of his alma mater. The old college left its stamp upon Jefferson, not merely as a qualified surveyor and economist, but also as a practical educator and a lover of youth.

JEFFERSON'S PLAN OF EDUCATION FOR VIRGINIA.

It is a fact not sufficiently or generally understood that the first form of Jefferson's university idea was that of transforming the College of William and Mary into a State university. In 1779 he reported to the General Assembly of Virginia three bills for the establishment of a general system of education in his native State. The first bill provided for two grades of instruction: (1) elementary schools, for the children of rich and poor alike; (2) colleges for a middle degree of instruction to students in easy circumstances. The second bill proposed a university; the third, a library.

This general plan,[2] of remarkable scope, deserves a more detailed examination, for it is the historical basis of all that Jefferson subsequently accomplished for the educational cause in Virginia. It is closely allied to his cherish ed scheme for local self-government in smaller units than the county. He proposed that every county should be subdivided into hundreds, wards, or townships, five or six miles square, and that in the

[1] The following extract from the faculty records, October 14, 1773, contains Jefferson's appointment as county surveyor: "Agreed, unanimously, that Mr. Thomas Jefferson be appointed surveyor of Albemarle, in the room of Mr. Nicholas Lewis, who has sent his letter of resignation, and that he be allowed to have a deputy."

[2] For Jefferson's plan of education for Virginia, see his autobiography and his letter to Dr. Priestley, January, 1800.

centre of each local division there should be a free English school, in which reading, writing, and arithmetic should be taught. This was the idea of common school education, free to all children in the ward or township, and supported by local taxation under State authority. This part of Jefferson's great plan was actually adopted by the General Assembly in 1796, although the execution of the law was left optional with the county courts, a mistake which Jefferson said defeated his project.

For the promotion of college education, Jefferson's bill provided that the whole State should be divided into ten or more districts, in each of which a college should be planted for teaching the classics, grammar, geography, surveying, and other useful subjects. The college, as Jefferson conceived it, was to be a classical academy or gymnasium, preparatory to the university. It was an expansion of the same idea as that of the colonial free school, which was free merely in the sense of teaching the liberal arts. This form of the free school should be historically distinguished from the free English or common school, proposed for elementary education. The college was to be the Latin school, with the addition of a few practical or modern studies. This part of Jefferson's plan, although not actually adopted in the form proposed, remained one of his favorite ideas, to which he returned again and again in later life.

The roof and crown of the entire educational system of Virginia was to be the old College of William and Mary, transformed into a new and higher seminary of learning, with all preparatory work relegated to the fitting schools. Jefferson distinctly states that his second bill "proposed to amend the constitution of William and Mary College, to enlarge its sphere of science, and to make it in fact a university." In his autobiography Jefferson explains why this, the best part of his plan, failed to succeed. "The College of William and Mary was an establishment purely of the Church of England; the visitors were required to be all of that church; the professors, to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; its students, to learn the catechism; and one of its fundamental objects was declared to be to raise up ministers for that church. The religious jealousies, therefore, of all the dissenters took alarm lest this might give an ascendancy to the Anglican sect, and refused acting on that bill. Its local eccentricity, too, and unhealthy autumnal climate lessened the general inclination toward it." For these and other reasons the College of William and Mary failed to become the State university of Virginia.

JEFFERSON REMODELS THE CURRICULUM OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

Jefferson's interest in the cause which William and Mary originally represented to his mind was doubtless strengthened by the more successful part which he took in remodelling the scholastic curriculum of the college in the interest of modern studies, of which he was the first American champion. "On the 1st of June, 1779," he says in his auto-

biography, "I was appointed Governor of the Commonwealth and retired from the legislature. Being elected also one of the visitors of William and Mary College, a self-electing body, I effected, during my residence in Williamsburg that year, a change in the organization of that institution, by abolishing the grammar school and the two professorships of divinity and oriental languages, and substituting a professorship of law and police,[1] one of anatomy, medicine, and chemistry, and one of modern languages; and the charter confining us to six professorships, we added the law of nature and nations and the fine arts, to the duties of the moral professor, and natural history to those of the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy."[2] Thus Jefferson introduced the first distinctively modern currents into the curriculum of William and Mary.

JEFFERSON STUDIES EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES.

From early connection with educational reforms at Williamsburg, Jefferson's mind naturally turned more and more strongly toward universities. While upon foreign missions in the interest of the United States he made inquiries into the best systems of university education in the Old World. In 1785 we find him writing from Paris to J. Bannister, jr., respecting the relative merits of Swiss and Italian universities—Geneva, Rome, and Pisa. At this period he was inclined to prefer Rome, because of its historic associations and its remarkable opportunities for culture in the fine arts. A little later, in 1791, he wrote to Mr. McAlister, "With respect to the schools of Europe my mind is perfectly made up, and on full inquiry. The best in the world is Edinburgh. * * * On the continent of Europe, no place is comparable to Geneva." After his return to America he repeatedly spoke of these ancient seminaries of science as "the two eyes of Europe."

A curious evidence of Jefferson's continued loyalty to his alma mater may be discovered in the above letter to Mr. Bannister: "But why send an American youth to Europe for education? What are the objects of a useful American education? Classical knowledge, modern languages, chiefly French, Spanish, and Italian, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, civil history, and ethics. In natural philosophy I mean to include chemistry and agriculture, and in natural history to include botany, as well as the other branches of these departments. It is true

[1] This was much the same as the modern science of administration, which is just beginning anew to creep into our university courses in America. What the German would call *Polizeiwissenschaft*, and what the Greeks termed πολιτεία, was taught for nearly a century at the College of William and Mary under the head of "*police*." That name would probably suggest nothing but constabulary associations to most college faculties in these modern days. Another excellent term, also in danger of oblivion, long remained in current use at William and Mary, viz, "*humanity*," of which there was one professor.

[2] Compare with Jefferson's autobiography his *Notes on Virginia*, query xv, and his letter to J. C. Cabell, February 22, 1821.

that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America; but every other article *can be as well acquired at William and Mary College as at any place in Europe.*" Jefferson is here speaking of undergraduate training. As to graduates, he admits that medical students ought to study abroad, but he is confident that law students can do quite as well by attending the law courses of Mr. Wythe at William and Mary. Jefferson was by no means provincial in this view. It should be remembered that some of the best lawyers and statesmen of the Revolution had been trained in Williamsburg, and that John Marshall,[1] the most distinguished Chief Justice of the United States, acquired a systematic knowledge of law from Professor Wythe during the intervals of revolutionary campaigning in Virginia, just as young Prussian officers at the present day attend university courses while stationed in Berlin.

INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGE OF GENEVA UPON JEFFERSON.

One of the most remarkable results of Jefferson's sojourn in Europe and of his inquiries concerning the higher education was the proposition made to him in 1794 by Professor D'Ivernois, representing the Genevan faculty, "to translate the Academy of Geneva in a body to this country." The faculty of that institution had fallen into disfavor with the revolutionary party in their republic, and proposed to emigrate to Virginia, with a considerable body of Swiss farmers, provided they should receive the necessary encouragement. Jefferson had known D'Ivernois in Paris, and had very great respect for his character and attainments. In a letter to Washington, Jefferson speaks of D'Ivernois as a man of science and as author of a history of the republic of Geneva. He further describes the Genevan faculty: Mouchon, the President, famous for his work with the encyclopedists; Pictet, the natural philosopher, who had measured a degree with scientific accuracy; Bertrand and L'Huillier, the mathematicians, second only, in all Europe, to La Grange; De Saussure, the geologist, celebrated for his Alpine researches; Senebier, translator of the Greek tragedians; all together a faculty of ten or twelve professors. Jefferson said, "The names of Mouchon, Pictet, De Saussure, and Senebier are well known to me as standing foremost among the literati of Europe." He thinks the revolution in France will incline La Grange also, "who is without equal" as a mathematician, to join the Swiss professors in their proposed exodus. It was a scheme of dazzling brilliancy, and Jefferson was evidently much impressed with its possibilities, for he wrote to Washington a very elaborate account of the whole matter.

Jefferson had previously submitted the project of the Geneva professors to influential members of the General Assembly of Virginia for private discussion, but the scheme had been judged impracticable, be-

[1] Magruder. *Life of Marshall*, 23, in "American Statesmen Series."

cause of (1) the great expense; (2) the necessity which would arise of teaching American youth in the French or Latin languages; and (3) the very grandeur of the enterprise, which was out of all proportion to the population and needs of Virginia. Jefferson now appealed to Washington as a final resort, knowing that he had contemplated the gift of his stock in the Potomac and James River Companies toward the establishment of a national university. Jefferson urged that the State which had organized these companies and which paid the dividends ought to be chiefly favored in the disposition which Washington might make of his stock. He suggested that the Virginians would be satisfied if the university were placed within their borders, and that a happy compromise might be effected between the ideas of a national and a State institution, by planting it near the Federal City.

INFLUENCE OF THE GENEVA PROJECT UPON WASHINGTON.

Washington had already heard of the project of the Swiss professors from John Adams, to whom D'Ivernois had also written. To both Adams and Jefferson the President communicated his unfavorable opinion of the Swiss proposition. To Jefferson he gave a specific statement of his views to the effect that (1) the plan for a national university was not sufficiently matured to justify any encouragement to the Swiss professors; (2) the propriety of transplanting the entire body of them was questionable, for they might not all be good characters or sufficiently acquainted with the English language; (3) the Swiss professors had been at variance with the popular party at home, and their introduction to America might be considered an aristocratic movement; (4) such an invitation to the Swiss "might preclude some of the first professors in other countries from a participation" in the national university. Washington suggests that "some of the most celebrated characters in Scotland, in this line, might be obtained."

Thus in matters pertaining to the highest education, as already in economics, war, politics, and diplomacy, George Washington showed his sovereign common sense. From whatever point of view the character of the greatest of Virginians is seen, his wisdom and judgment impress the beholder. He was not disposed to subordinate the idea of an American university to the importation *en masse* of any foreign colony of professors, even though they constituted the best single faculty in continental Europe. He was inclined to take a thoroughly scientific and broadly international view of the educational question. If Scotland had a better professor of philosophy than the Genevan, he wanted the Scotchman.

While discouraging the idea of transplanting a foreign university to these American shores, Washington proceeded to take immediate steps toward the realization of his own long-cherished plan of founding a national university. Returning the Swiss papers to John Adams on the 27th of November, 1794, he said: "That a national university in this

country is a thing to be desired, has always been my decided opinion; and the appropriation of ground and funds for it in the Federal City has long been contemplated and talked of." It is evident that a new impetus was now given to this old idea, born of William and Mary College. In less than three weeks after writing to Adams, Washington addressed a letter to Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State, requesting that he and James Madison should mature the proper course for him in disclosing his design to give his stock of fifty shares in the Potomac Company toward the endowment of a university in the District of Columbia. As previously explained, this stock, together with one hundred shares in the James River Company, had been given to Washington for his public services by the legislature of Virginia, and he now wished to have the approbation of that body with regard to his proposed disposition of the shares first named for a national university. On the 28th of January, 1795, Washington informed the commissioners of the Federal City that he had vested in perpetuity fifty shares of Potomac stock toward the above object. This was done *before* the receipt of Jefferson's letter, dated at Monticello, February 22, 1795, respecting D'Ivernois's proposition, which had already come to Washington's notice through John Adams at least three months earlier. The Swiss idea had its influence upon both of the great Virginians, but it stimulated Washington to immediate action. When he heard Jefferson's version of the Swiss scheme he wrote to him, "I have in a degree anticipated your proposition," in so far as it related to the application of stock in the Potomac Company to the endowment of a national university. Washington said he was inclined to apply the James River shares to the same purpose, but, "considering the source from whence they were derived, I have, in a letter I am writing to the executive of Virginia on this subject, left the application of them to a seminary within the State, to be located by the legislature." The very next day, March 16, 1795, Washington wrote to Robert Brooke, Governor of Virginia, proposing to vest his Potomac stock in a national university and his James River shares in a Virginia institution. His proposition was favorably received by the Governor and General Assembly.

Clearly the transition from the charity schools to the university idea was now complete. And yet it is interesting to note that Washington had been giving fifty pounds a year for the instruction of poor children in Alexandria, and he had not neglected to offer educational aid to the sons of soldiers. The idea of promoting State education survived in Washington's proposal to give his James River stock to "a seminary of learning upon an enlarged plan, but yet not coming up to the full idea of a university. * * * The students who wish to pursue the whole range of science may pass with advantage from the seminary to the university, and the former by a due relation may be rendered co-operative with the latter." Washington said that he would have preferred to concentrate all his resources upon a national university in the

Federal City; but, in deference to Virginia sentiment, to which he owed his very means of philanthropy, he gave a portion to Liberty Hall Academy, now Washington and Lee University.

WASHINGTON'S IDEA OF A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

The educational ideal of Washington was thoroughly American. He wrote to Governor Brooke of Virginia: "It is with indescribable regret that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries, in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition, and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Although it would be injustice to many to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims not congenial with republicanism, it must nevertheless be admitted that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems those who have not well learned the value of their own. The time is therefore come when a plan of universal education ought to be adopted in the United States. Not only do the exigencies of public and private life demand it, but, if it should ever be apprehended that prejudice would be entertained in one part of the Union against another, an efficacious remedy will be to assemble the youth of every part under such circumstances as will, by the freedom of intercourse and collision of sentiment, give to their minds the direction of truth, philanthropy, and mutual conciliation."

The following passage, taken from Washington's last will and testament, best conveys his ideas upon the subject of a national university:

"It has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education, in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, *in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government*, and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local preju-

dices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country. Under these impressions, so fully dilated,

"I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia), towards the endowment of a university, to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government, if that Government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and, until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honorable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by the legislative authority, or from any other source."

Washington's gift of stock in the James River Company to Liberty Hall in Virginia became productive. The State seminary which he designed to be preparatory to the national university has evolved into a flourishing institution of learning; but that "full idea" suggested by the chancellor of William and Mary was never realized in the form which he originally intended. Congress did not extend its fostering hand. The affairs of the Potomac Company were ultimately merged in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company (see Pickell's History of the Potomac Company). Sparks, in his Life of Washington, page 416, says, "the shares appropriated by Washington's will are doubtless held in trust" by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, "for their destined object." The actual fate of Washington's endowment of a national university would be a good subject for a congressional inquiry, when other scientific subjects are exhausted. It appears from a report of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, in 1851, page 20, that only one dividend was ever paid upon the Potomac stock; but the above canal is there described "as merely carrying out in a more perfect form the design of General Washington, and as naturally resulting from the views and measures originally suggested by him."

In this connection it is interesting to observe that, along the very route which Washington thought would become "the channel of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire," was constructed, not only the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, but the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. It is still more interesting to reflect that a gift of stock in

this road formed the chief endowment of the Johns Hopkins University, which, if not national in name, is national in spirit, and is striving to realize Washington's "full idea of a university." Baltimore is not alone in representing the true university spirit, but from her geographical position, midway between North and South and hard by the nation's capital, she is approximating to Washington's ideal of an institution where young men from all parts of the Union "may be sent for the completion of their education * * * in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and * * * be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from local prejudices and habitual jealousies."

American students are to-day moving upon the great current of national university life, such a current as would have rejoiced the mind and heart of George Washington, could he have foreseen the national representation of this country in our leading colleges and universities. We are enjoying the practical realization of a grand idea, but it is not unreasonable to inquire whether the present cosmopolitan spirit in American student life might not have begun to develop at a much earlier period if Congress had given some attention to Washington's earnest recommendations. Supposing a school of politics and good government, in connection with other liberal arts and sciences, had been planted in the city of Washington, under the auspices of the United States, at the very beginning of the present century, before the sectional issue had become paramount in American politics, would there not have been some chance for the development of a school of well-trained, public-spirited men, of broad-minded statesmen, competent to settle economic and constitutional questions, without leading the country into fratricidal war, costing millions of men and untold treasure? The simple experiment would at least have been inexpensive compared with that actually essayed. England and Germany were able to rid their dominions of slavery and serfdom by legislative means, and possibly the United States might have done the same thing by the education of a school of really patriotic politicians, who could have risen above sectional issues, or those "local attachments and State prejudices" which Washington feared, and who could have developed the healthful Virginia sentiment of Jefferson and of the eighteenth century into an irresistible national opinion.

Washington early attempted to impress upon Congress "how much *a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation.*" He foreshadowed the scientific policy of the nation when he pointed out its duty in these matters. He intimated that the higher education could never reach its highest estate without national aid. "True it is," he observed, "that our country, much to its honor, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors, in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for

the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries."

The father of his country wished to save the United States on the one hand from provincialism, and on the other from sectionalism. Undoubtedly, in his mind, the national idea was uppermost: "Amongst the motives to such an institution," he said, "the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; *and a primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government.* In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?"

WASHINGTON'S UNIVERSITY IDEA COMPARED WITH JEFFERSON'S.

In his appeal to Washington that he should employ his stock in the Virginia navigation companies for the transfer of the Swiss college to America, Jefferson had strongly urged the claims of Virginia as a site for the proposed institution. He was the champion of the idea of a university for his own State, although there was nothing provincial in his advocacy. He clearly recognized that the transfer of what he considered the greatest university in continental Europe would give "such an éclat and such solid advantages, as would insure a very general concourse to it of the youths from all our States, and probably from the other parts of America, which are free enough to adopt it." Nevertheless, Jefferson's thought was clearly that of a university for Virginia. It might be "near enough to the Federal capital to be regarded as an appendage," but it should be within Virginia's limits, and thus "the splendor of the two objects would reflect usefully on each other." Jefferson foresaw two great capitals of the nation, one of them political, situated in the City of Washington; the other, intellectual, situated in Virginia, retired from the world. A shadow of monasticism clung to the free-thinking Jefferson. His university was to be "so far from the Federal City as moral considerations would recommend." The youth were to be protected from temptation by placing them at a safe distance from municipal society. His idea was that of a rural Oxford or Cambridge lying over against an American London. It was the historic idea of most English and American colleges. It is an idea both sound and healthful, from many points of view, and it will undoubtedly endure in school and college as long as country life and human nature endure. In American educational history this idea has shown more vitality and has received more vigorous support than have national or municipal ideas in education; but these latter have a latent strength which will

one day appear, especially in the higher education of great cities like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

In his letter to Jefferson, March 15, 1795, Washington said he had little hesitation in giving the Federal City preference over all other places for the institution, because (1) that city is the permanent seat of the government of this Union, and there its laws and policy are better understood than elsewhere; (2) Washington is central, midway between the North and the South; (3) the District of Columbia is convenient of access for the whole State of Virginia; (4) his own private bequest, inadequate in itself, would become useful as part of a national endowment; (5) jurisdiction by the General Government would give the university advantages which no other place than the City of Washington would possess; "and lastly, as this seminary is contemplated for the completion of education and study of the sciences, not for boys in their rudiments, it will afford the students an opportunity of attending the debates in Congress, and thereby becoming *more liberally and better acquainted with the principles of law and government.*"

This was Washington's cherished idea of a national university. It was primarily the idea of *a national school of politics and administration*, taught in connection with other liberal arts and sciences, in the capital city of the United States, for the highest education of American youth. It was an idea born of the old College of William and Mary, where capitol and college faced each other, and where the statesmen of Virginia had been trained for their great work of liberating the colonies and of framing a federal constitution. The idea of a national university grew in Washington's mind with his own official connection as chancellor of William and Mary, with his election and re-election as President of these United States, with the establishment of the District of Columbia and of the nation's capital on the borders of Virginia, with his enlarged opportunity of employing Virginia's gift for a purpose at once national and Virginian, with the growing desire of his old age to see his country permanently united and to leave it in a state of enduring peace.

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS OF MILITARY EDUCATION.

The great idea did not die with Washington. It has been transmitted by successive generations of men and it remains a legacy to the future. There is one national institution which owes its origin to Washington's foresight, and that is the Military Academy at West Point. Suggested to Congress in the same speech wherein he recommended a national university, this government institution has by its untarnished record and inestimable services to the country more than vindicated the wisdom of its great advocate. Washington said to Congress: "However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies." He maintained that a dearth of such knowledge would impair the energy of its character, hazard its safety, or expose it to even greater evils when war

could not be avoided. "The art of war," he said, "is at once comprehensive and complicated; it demands much previous study." The United States discovered the depth of this wisdom by the sad experience of a protracted civil war. The sectional division of regular army officers in that unhappy conflict was caused by sectional strife in politics, from which neither States, nor families, nor men could escape; but the very sectional distribution of military skill and martial discipline was one of the most redeeming features of the war, for it prevented untrained masses of men on both sides from reverting to general bushwhacking and primitive savagery.

PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF WEST POINT.

West Point represents more than the continuity of military science, which is indeed indispensable in all civilized states, whether for external defence or the preservation of domestic peace. The Military Academy stands for the historical continuity, under national auspices, of that very idea which made Washington first in peace after the American Revolution. It is the idea of strengthening the country by internal improvement, and binding its different sections indissolubly together by ties of economic interest, such as river improvements, canals, roads, bridges, and other great public works described under the comprehensive name of *engineering*. The constant employment of army engineers in such ways by the national Government, and in the direction of public works in our large cities, for example, in Philadelphia and New York, indicates what West Point education is worth in these piping times of peace.

Another practical lesson suggested by the Military Academy and by the regular army organization, recruited from it, is that of *a national system of civil service, recruited at government training schools.* Washington's saying concerning the art of war might well be applied to the art of administration: it "is at once comprehensive and complicated; it demands much previous study; the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every Government; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed." The schools of administration now flourishing in Paris and Berlin are based upon precisely the same idea as that proposed by Washington in his plan for a national university in the Federal City.

INFLUENCE OF WILLIAM AND MARY UPON THE SOUTH.

If any justification were to be sought for the national idea in education, it might be found in the historical influence of a single institution like the College of William and Mary upon the entire South. If one small institution, inadequately endowed and struggling against many

depressing conditions, could nevertheless send currents of intellectual life throughout every southern State, much more such an institution as that proposed by George Washington, if supported by the prestige and resources of the national Government, would have exerted a healthful, wholesome influence upon the country at large.

It is interesting to trace the widening influence of the College of William and Mary as shown by the catalogue of students educated at that institution. The writer has examined with some care the lists of names and residences, representing the whole clientage of the institution, and has corrected his own results by the further inquiries of one of his students from the South. It has been ascertained, as might perhaps have been expected, that, during the colonial period, the student representation at William and Mary was largely provincial. During the eighteenth century there were only six students from outside Virginia. Four of these came from Maryland and two from North Carolina. In sharp contrast to this small number of students from outside the Old Dominion stands the list of 708 Virginians and 14 Indians.[1] These numbers are fairly well authenticated. Probably there were many more, for the records of William and Mary are very imperfect. From the beginning of the present century down to the outbreak of the civil war, when the college was temporarily broken up, the distribution of students by States is clearly shown in the following table, prepared by Mr. C. L. Smith, of Raleigh, N. C., a graduate of Wake Forest College, and now holding a university scholarship in Baltimore.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT WILLIAM AND MARY, 1801–1861.

Where from.	Number.	Where from.	Number.
Virginia	1,869	Louisiana	9
District of Columbia	7	Tennessee	7
Maryland	28	Kentucky	12
Delaware	1	Missouri	1
North Carolina	58	Illinois	1
South Carolina	7	Pennsylvania	3
Georgia	19	New York	3
Florida	2	Massachusetts	3
Alabama	23	Maine	1
Mississippi	14		

[1] The Spotswood *Letters*, ii, 64, speak of seventeen Indians as studying at William and Mary in Governor Spotswood's time: "Upon the encouragement of a fund settled on ye Colledge by the deceas'd Mr. Robert Boyle, I endeavour'd to dispose our Tributary Indians to send hither their children to be taught and educated in ye Christian faith, and accordingly 17 of their boys are now at the Colledge." At least fourteen Indians are mentioned by name in the collective catalogue.

The subject of Indian education in this country would be worth investigating historically. Valuable materials for beginning the subject in Virginia, where the Hampton school for Indian training now flourishes, may be found in E. D. Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*. The first thought of a school or college for Virginia was the idea of an Indian mission school. American education is almost as closely connected with the church, historically speaking, as are the monastic and cathedral schools of mediæval Europe, out of which colleges and universities developed.

The student representation, as shown by this table, is overwhelmingly Virginian, as compared with the numbers from other States; but it is interesting to see how many came from beyond Virginia's borders, particularly from North Carolina and Alabama. In all probability the representatives of these States were, to some extent, returning waves of colonial influence which went forth from old Virginia into all the South, as New England influence pervaded the West. Virginians who went from the Old Dominion as pioneers sent back their sons to be educated at William and Mary. While the above figures by no means stand for the educated classes of the South (for every State soon developed colleges of its own), the table at least shows that the influence of William and Mary touched every State south of Mason and Dixon's line, even penetrating Louisiana and distant Missouri.

North of Mason and Dixon's line the influence of William and Mary was not so marked. From 1800 to 1861, only eleven northern men came to Williamsburg to be educated. Of the three students from Massachusetts, two, namely Henry A. Dearborn, son of General Dearborn, Secretary of War, and Benjamin Crowningshield, son of the Secretary of the Navy, doubtless came for local reasons, because their fathers were temporarily in Washington. While southern students went in considerable numbers to Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, northern students were almost unknown in the annals of southern colleges.

And yet the College of William and Mary was an excellent institution; it had a faculty which trained some very eminent public men. Indeed the conspicuous merit of southern leaders in politics was due to their superior political education, which early ranged over topics that were not prominent in northern colleges until after the War, notably history, political economy, and the science of government and administration. The University of Virginia, which evolved from old William and Mary by a process of historical evolution, represented, from its very beginning, the true university spirit and very advanced methods of teaching by lectures. It commanded some of the best professorial talent which this country has ever seen, for Jefferson, acting upon an idea derived from his Geneva project, secured the services of highly distinguished teachers from Europe, notably George Long, the historian of Rome. Nevertheless, Virginia failed to draw any considerable number of students from the North.

It is easy to suggest explanations of this general fact. It may be accounted for by a variety of causes, such as climate, the existence of excellent schools and colleges at the North, the difficulty and expense of travel, preference for denominational institutions, social and political differences; but undeniably there was more or less of provincialism and a decided sectionalism in American college education, North and South. There was no help for it. Washington's great scheme for a national university in the Federal City had come to naught. There was no choice for American youth except to follow obediently in the tracks

of local prejudice in which their fathers had trod. With due allowance for exceptions, it may be truly said that education kept within the lines which politics had drawn. Northern students rarely came south; and southerners, if they went north to college, remained southern in spirit.

The College of William and Mary nevertheless continued to enlarge its influence, chiefly within southern borders, although many of her graduates acquired a national reputation in public life. It is forcibly said by a writer on William and Mary College: "It sent out nearly twenty members of Congress, fifteen United States Senators, seventeen Governors, thirty-seven judges, a Lieutenant-General [Winfield Scott] and other high officers to the Army, two commodores to the Navy, twelve professors, seven Cabinet officers; the chief draughtsman and author of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph; the most eminent of the Chief Justices, John Marshall; and three Presidents of the United States. And this list, honorable as it is, by no means exhausts the number of really eminent and influential men who owed the formation and development of their intellects and characters to William and Mary. In the long list of students preserved from 1720 to the present time will be found a great array of names holding a very high rank in the Commonwealth of Virginia and the States of the South and West—in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the local legislatures. These, without attaining the eminence of those first mentioned, were the most prominent citizens of the communities where they lived, and were chiefly instrumental in giving character and direction to social and political affairs."[1]

INFLUENCE OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE ON KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE.

The following extracts from an article in the *Courier-Journal* of Louisville, Ky., are interesting illustrations of the influence of William and Mary College upon Kentucky and Tennessee:

The first Kentuckian entered as a student at William and Mary apparently was Wm. T. Barry, a member of the class of 1803, and in later life Postmaster-General of the United States. Another member of the same class was A. W. C. Logan, of Kentucky. Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, first minister to Colombia, South America (so the catalogue tells us), was of the class of 1804, and he had as a classmate Winfield Scott, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, in which the battle-scarred city of Petersburg is located. Dinwiddie County gets its name from a royal governor who presided over the destinies of Virginia from 1752 to 1758, and it was during his administration that Braddock's defeat occurred and Washington's fame as a soldier dawned. This same Winfield Scott was destined to command Kentuckians on many stricken fields of Canada and Mexico in later years. The Crittendens were at Williamsburg in 1805–'06, and for a term or two later. John J. Crittenden lived in the traditions of Williamsburg for fifty years after he left college in 1807. He was of Welsh blood on his father's side and of Huguenot maternal ancestry. The son of a revolutionary officer, what more natural than that the Woodford County youth should seek mental nurture at the fountain where revolutionary sages and patriots had grown in wisdom,

[1] John Esten Cooke, in *Scribner's Monthly*, November, 1875. Article on "William and Mary College."

and should take with him all the Kentucky boys he could induce to accompany him to the classic shades of Williamsburg? The late President Tyler, who had little reason to like General Scott, who joined the Whig leaders in their assaults upon his administration, used to tell of the admiration felt in Williamsburg for the high-spirited and talented Kentucky youths who were his classmates, and whom Scott cultivated with poor success. The acrid and haughty demeanor of the future General-in-chief of the armies of the Union had little of genuine sympathy from the *bonhomie* of the rollicking youth of Eastern Virginia and their Kentucky cousins, who had come from their distant homes to be educated in the political faith and the humanities which were conspicuous features of the training at William and Mary. Jefferson and Monroe and the elder Tyler, the Harrisons for generations, the Tylers and John Marshall, had gone through that wholesome curriculum to become the apostles of the Revolution. What better school for the youth of succeeding generations? In the class of 1807 was J. Hawkins, of Kentucky, whom the catalogue mentions as successor of Henry Clay in Congress. The catalogue is more specific as to Robert Wash, of Kentucky, who, in the class of 1808, graduated as bachelor of law, and became a judge in Missouri. Did Kentucky fill up so rapidly with immigrants that young Wash had to imitate Daniel Boone and seek room in the western wilds? Nathaniel Smith matriculated as a student in 1808 from Kentucky, and in 1809 John Croghan, of Kentucky, graduated as bachelor of arts, while a fellow student and Kentuckian was Charles Todd, who, the catalogue says, was afterwards minister to Russia. Of special interest to Louisville and its neighborhood is the career of George Croghan, who, in 1810, took his diploma as bachelor of arts, and returned to his home, near Louisville, crowned with college honors. The next year he was with Harrison at Tippecanoe and earned a captain's commission. At Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813, he was aide-de-camp to Harrison, and there is little wonder that "Old Tippecanoe" should have chosen him for the desperate enterprise of holding Fort Sandusky, so essential to the integrity of Harrison's communications. That defence of Fort Sandusky, located on the present site of the town of Fremont, in Ohio, is a thrilling story of valor and patriotism. A Kentucky youth, born in 1791, graduating with high honor in 1810 at the alma mater of the statesmen of the pre-revolutionary period, is found in 1814, when just 23, holding a position of vital consequence with 160 riflemen against a British force of regulars and Indians of ten times their number. Sunset found the foe in full flight. The demanded surrender did not take place. The savage allies of England had no chance to scalp Croghan's boys; Kentucky rifles had dealt death unerringly; Harrison's communications were saved and Croghan was a hero. So was Andrew Jackson, when, during his administration, he destroyed papers containing charges against Croghan, then a veteran officer in the Army, declaring that the "defender of Fort Sandusky has a right to commit the offence charged against him whenever he d—d pleases." Croghan died at New Orleans, singularly enough, on the 8th of January, 1849—date and locality, commemorative of "Old Hickory's" defeat of the British, also commemorate his justice to a hero and patriot.

The roll of Kentucky's alumni of William and Mary ends with the name of George W. Richardson, of the class of 1836–'37. Chancellor Bibb was at Williamsburg, as a student from Prince Edward County, early in the century. He emigrated to Kentucky afterward. The Kentucky Speeds had their progenitors in the tobacco-growing sections of Virginia. A classmate of one of them in 1825 (the Speeds were educated at Williamsburg) was ex-Secretary of the Interior Stuart, of the Fillmore Cabinet, still alive, and the oldest living alumnus of William and Mary, save ex-Governor Wyndham Robertson, who lives in Southwest Virginia.

* * * * * * *

William and Mary remained the leading educational institution south of Boston until after the dawn of the present century. In some of its schools, notably that of law, presided over by Judge Tucker, uncle of Representative Randolph Tucker, and half-brother of John Randolph of Roanoke, and that of history and economy, in charge

of Professor Dew, its influence was projected into the thought of a full half of the current century. The social characteristics of Williamsburg yielded slowly. The glamour of vice-royalty lingered. Sir Roger de Coverley, the minuet, and the old English country dances yielded to something more modern, as the dances of twenty-five years ago have given place to the german. Leading lawyers still lived at the old capital, among them George Wythe, under whom Henry Clay subsequently studied law at Richmond. Wythe was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and an eminent jurist. He died at Williamsburg, poisoned by his nephew, and on the highest *colored* authority I am assured that the ghost of Chancellor Wythe revisits the chamber in which he died on the anniversary of his death, making no other sign of his presence than passing an icy hand over the face of the sleeping occupant of the room. There are other "spooks" in Williamsburg, among them that of a young French officer, who died during the occupation of the town by the armies of Washington and Rochambeau, and who insists upon showing himself in the mansion where he died.

When the Kentucky boys crossed the mountains and came through Southwest Virginia, via Lynchburg and Richmond, and took the old stage-coach down the peninsula for Williamsburg, the Jeffersonian Democratic idea was omnipotent in Virginia, as it was in Kentucky. Perhaps that was why their Kentucky parents wanted them at William and Mary. There could be no danger of the boys falling into the "heresies of Federalism" where the ideas of Jefferson and Madison were the almost undisputed creed. Although John Marshall and Light-horse Harry Lee were not without ample following in Upper Virginia of their Washingtonian and Hamiltonian Federalism, the Alien and Sedition Laws and the general course of the Adams administration settled the political faith of both Virginia and her daughter Kentucky for a long term of years. Jefferson made Kentucky the chosen field for the promulgation of strict-construction States' rights doctrines. Kentucky led Virginia in adopting the Resolutions of '98. Meanwhile, Washington and Patrick Henry died in the same year, 1799, and their great personal popularity was lost to the party of Federalism. In 1801 Jefferson became President, and the tide of national feeling ran altogether in favor of the Jeffersonian Republican-Democratic party, and that party was nothing if not bitterly and proscriptively anti-Federalist and anti-British. Those Kentucky and Virginia boys at William and Mary studied the humanities and law and politics in thrilling times. Jefferson was active in promoting the overthrow of all pro-English sympathies, even in dress and manners. Powder and silk stockings, and swords and etiquette, gave way to democratic simplicity in attire and address. Some of the Kentucky boys were at William and Mary when the Leopard fired upon the Chesapeake. Scott hurried from college to get a commission in the Army, not even taking time to get his diploma. Croghan carried his sheepskin with him, and his heirs should value above price the parchment that proclaims the successful student at the oldest of Virginia institutions, who was to add greatly to Kentucky's renown in war. The course of events throughout Jefferson's administration prefigured the war with England which followed during Madison's administration, and which settled American political supremacy, with the brief interregnum of 1825–'29, for more than forty years in favor of the Democratic-Republican party. Virginia and Kentucky divided at last when the test was loyalty to Jackson—Virginia believing in Jackson as the heir to the leadership of Jefferson. A son of Virginia, Henry Clay, led his adopted State away from Jackson and Van Buren ultimately, and he was helped to do so by John J. Crittenden, who became Attorney-General under Harrison, while his old class-mate at William and Mary, John Tyler, was made Vice-President. John Tyler was not the only Virginian who believed in the Kentucky judgment as to Jackson, for he was sustained powerfully in his anti-Jacksonism by Littleton Waller Tazewell and Benjamin Watkins Leigh, both of whom were eminent United States Senators.

Tennessee contributed to William and Mary neither so early as Kentucky nor so many students. The catalogue gives as the first Tennesseean who was a student at Williamsburg, D. C. Topp, who graduated as bachelor of law in 1829 and 1830, and

in the matriculation book he is registered as the son of John Topp. In 1835-'36, James Oldham is registered as from Tennessee, and among the older dames of Williamsburg I have heard much pleasant reference to the agreeable characteristics of this gentleman. In 1838-'39 and 1840-'41, James Buchanan, John W. McKessack, Wm. P. Wood, and Samuel White were students hailing from Tennessee. The catalogue refers to Mr. Wood as having taken the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of law, and to Samuel White as the son of Judge Hugh L. White. This was the Judge Hugh Lawson White whom Henry A. Wise mentions in his Seven Decades as the "Cato of America." It was Judge White that, previous to the Harrisburg convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler for President and Vice-President, warned Mr. Clay of the combinations of the New York politicians to defeat his nomination by the Whigs. The last matriculate from Tennessee before the war was Edmund T. Wilkins, "son of Dr. Benjamin Wilkins, a distinguished physician, and superintendent of the California Lunatic Asylum," says the catalogue.

In the president of William and Mary College of to-day, Kentuckians like Mr. Watterson and Dr. D. S. Yandell will recall Col. Benjamin S. Ewell, of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's staff during the late war. His brother, Lieut.-Gen. Richard S. Ewell, is buried near Nashville. For forty years President Ewell has identified himself with the venerable institution which now languishes. Declining professorships in other institutions, he adheres to the sacred charge placed in his hands years ago. To him I am indebted for many interesting historical facts connected with the political and social development of Virginia. In his companionship I looked at the rare documents showing the interest of the only Stuart, while on the English throne, in the fortunes of William and Mary College, who reigned after the succession of King William and Queen Mary, after whom William and Mary College and Williamsburg were named. For the "Good Queen Anne," so legend says, loved her "royal college," and certainly she gave abundant evidence that she felt no bitterness because the "ancient colony and dominion of Virginia" had joyfully accepted the fruits of the revolution of 1688, among them being the dethronement of her royal father, King James the Second. With this venerable preceptor of students, some of whom have earned national reputation, and many others local distinction in many States, I reviewed the remaining monuments of the past, in which Williamsburg is still rich, despite the aggressions of time and the destruction of war. In the campus of the college stands the monument erected to Lord Botetourt, most loved of the royal governors, erected by the Colonial Assembly in 1773, after his death. A rollicking, boyish figure is that of his Excellency, who drove his coach and six white horses across the Palace Green fronting his royal residence. Then Virginians were more loyal to the representative of the King of England than two or three years later, when Patrick Henry uttered his defiance of George III, and Jefferson said, "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

F. H. ALFRIEND.

INFLUENCE OF PRESIDENT DEW.

One of the most influential professors at the College of William and Mary during the present century was Thomas Roderick Dew (1802–1846). He was a graduate of the institution and, in 1827, at the age of twenty-three, became professor of political economy, history, and metaphysics. A copy of the laws and regulations of the College of William and Mary, passed and published in 1830, shows that Professor Dew then held the "professorship of political law," with a salary of $1,000. His duties were defined as follows: he was to deliver lectures on natural and national law, political economy, metaphysics, government, and history. The text-book on natural and national law was to be Vattel, with reference to

Rutherforth's Institutes; in political economy, Smith's Wealth of Nations; in metaphysics, Browne abridged; Locke on Government, and Rousseau's Social Contract. Lectures were required at least three times a week upon each subject.

In 1836 Professor Dew was made president of the college, and held that office until his death in Paris in 1846. He was to the College of William and Mary what Professor Cooper was to the College of South Carolina—*a teacher whose doctrines entered into the political life of the southern people.* In 1829 he published his Lectures on the Restrictive System in economics, which is thought to have had great weight in shaping the tariff laws of 1832. He was also a scientific advocate of slavery, and represented the political views of Calhoun. John Quincy Adams regarded Dew's argument on domestic slavery (1833) as inaugurating a new era in the history of this country. It is said to have prevented emancipation in Virginia.

Professor Dew gave the most thorough and comprehensive course on history of which the writer has found any record during this early period. When most colleges were teaching the subject merely by textbooks and chiefly along classical lines of study, this man was lecturing systematically to his classes upon the Laws, Customs, Manners, and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations. A published digest of Dew's lectures has been examined by the writer with great interest. While making no professions to originality of research, the lectures were clearly a practical application of the lessons of all past history to the political needs of American youth. As the title of the published digest would indicate, Professor Dew laid chief stress upon laws, manners, customs, and *institutions.*

The man was well read in the best historical literature of his time. The results of French, German, and English scholarship in the field of classical history were familiar to the lecturer, and his observations are highly suggestive of parallels between ancient and modern politics. He specializes somewhat upon the feudal system, chivalry, the rise of the ecclesiastical system, the growth of cities, progress of royal power, standing armies, balance of power, the Reformation, the English constitution, and the French Revolution. While the Socratic method of question and answer is conspicuous in the early part of his syllabus, which was evidently intended for younger students, the topical method of treatment predominates throughout the greater part of the digest. No unprejudiced student can examine this work without coming to the conviction that the author, in his use of the scholastic method of treating history in distinct theses, in well-rounded periods and compact sentences, knew precisely what he was about and lectured in such a way that students could catch his points. For the ground which it professes to cover, this digest embodies a remarkable collection of notes for lectures and dictations. It would be very difficult to match them anywhere in this country in the period from 1827 to 1846. It appears that the

digest was first privately printed during the lifetime of the professor for the use of his class, and was used as a companion book in his lecture courses for the purpose of diminishing the labor of taking notes.[1]

THE GENERAL PLAN OF INSTRUCTION IN 1830.

The work of the college appears to have been disposed in departments or groups, rather than arranged in a continuous and required curriculum. There were the departments of (1) the ancient languages; (2) the modern languages; (3) the sciences. In the latter department there were four Junior and four Senior classes, and the Law class. There was the Junior Moral class, embracing rhetoric, belles-lettres, logic, ethics, philosophy, &c.; the Junior Mathematical, extending as far as solid geometry, plane trigonometry, mensuration, and surveying; the Junior Political, embracing civil history, ancient and modern, occupying the first half of the course, and the law of nature and nations and the science of government, occupying the second half. The four Senior classes were the Senior Moral, the Senior Mathematical, the Senior Political, and the Natural Philosophical, which carried the students into very advanced work for those times. A certain number of these class courses was required for the degree of bachelor of arts, and certain courses, *e. g.*, history, were elective. There was enough class work offered to occupy three years, but a student could secure a degree in two years. The law course was quite distinct from any hitherto mentioned: it embraced lectures upon the law as it existed in Virginia, upon police, or administration, the history and principles of the constitutions of the United States and of Virginia. Blackstone's Commentaries and Madison's Reports were the text-books in law. The method of instruction in law, history, and political science was by lectures, combined with "recitations from appropriate text-books."

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution William and Mary College is said to have been the richest college in the country. The insti-

[1] Professor Dew's *Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners, and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations* was published a few years after the author's death by D. Appleton & Co. (New York, 1851, 662 pp., royal octavo). For facts concerning his life, see the *Southern Literary Messenger*, October, 1856, vol. 23, No. 4; Andrew Ten Brook's *American State Universities*, p. 8; and Bishop Meade's *Old Ministers, Churches, and Families in Virginia*, i, 177. The good bishop speaks of Professor Dew as "a Virginia gentleman, a graduate of the college, and a scholar. His amiable disposition, fine talents, tact at management, great zeal, and unwearied assiduity, were the means of raising the college to as great prosperity as perhaps had ever been its lot at any time since its first establishment, notwithstanding many opposing difficulties. To this we must make one exception, viz, as to the classical and mathematical departments, under some of the old and ripe scholars from England before the Revolution."

De Bow, in his *Industrial Resources of the Southern States*, iii, 454, touches another side of President Dew's influence, when he says that his "able essay on the institution of slavery entitles him to the lasting gratitude of the whole South." The future historian will need to study the teaching and preaching, the political philosophy and the sociology of the South, before he can understand De Bow's honest opinion.

tution, during that struggle, lost its most important sources of revenue by (1) the depreciation of paper money, which wasted its income from endowments and scholarships; (2) the diversion of English endowment funds, notably the Boyle trust, into English channels; (3) the abolition of the tobacco tax once levied upon Maryland and Virginia in the interest of the college; (4) the cession to the United States of Virginia's claims to Western lands.[1]

This last was, perhaps, the most serious loss of all those enumerated; for, by reason of the controlling position of the college in the agrarian affairs of Virginia, the institution would have profited enormously by the survey and organization of that vast western domain, out of which not only States and Territories have been carved, but State universities, agricultural colleges, and thousands of common schools have been created.

There was one economic gain to the college by the Revolution. The palace lands adjoining Williamsburg were vested in the institution, and certain other property not required for public uses was bestowed upon William and Mary.[2] Madison, writing in 1784, said that the value of the lands given to the college and lying about Williamsburg was estimated at £10,000.[3] This was doubtless an over-estimate.

The greatest loss which the College of William and Mary ever sustained was the loss of the capital of Virginia. When, in 1779, in fear of British invasion of the Yorktown peninsula, it was resolved, upon Jefferson's motion, to remove the political centre of the State from Williamsburg to Richmond, the very nerve of the royal old college was cut. The political and social support which would have sustained the institution, in spite of its revolutionary losses, was now destined to fall away. The connection between college and capital was broken. Henceforth the college was compelled to live upon its history and upon its reputation as a church institution.

A fine opportunity for a complete transformation of the colonial college into a State university was lost when Jefferson's first educational project failed. In 1779, the very year of the transfer of the capital to Richmond, Jefferson reported a bill in favor of raising William and Mary to a higher plane. The bill failed, because the ecclesiastical idea of the colonial college was not in harmony with the republican spirit

[1] President Benjamin S. Ewell, in his *Remarks before the Committee on Education and Labor*, of the House of Representatives, January 24, 1872, and in his *Report and Address* to the Board of Visitors of the college, at their convocation in Richmond, April 18, 1879, has fully discussed the economic causes leading to the decline of William and Mary in the last century. "In 1786 its entire capital in money was but $2,503.66." Its other property, besides building and academic equipment, was in unproductive lands lying in King William and Sussex Counties, with a small tract in Nottoway. From this economic plight the college was gradually raised to "a good degree of prosperity" through the efforts of Bishop Madison. Various applications were made in vain to Congress, the last in 1854, for reimbursement for revolutionary losses.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, xi, 406, c. 34, §3

[3] Madison's Writings, i, 88.

of the times. The Presbyterians and other denominations represented in that complex house of Virginia burgesses could not vote public money for an Episcopalian establishment, however noble and worthy; but upon such an institutional compromise as that which Jefferson finally proposed they could all unite. Non-sectarianism was one of the deepest foundations in the political establishment of the highest education in Virginia.

Jefferson and the Virginians were perfectly right in their educational policy. In harmony with the needs of the State, they developed the largest and freest idea of a university which this country had hitherto known. The political, social, and economic energy which would have revitalized old William and Mary, had she become a secular institution, was drawn off to the new university. The birthright of the oldest and best college in the South was lost when the University of Virginia was inaugurated. With all honor to Jefferson for his sound ideas respecting education, one cannot help regretting that his own home had not been in Richmond rather than at Monticello. In the former case, he would perhaps have founded, in the metropolis of Virginia and of the South, an institution embodying all the excellence of the old college and of the new university. The idea of a college-capital would have been historically transformed into a university-capital. The higher education would have continued to flourish in the centre of politics, society, business, in the very heart of church and state, as the College of William and Mary had flourished in Williamsburg for three quarters of a century.

PROPOSED REMOVAL TO RICHMOND IN 1824.

Naturally the friends of the old college did not look with favor upon the new university project. Joseph C. Cabell, writing from Richmond to Jefferson, December 24, 1818, significantly says: "The party hostile to the university come chiefly from the lower country, and are within convenient distance of William and Mary. The better educated part of them, whilst they, their sons, connections, or friends have been educated at William and Mary, quote Smith, the *Edinburgh Review*, and Dugald Stewart, to prove that education should be left to individual enterprise."

In 1824 the college party made a bold move, which, if successful, would have defeated Jefferson's project for a State university near Monticello, and have forced a compromise or a consolidation of interests. The move was no less than a proposition to remove the College of William and Mary to the city of Richmond. Cabell discovered the project early in May. He wrote to Jefferson from Williamsburg, May 5, 1824: "A scheme is now in agitation at this place, the subject of which is to remove the College of William and Mary to the city of Richmond. All the professors of the college, except the professor of law [Judge James Semple], are decidedly in favor of it. Chancellor Brown and others,

of the Board of Visitors, will give it their support. * * * It will most unquestionably be attempted, and will be powerfully supported. * * * The clergy, the Federal party, the metropolis, and probably the faculty of medicine throughout the State, will advocate the removal. * * * The loss of the buildings here would probably be compensated by donations from the corporation of Richmond, or from the General Assembly. The capital of the college is upward of $100,000 * * * My present opinion is decidedly opposed to the plan; because I know that the college would be made a rival to the university, and we should lose in that institution more than we should gain in the college."

Jefferson proposed to meet this move toward Richmond on the part of the College of William and Mary by a move equally bold. He advised Cabell to create no obstacles, to give no alarm. Jefferson said: "Let them petition for the removal; let them get the old structure completely on wheels, and not till then put in our claim to its reception." In other words, when once the question of William and Mary was submitted to the General Assembly, he proposed to capture the entire endowment for his own university. There can be no question about this intention. He said to Cabell: "The $100,000 of principal which you say still remains to William and Mary, by its interest of $6,000, would give us the two deficient professors, with an annual surplus for the purchase of books." Jefferson frankly declared his opposition to the establishment of William and Mary in Richmond, and intimated that if that city pressed her claims to the old college she would create such jealousy in the midland counties as to endanger her own position as the seat of government.

The people of Richmond were strongly in favor of the proposed removal, and it would have been a fortunate thing for that city, for the college, for the university, and for the State at large, if all interests could have been united. It was a crisis in the history of William and Mary. Her best friends were nearly all agreed that Richmond would prove her salvation. On the 24th of November, 1824, the convocation of visitors and governors voted the following resolutions:

1. That it is expedient to apply to the legislature of Virginia to authorize the visitors to change the site of the College of William and Mary, with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the institution.

2. That the faculty of the college be instructed to prepare and to present to the General Assembly a memorial for the purpose of procuring the passage of a law in conformity with the above resolution.

JEFFERSON'S RIVAL POLICY.

Cabell wrote to Jefferson, December 17, 1824: "The hostile party in Richmond and the college aim decidedly at a great institution connected with a medical school." Jefferson recognized the full significance of

the Richmond idea. He knew well that it meant the ultimate defeat of his own cherished project. He replied to Cabell, December 22, 1824: "The proposition to remove William and Mary College to Richmond, with its present funds, and to add to it a medical school, is nothing more nor less than to remove the university also to that place; because, if both remain, there will not be students enough to make either worthy the acceptance of men of the first order of science. They must each fall down to the level of our present academies, under the direction of common teachers, and our state of education must stand exactly where it now is. Few of the States have been able to maintain one university, none two."

Jefferson early discovered the great principles of centralization in the higher education and decentralization in common schools, principles which have been so ably advocated in these modern days by President Andrew D. White, of Cornell, a distinguished champion of State universities.[1] Finding that it was impossible to capture the endowment of William and Mary for the University of Virginia, Jefferson and Cabell agreed upon a plan still better suited for the strengthening of their own great project. They proposed to conquer their rivals by a division of the resources of William and Mary among a considerable number of college districts for the endowment of preparatory institutions, which should be tributary to the central University of Virginia. Jefferson wisely suggested the possibility of utilizing the local sentiment of rival towns and of building up existing academies into colleges at the expense of William and Mary. He mentioned Williamsburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Hampden-Sidney, Lynchburg, Lexington, Staunton, Winchester, etc. "Thus," he said, "of William and Mary, you will make ten colleges, each as useful as she ever was, leaving one in Williamsburg itself, placing as good a one within a day's ride of every man in the State, and get our whole scheme of education completely established."

This plan for decentralization in secondary education and centralization in the higher education was simply a reversion to Jefferson's original educational policy, reported to the Virginia legislature as early as 1779. Cabell recognized the wisdom of Jefferson's scheme for the defeat of his rivals, and urged him to prepare a bill as a possible substitute for the plan of removing the college to Richmond. "*You* alone," said Cabell January 16, 1825, "can prepare a bill that will enable us to vanquish the host opposed to us. * * * I send you a printed copy of your bill for public instruction, to enable you to execute the draft with less trouble. Let the funds be equally divided among the districts, whatever they may be. * * * I think the representatives will pause before they give away the rights and interests of their constituents. Great excitement prevails." Immediately upon receipt of this letter

[1] *Advanced Education: The Relations of the National and State Governments to Advanced Education.* By Andrew D. White. 1874.

the sage of Monticello, now in his eighty-second year, proceeded to draft the required bill, which is given in full in the correspondence between Jefferson and Cabell, the chief source of information respecting this educational crisis in the history of Virginia.

TRIUMPH OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

The question of the removal of William and Mary to Richmond was adversely decided by the General Assembly, through the personal influence of Cabell, before any necessity arose for introducing Jefferson's bill, which would surely have routed all opposition. Cabell published an article in the *Constitutional Whig* and in the *Enquirer*, embodying his views and Jefferson's. His article carried the day. In explanation of this course, Cabell wrote to Jefferson February 3, 1825: "I saw the gathering necessity of setting up the colleges against the Richmond party, and it was requisite to show your former plans, and our efforts to sustain them." Again, on the 7th of February, Cabell writes: "I am happy to inform you that our efforts have eventuated in success, and that the college party have been defeated in the House of Delegates by a majority of 24. * * * My friends assure me that the essay under the signature of 'A friend of science,' with the extracts from your letter and bill, had all the effect I could possibly desire. It broke the ranks of the opposition completely." Thus by these two masterly politicians, Cabell and Jefferson, the Richmond cause of William and Mary was defeated.

DESTRUCTION OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE IN THE CIVIL WAR.

When the civil war broke out, it was but natural that the professors and students of a thoroughly southern institution should follow the fortunes of their own section of the country. The intensity of feeling in those times is seen in the fact that ninety per cent. of the youth then pursuing a course of study at the college joined the Confederate Army. In the war of the American Revolution only fifty per cent. of the students from William and Mary took arms for the cause of independence. Except for a short interval, during the Yorktown campaign against Cornwallis, the old college continued its courses of instruction; but in 1861 the outbreak of war at its very doors made further scholastic work impossible. Everybody took arms. As men felt in that great crisis of the republic, so they fought.

The story of the destruction of William and Mary College shall be told in an extract from a government document of the United States: "The peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers was debatable ground, occupied alternately by the contending forces. Williamsburg, the site of William and Mary, is its strategic point, the key of the military position, and terriffic battles were fought for its possession. In September, 1862, Williamsburg was held by a detachment of the United

States Army, but on the 9th of that month the place was attacked and occupied by a force of Confederate cavalry, who held the city until 11 o'clock of that day. Upon the evacuation by the rebel cavalry and the return of our troops, a body of stragglers from the United States forces, drunken, disorderly, and insubordinate, fired and destroyed the college building, with the library, apparatus, furniture, and other property therein belonging to the institution. Afterward, during the War, other houses and property of the college and connected therewith were destroyed by Union soldiers."[1]

No less than five favorable reports[2] have been made, recommending congressional relief to William and Mary College for losses sustained as above described. President Ewell appeared before the Committee of Education and Labor at various times, advocating his worthy cause in the most judicious language. One of the notable speeches in support of the measure was made in 1876 by a northern Senator.

NORTHERN TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM AND MARY.

Hon. George F. Hoar, Senator from Massachusetts, in a speech advocating congressional relief to the College of William and Mary, said: "To spare, and if possible to protect, institutions of learning, is an obligation which the most civilized nations impose on themselves. Whenever, by accident or design, these institutions have been injured in war, such governments desire, if possible, to make reparation. History contains many conspicuous and interesting examples of this generous recognition. * * * In her bloodiest and angriest civil strifes, all factions in England have revered her institutions of learning. Her schools and colleges, whatever side they may have taken in civil war, have enjoyed immunity from its injuries, when even her stately and venerable cathedrals have not been spared. Think what permanence these schools enjoy, shielded from the storms of war by the beneficent principle we invoke. Wherever civilization exists, wherever men are humane and Christian, the college or the school, wisely founded, shall endure. I purchased at Eton, a few years since, a little book containing the history of the ten great schools of England. I was struck, in looking over it, to see the dates of their endowment: Eton, in 1440; Winchester, 1560; St. Paul's, 1509; Merchant Taylors', 1560; Charter House, 1641; Harrow, 1571; Rugby, 1567; Shrewsbury, 1549; Christ's, 1522; while the origin of Oxford and Cambridge is lost in the darkness of antiquity.

[1] House Report No. 9, 42d Congress, 2d Session, vol. 1, January 29, 1872.

[2] House Report No. 65, 41st Congress, 3d Session, vol. i, March 3, 1871; House Report No. 9, 42d Congress, 2d Session, vol. i, January 29, 1872; House Miscellaneous Document No. 247, 43d Congress, 1st Session, vol. iii, April 13, 1874; House Report No. 203, 44th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, March 3, 1876; House Report No. 12, 45th Congress, 2d Session, vol. i, December 5, 1877.

Some of these reports contain valuable information respecting the history of the College of William and Mary.

"These schools have survived all the changes of dynasty, all the changes of institutions and manners; Puritan and Cavalier, York and Lancaster, have fought out their battles, and yet, in the wildest tempests of popular excitement, they—

'Lift not their spears against the Muses' bower.'

At Winchester William of Wykeham founded, in 1380, a school which still stands and has remained through six dynasties. Plantagenet, Lancaster, York, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanover have successively struggled for and occupied the English throne, while in the building which Wykeham in his lifetime planned and built the scholars of Winchester are still governed by the statutes which he framed.

"You will scarcely find an instance, in England or America, where a school or college, wisely founded, has died. *'Whatever perishes, that shall endure.'* * * *

"But William and Mary has also her own peculiar claim on our regard. The great principles on which the rights of man depend, which inspired the statesmen of Virginia of the period of the Revolution, are the fruits of her teaching. The name of Washington, to whose genius in war and to whose influence in peace we owe the vindication of our liberties and the successful inauguration of our Constitution, is inseparably connected with William and Mary. She gave him his first commission in his youth; he gave to her his last public service in his age. Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, who announced the great law of equality and human rights, in whose light our Constitution is at last and forever to be interpreted, drank his inspiration at her fountain. Marshall, without whose luminous and far-sighted exposition our Constitution could hardly have been put into successful operation, who imbedded forever in our constitutional law the great doctrines on which the measures that saved the Union are based, was a son of William and Mary. By the cession of the great Northwestern Territory, largely due to the efforts of one of her illustrious sons, she lost a great part of her revenues.

"Next to Harvard she is the oldest of American colleges. The gift of the famous Robert Boyle was held by her for many years, on condition of an annual payment of £90 to Harvard. Boyle was the friend of many of the early friends and benefactors of Harvard, and a correspondent of one of its first presidents. Each of these two seminaries, in its own part of the country, kindled and kept alive the sacred fire of liberty. In 1743, the year Jefferson was born, Samuel Adams maintained, on taking his degree of master of arts at Harvard, the affirmative of the thesis, whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved. In this hour of the calamity of her sister college I am glad to believe that Harvard does not forget the ancient tie. The mother of the Otises and Adamses would gladly extend her right hand to the mother of Jefferson and Marshall.

"If civil strife or foreign war shall ever again disturb our peace, every college in the land will be safer if Congress shall to-day make this solemn recognition of the rule we invoke. To deny it is to deny to the college of Washington the justice he did to Princeton. To deny it is to deny to Virginia the generous treatment which Connecticut received from Tryon, Philadelphia from Cooke, and William and Mary herself from Louis XVI[1] of France. The hallowed associations which surround this college prevent this case from being a precedent for any other. If you had injured it, you surely would have restored Mount Vernon; you had better honor Washington by restoring the living fountain of learning whose service was the pleasure of his last years, than by any useless and empty act of worship or respect toward his sepulchre.

"No other college in the country can occupy the same position. By the fortune of war that sacred institution, which has conferred on the country a hundredfold more benefit than any other institution or college in the South, has become a sufferer. I desire to hold out the olive branch to the people of Virginia, to the people of the South, to show them that we will join them in rebuilding the sacred place laid waste by the fortunes of war."

PRESENT CONDITION OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

Notwithstanding the many and earnest appeals for the relief of William and Mary, in spite of the acknowledged fact that the destruction of its property was the wanton act of undisciplined soldiery, an act contrary to the usages of war, which, even in the dark ages, spared churches and schools, no measure of relief for the College of William and Mary has ever been passed by the Congress of these United States. The Treasury is bursting with silver, and the annual surplus of $100,000,000 is such a burden to the people that they cannot unload it. But still we hear the cry of "economy." If it were only exercised where it is really needed, there would be reason in the cry. The country is allowed to stagger under tariff laws that are too heavy to bear. The public land of the nation has been recklessly wasted; it is held by railroad corporations, in some instances, under false pretences; it is falling into the hands of foreign syndicates and English landlords; it is actually stolen to the extent of millions of acres, as shown by the latest reports of the Land Office. All this prodigality of the national substance is suffered by Congress, but for the great cause of EDUCATION, upon which the very *salus publica* of the American people depends, amid growing ignorance, socialism, and anarchy, for the cause of Light where darkness is increasing, there is only pitiful economy.

[1] Senator Hoar refers to the fact that during the French occupation of the college buildings at Williamsburg, in 1781, the president's house was accidentally destroyed by fire. The French Government restored the building and presented the college library with several hundred volumes.

An institution which was once a beacon of learning and of political intelligence, not alone for Virginia but for the whole South and for the country at large, has been suffered to decline by a nation which owes it an actual although paltry debt of $70,000. Noble efforts have been made by individuals in the North and at the South to sustain the College of William and Mary. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Englishmen lent their aid to kindle anew the torch of education at Williamsburg. Rebuffed by Congress, which seemed to take less interest in the cause of perpetuating sound learning than did originally the mercantile companies which founded Virginia and Massachusetts, the president of old William and Mary, Dr. Benjamin S. Ewell, went forth among the people to beg for his worthy cause. He even bore a certificate signed by a Union general, who won the battle of Gettysburg. General Meade was the author of the following letter:

"I am satisfied, on examination of the facts of the case, that the destruction of the buildings of William and Mary College by our troops was not only unnecessary and unauthorized, but was one of those deplorable acts of useless destruction which occur in all wars.

"In this view, and believing that its reconstruction, under the direction and superintendence of Professor Benj. S. Ewell, will tend to cement and strengthen the bonds of Union principles, I take great pleasure in recommending the appeal of Professor Ewell to all those who have the means and the disposition to assist him in the good work in which he is engaged."

Too often the higher education in America is forced to live by begging. In the case of William and Mary not even the license to beg, given by the hero of Gettysburg, was sufficient to command public attention. A few thousand dollars were subscribed by benevolent, whole-souled people in New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, and elsewhere; but most generous of all gifts were those from Virginia, for there, in the decade following the War, men and women were less able to give to colleges and universities than they are now. Enough money was contributed to restore the main building of William and Mary and to organize the faculty anew, with departments of Latin, Greek, mathematics, modern languages, natural science, philosophy, and belles-lettres. But the annual expenses exceeded the annual income. Old endowments had been lost; new ones proved inadequate. At last the professors were all dismissed, because their salaries could not be paid. Consequently students disappeared. The president alone remained at his post. During one year he had one student, but even he has gone. The president remains still at the college. At the opening of every academic year, in October, he causes the chapel bell to be rung. Does it ring for the living, or does it toll for the dead? Is it the clang of a bell of warning to all friends of the higher education, a bell buoyed over a sunken rock upon the dangerous coast of popular ignorance and national neglect? or is it a summons to

men in every State and at the nation's Capitol to do their duty in the cause of higher education, to be "Wise and True and Just," as were the founders who gave that ancient motto to the College of William and Mary?

QUESTION OF REMOVAL: ALEXANDRIA OR RICHMOND.

The College of William and Mary has still a double chance for life in Virginia. By removal to Alexandria, into close proximity with the theological seminary, it would receive strength and encouragement from the Episcopalian Church, whose centre of ecclesiastical training in Virginia is in the old city on the Potomac, within easy reach of Washington and on the main line of travel between the North and the South. It would escape all the present disadvantages of isolation, municipal decay, reputed unhealthiness of environment, and would undoubtedly take a fresh departure as an ecclesiastical institution, without any serious break in the continuity of its traditions.

The site of the college was changed in its earliest years from Townsend's Point, on York River, just above Yorktown, where it was first planted by charter. This document provided that "If, by reason of unwholesomeness or any other cause, the said place shall not be approved of," the site might be changed "wheresoever else the General Assembly of our Colony of Virginia, or the major part of them, shall think fit, within the bounds of the aforesaid Colony, to continue for all times coming."

By a formal vote of the Board of Visitors and Trustees, in 1824, the question of removal from Williamsburg to Richmond was submitted to the authority of the General Assembly. If the case could be legally referred to that body in that instance, it could be now referred again with respect to Alexandria or any other place. Upon application by the existing corporation to the General Assembly of Virginia, any required alteration or emendation of its charter could be easily secured, in the present era of good feeling as regards higher education.

Perhaps a still better course than removal to Alexandria would be to move again upon Richmond. There would be little or no opposition now, when it is clearly seen that it is a question of life or death with the oldest college in the South. Loyalty to higher education, municipal interests, and the best social influences of Richmond and Virginia, to say nothing of the outside world, would be enlisted in behalf of this venerable and historic institution. If it should begin life anew with nothing but a hired house or one professor in a lawyer's office, it would command public sympathy and support. It would draw to itself the most vital of all currents—youth, immortal youth. Students invigorate a college, awaken professors, delight college presidents and boards of trustees, who, by this very student pressure, are emboldened to ask capitalists to stand and deliver. The pronounced success of Richmond

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE AS REBUILT IN 1859.

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1—*Page* 66.]

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, 1887.

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2—*Page 66.*]

College, a flourishing Baptist institution, demonstrates the possibilities of this municipal environment for an institution of learning.

William and Mary College should have changed its base immediately after the civil war from Williamsburg to Richmond. It should have utilized the historic prestige of the capital of the Old and New South. In spite of all legal quibbles, the legislature could have as easily modified the geographical provision of the charter as the Board of Visitors changed the chancellorship from the Bishop of London to George Washington after the war of the American Revolution. Even now this change of base from Williamsburg to Richmond is a grand possibility of life for the old College of William and Mary. Against manifest fate, against isolation, poverty, and desertion, President Ewell and no man can struggle with success. But with the favoring current of history and politics, of public opinion and common sense, it is possible for even one individual to guide an institution, or an idea, to some worthy end.

Whatever may be the destiny of the College of William and Mary, her influence upon higher education in Virginia and throughout the South can never be lost.

"She cannot die! Amid the flame,
Which like a death-shroud binds her in its fold,
Her spirit walks serene in deathless fame,
Like to the martyred Israelites of old.
The fire but purifies the virgin gold,
Frees the rough ore, and burns away the rust.
Then, ere the burnished metal waxes cold,
With reverent hearts her children must
Renew her ancient impress, 'WISE AND TRUE AND JUST.'"[1]

PRACTICAL LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

It is impossible to study the past experience of institutions of learning without deriving useful lessons for the present. Among the ideas suggested by the history of William and Mary College are the following: (1) like Harvard College, it was originally a State institution, supported by government appropriations and by taxation, as well as by private

[1] From the poem of St. George Tucker, read February 19, 1859, on the occasion of the 166th anniversary of the founding of William and Mary College, a few days after the conflagration which destroyed the college buildings. See *Southern Literary Messenger*, March, 1859, p. 238. This magazine contains three excellent articles on William and Mary College: (1) March, 1855, vol. 21, No. 3; (2) October, 1856, vol. 23, No. 4; (3) March, 1859, vol. 28, No. 3.

The College of William and Mary has been destroyed by fire, either wholly or in part, four different times: (1) in 1705; (2) in 1781, by the French; (3) in 1859, when it was restored within a year's time; (4) in 1862, substantially restored in 1869 by private aid. The damages wantonly caused by Union soldiers in our late civil war have never been settled by the United States, although the French Government, more than a century ago, set us a memorable example by immediate compensation for damages accidentally caused by their troops during the occupation of Williamsburg.

philanthropy; (2) like Harvard again, it was founded in the interest of the church and of liberal education; (3) it was early associated with the best political, religious, and social forces of Virginia in a municipal environment; (4) the college-capital flourished so long as Williamsburg remained the political and social centre of Virginia; (5) when the capital of the State was removed to Richmond, the life current of the college became feeble, for it ceased practically to be a State institution, and remained only a church institution in a decaying borough, whose vitality had fled; (6) the survival of its ecclesiastical character in a State where dissenting interests were in the majority, actually prevented the college from becoming the University of Virginia, according to the original plan of Jefferson; (7) non-sectarianism was the corner-stone of that rival State institution, which, founded in a rural environment on the outskirts of Charlottesville within sight of Monticello, speedily rose above old William and Mary College, prevented its removal to a better municipal vantage-ground in Richmond, and drew away its strength and prestige;[1] (8) persistent refusal to remove to a more healthful and favorable municipal environment, after the disasters of the civil war, when there was everything to gain and comparatively nothing to lose, was a mistake second only to the defeat of the first project for removal to Richmond in 1821; (9) the most practical of all lessons to be derived from the history of William and Mary is *the possible renaissance*, in the educational policy of our States, of the original Williamsburg idea of a college-capital, or at least of higher education, in a municipal rather than in a rural, or even suburban, environment; and (10) the revival of that close connection between education and good citizenship which made the College of William and Mary a seminary of statesmen. The last two ideas the writer proposes now to consider, more specifically with reference to the greatest educational need of our time—*the application of historical and political science to American politics.*

THE HIGHER EDUCATION IS DEMOCRATIC AND REPRESENTATIVE.

The proposition that this country stands in need of the practical application of the lessons of history and political science to the solution of great problems in administrative reform—municipal, State, and national, in tariff reform, in agrarian reform, in social reform, in labor reform, and in the repression of anarchy and crime, will hardly be denied by any thoughtful citizen. Reflection will also convince fair-minded

[1] The attraction of the new university for Virginia youth, at an early period, is indicated by an article which the writer recently noted in the New York *Times*, *circa* December 20, 1886, on "A statesman of the past," the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Staunton, Va., the trusted friend of Webster and Clay. Mr. Stuart is now about eighty years of age. In his day he has had as much influence upon Virginia politics as ever Tilden or Seward or Marcy enjoyed in the State of New York. In an interview with a visitor Mr. Stuart related the fact that, sixty years or more ago, he was a student at William and Mary College, but that he *graduated in the University of Virginia*. This one case shows how the educational tide was turning.

men that, in order to apply such lessons to politics, economics, and society, there must be proper avenues of influence, proceeding primarily from the people and leading through institutions of learning to the very issues in question. In a republic like ours, no reforms are possible which are not demanded by public opinion and common sense. When these great forces begin to move in society and in the state, something greater than a mouse is likely to come forth from the mountain.

It is certainly a reasonable and democratic idea that the highest educational privileges of a state should be brought within the reach of representatives of the common people. Thomas Jefferson was a farmer's son, trained in Virginia schools for the College of William and Mary, and by that institution for the governorship of Virginia, for the presidency of the United States, and for the founding of the University of Virginia, where the sons of that State were trained even better than were their sires. In the entire United States there is to-day no institution more democratic than the University of Virginia, either in its student representation or mode of government. The sons of Virginia farmers and planters are educated there without the payment of a dollar for tuition. The higher education is as free as air. The university receives all who are able to come, and allows them to stay as long as they can do so with profit to themselves; but the university reserves its honors for the men who can pass its examinations. Ability and character are the sole standards of promotion in the higher education, and that is precisely what this country needs in its public servants. The people endeavor by their votes to secure the best man for President, and sometimes they succeed. While all privileges and all offices are and ought to be accessible to the people, it is well understood that this is a representative government, and that there is some sense in preferring one man to another, else we should all raffle for the presidency and cast lots for the offices in his gift. In other words, fitness is the true principle in the choice of popular representatives for office or for honors in the higher education. It is true even in politics that many are called but few are chosen.

The representative principle is as valid in the higher education as it is in the higher walks of politics. While all the sons and daughters of the people should enjoy common school privileges, as all men enjoy the right of suffrage, it does not follow that all should receive a university education at the people's expense. One might as well expect that all voters should be sent to Congress. There must be in the higher education, as in politics, some principle of natural selection and a survival of the fittest.

The State universities of this country are open to the sons of the people in the freest, fairest way. Like the University of Virginia, the University of Michigan,[1] and the University of California, nearly all State

[1] *The Higher Education: A Plea for Making it Accessible to All.* By James B. Angell, president of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, 1879.

universities afford free tuition to students dwelling within the borders of their respective States who are able and willing to profit by the higher education. Some of the State universities, for example, that of North Carolina, pursue a more economical plan, and accord free tuition to *representative* students, appointed for merit from each county or election district. Until 1876, this was the method of the University of Virginia, the faculty of which annually selected for merit one student from each of the fifty senatorial districts in that State. These appointees alone enjoyed free tuition. The State University of Alabama still receives, free of charge, one student from each county. There is a manifest tendency, in some parts of the South, to return to this more economic and discriminating system, for the sake of increasing university revenues by money arising from tuition. In general, it might be said that this method is not only good economy, but good educational policy, for the higher education is always better appreciated when it is paid for, whether by money, merit, honorable service, or some *quid pro quo*. A university career should not be beyond the reach of the poor, but it should be an honor rather than a charity, a recognition of ability rather than of poverty.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEW YORK.

The most healthful, suggestive, and fully developed method of connecting university life with the people is that now in vogue in the pivotal State of American politics, the State of New York, where Cornell University, in return for the agricultural college land grant, affords free tuition to one student each year from each Assembly district, who is appointed for merit by the county commissioners of education. This method of appointment makes the higher education a prize and an honor, both to the successful student and to the high school or academy which trained him. It strengthens the secondary schools by the natural effect of competition, and it recruits the university from popular sources, which supply all vigorous currents in the life of a state. The university can, if it pleases, apply its own educational tests and send back deficient appointees for further preparation, or it can accept, at discretion, the certificates of local examiners. It has lately been recommended by the Cornell alumni that vacant or unimproved district scholarships shall be filled from districts where applications are in excess of the allowance, after the manner of appointment to State normal schools.[1]

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

The educational experience of the State of New York is a most valuable and suggestive guide for the regulation of schools, colleges, and universities within State limits. In New York a uniform standard of

[1] *Historical and Statistical Record of the University of the State of New York*, 1885, page 303.

excellence has been reached in the high schools and academies by a system of State examinations and by the award of teachers' certificates by State authority. A reasonable harmony of interests among the various colleges and universities has been reached by an annual convocation of their representatives, together with the principals of high schools and academies.

The educational control of the State of New York is in the hands of a board of twenty-three regents of the so-called "University of the State of New York." It is simply an examining board, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, superintendent of public instruction, and nineteen other members chosen by the State legislature in the same manner as State senators, and holding office during the pleasure of the legislature. While a regent must be a citizen of the State of New York, he cannot be a trustee or officer of any college, academy, or university under the control of the board of regents. Its officers are a chancellor, vice-chancellor, secretary and treasurer, and an assistant secretary, who hold their position during the pleasure of their associate regents. The business of the board is conducted principally by means of standing committees, of which there are ten, viz: on Incorporations; on the State Museum; on the State Library; on the Instruction of Common School Teachers; on the Distribution of the Literature Fund; on Appropriations for the Purchase of Books and Apparatus; on the Annual Report; on the Visitation of Colleges and Academies; on Academic Examinations; on Printing and Legislation; and on Degrees.

The present board of regents is the historical outgrowth of the original board of governors of King's (now Columbia) College. In 1784, the governors petitioned for "an extension of the privileges of the said college so as to render it the mother of an university." The practical organization of the board of regents dates from the year 1787, and it was largely the work of that master mind, Alexander Hamilton. This board of regents has chartered all important educational institutions in the State of New York; it has exercised for one hundred years a wise and beneficent control over not only the highest educational, but the highest scientific interests of the State; it has preserved and published the historical records; it has investigated the most intricate historical questions relating to the boundaries of the State; it has cared for the State library and State museum; it has encouraged meteorological observations in connection with local institutions of learning; it has published in its reports an amount of special literature of unexampled interest in the history of state education in this country. Without an examination into the facts of the case, one would hardly believe the extent to which New York has carried her system of state control over the higher, as well as over secondary and primary education within her limits. Her regents examine secondary schools throughout the State. They require annual reports from all the higher institutions of

learning. They not only give teachers' certificates, but, under approved conditions, they award academic degrees. Indeed it was at one time seriously proposed by the president of Cornell University, Andrew D. White, to put the power of conferring degrees entirely into the hands of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York.

THE MERIT SYSTEM AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Throughout the entire country, from New York to the Gulf States, from Virginia to California, the principle of student representation or student election in our higher systems of education is already recognized to a greater or less degree. The idea has even passed beyond State limits, and is now in practical operation in at least *one group of three southern States*—Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. To undergraduate students from these three States the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, gives twenty ordinary Hopkins scholarships, yielding free tuition ($100) and tenable for three years. This university also gives eighteen honorary Hopkins scholarships, yielding $250 per annum and free tuition, "to be awarded for *uncommon merit*, among the matriculated undergraduate students from each of the States above named, the selection to be made by the board of collegiate advisers."[1]

The reason for discrimination in favor of meritorious undergraduate students from these three States is the expressed will of the founder of the Johns Hopkins University, who desired his trustees to "establish from time to time such number of free scholarships in the said university as may be judicious, and to distribute the said scholarships among such candidates from *the States of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina*, as may be most deserving of choice, because of their character and intellectual promise, and to educate the young men so chosen free of charge." The founder's motive was not altogether unlike that which causes the University of Virginia to limit its free tuition to students from that State. To Johns Hopkins, the wholesale merchant, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were simply a larger economic commonwealth, from which he had drawn his millions in the processes of trade and commercial intercourse. He wished to benefit that group of States which had benefited him. In no way could he have better quickened the highest life of that one group of American commonwealths than by thus providing for the higher education of their representative young men who were "most deserving of choice."

The merit system in the higher education has been extended by the Johns Hopkins University into the District of Columbia, where two undergraduate scholarships, yielding free tuition, are open to resident candidates. At the very outset the merit system, which is the life principle of the university, leaped the confines of the three States above named, and invited a wider competition and *more than national* student representation. From the very beginning of the university the twenty

[1] *The Johns Hopkins University Register*, 1885–'86, p. 66; *cf.* p. 70.

fellowships, yielding $500 a year, with free tuition, have been open to graduates of any other institution in this country or in foreign lands, "for conspicuous merit." While very naturally the majority of the appointees are graduates of collegiate institutions in the United States, there are repeated instances of the award of fellowships to Canadians, Europeans, and Japanese. By the recent institution of twenty graduate scholarships, ten to Hopkins graduates and ten to graduates of other institutions now studying in Baltimore, each scholarship yielding $200 a year, the merit system in university education has been still further extended and at the same time practically centralized in its operation.

A fair proportion of these various university honors has been given to graduate students in history and political science, upon evidence of good work and in competition with other departments. While the attainment of honors is not the main motive of graduate study in a specific department, the merit system undoubtedly and deservedly acts as a powerful incentive. The success achieved by senior fellows attracts and stimulates their juniors. The original number of graduate students (three) in history and politics has increased tenfold. The original number of undergraduate students (two) in the same subjects is now over one hundred. Aside from the original work produced and published in the four volumes of Studies in Historical and Political Science, and six independent volumes upon special subjects, the most conspicuous result of the merit system in historical and political education is the promotion of doctors of philosophy from this department to professorships or good positions in other colleges and universities. Of the six men who in June, 1886, were awarded the doctor's degree in history and political science, every one was almost immediately advanced to a still higher honor by some other institution, viz: By (1) the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; (2) the University of California; (3) Bryn Mawr College; (4) Swarthmore College; (5) Washington High School; (6) Imperial College of Sapporo, Japan. Altogether, in this department there have been graduated twelve doctors of philosophy, of whom nine have entered upon academic careers, one is an editor, and two have served in the Bureau of Labor Statistics at Washington, besides teaching boys. Altogether, the Johns Hopkins University has supplied 48 institutions with 82 instructors, who have won the doctor's degree.

A NATIONAL TENDENCY IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

Upon a map of the United States, recently issued by the Land Office, the writer has caused to be ticketed, and labelled with individual names, the various institutions of learning which have employed the services of graduate students from the Johns Hopkins University. The experiment was suggested by an account which the writer once saw in one of the published addresses of Andrew D. White,[1] ex-president of Cornell

[1] *Agricultural and Mechanical Education.* Address before the New York Agricultural Society, 1869, by Andrew D. White; reprinted in the Cornell University Register, 1871.

University—an account of a wall map in the French agricultural college at Guignon, which showed at a glance where all its graduates were stationed and how they were employed. The application of this novel idea to the graphical illustration of what the writer is inclined to call the colonial system of the Johns Hopkins University, shows to the eye that all along the Atlantic coast-line, from Bowdoin College in Maine to the Agricultural College of Florida, Baltimore instructors are as thick as sea-birds—thickest of all in the Middle States. From the Baltimore point of departure they stretch inland in two long lines, one bold and strong toward the Northwest, the other less conspicuous, but pushing into the great Southwest as surely as railway traffic. Three professorial names in California and three in Japan indicate that Baltimore influence in the higher education has passed beyond the limits of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway system, which is the economic background of the Johns Hopkins University.

One other fact is very noticeable upon this university map. The one place outside of Baltimore where Johns Hopkins men most do congregate is the *City of Washington*. These men are in governmental or educational service. Graphical statistics demonstrate the fact, which the writer has long been inclined to believe, that the greatest vantage ground of this Baltimore university is its proximity to the nation's capital. Baltimore, whether consciously or unconsciously, is reproducing the old Williamsburg ideal of a college "with the conveniences of a *town*," upon a somewhat enlarged scale. As the old College of William and Mary faced the old capitol of Virginia, with the Duke of Gloucester Street between, so the new Baltimore university faces the new Capitol of the nation, only forty-five minutes distant on the Baltimore and Ohio express. One could not traverse so quickly in the horse cars the length of Pennsylvania Avenue, from the neighborhood of Georgetown College to the grounds of the Capitol.

From geographical and railway contiguity, the relations between Baltimore and Washington are drawing closer every year. More and more are Hopkins men employed in Washington; more and more does Washington send her students and the Government its specialists to Baltimore. Every year there is a better understanding of Washington and of its institutions on the part of university students, through the practical teachings of public men who are invited to Baltimore to address the Seminary of History and Politics. It is no small privilege for students to hear the subject of civil service reform expounded by a government commissioner, or current questions of American politics elucidated in familiar, friendly language by a Senator of the United States. These are simply accomplished facts. A national university, without any of the dangers and impediments arising from political control, stands midway between the North and the South, in the closest connection with the West, near enough to Washington to profit by its object lessons in politics and administration, by its libraries and

museums; and yet far enough away to escape that familiarity with political methods which sometimes breeds contempt or precocious imitation on the part of unripe youth.

THE PROMOTION OF HIGHER POLITICAL EDUCATION.

The time for a national university in Washington is either past or not yet come. Such an institution is not desirable in the present state of national politics and civic administration, nor is it needed by the country with its present supply of universities, already pervaded not only by a State spirit, but by a growing national, if not a truly cosmopolitan idea. What is needed, however, in all our States and in the nation's capital is *the promotion of the higher political education in practical ways.*

The representative or merit system in academic training should be made to connect not only, on the one hand, with the people, but, on the other, with practical politics and the civil service. Universities which recognize meritorious sons of the people or the principle of student election from legislative districts, should themselves be recognized by representatives of the people as at least one influential factor in shaping civil service examinations, and also as a proper source of supply whenever special scientific service is required. Such service has been frequently sought from the Johns Hopkins University by the city of Baltimore, by the State of Maryland, and by the United States Government; but the principle should be fostered throughout the whole country in connection with the State universities, and it should be extended to the improvement of the civil service, methods of taxation, schools, boards of education, State examinations, etc.

Universities should encourage their own graduates to enter the civil service examinations of the higher grades in their respective States. Practical experience in a government office for two or three years would afford the best kind of post-graduate course, especially if the State capitol and the State university should happen to be in the same city, so that further academic study might go hand in hand with practical work in an official bureau. Such an experience, as a subordinate under strict discipline, would prove a far better training for good and useful citizenship than does autocratic teaching in a country high school. The writer knows of several Baltimore students who have entered the Patent Office at Washington, one a Hopkins Ph. D., who received from the civil service board the highest mark on competitive examination. He is now pursuing law studies in connection with his government work, with a view to becoming a patent lawyer. If one can understand how such practical training will prove helpful professionally to this young man, it will be readily seen that similar experience in other branches of the public service may not be without a wholesome influence upon sensible students.

There are to-day scores of young men employed in government offices

in Washington, many of them college graduates, who are also pursuing law studies in evening classes in some one of the three flourishing law schools in that city, viz. (1) Columbian University (Baptist);[1] (2) Georgetown College (Roman Catholic); and (3) the so-called National University. Soon there will be a richly endowed Roman Catholic university in the nation's capital, and doubtless that institution will also take an important share in the legal or special training of some of the nation's public servants. Men of sound sense in government employ will seek such opportunities more and more, on the one hand as a means of preparing for higher professional work, and, on the other, in the hope of improving their chances for promotion or influence in the public service.

The Government is compelled to patronize institutions of learning from self-interest, for the reputation of its departments and its scientific bureaus, some of which are constantly turning to colleges and universities for special work. The War and Navy Departments have detailed no less than ten men for further scientific training or for the conduct of necessary government investigations at the Johns Hopkins University. Various members of the university staff have beeen employed upon special commissions in the interest of the Geological and Coast Surveys, Bureau of Education, etc. This comity between science and the Government ought not only to continue, but to be promoted, especially with reference to political science.

IDEA OF A CIVIL ACADEMY IN WASHINGTON.

While the national Government will continue to seek special service wherever it can best be found, and while its public servants will continue to seek special training wherever they prefer, it is not inexpedient to suggest that the Government might easily secure for the civil service what West Point and Annapolis have so long provided for the Army and Navy, viz, well-trained men for administrative positions requiring expert service. There is in these times as great need of special knowledge in civil science as in military or naval science. A civil academy for the training of representative American youth would be as great a boon to the American people as the Military and Naval Academies have already proved.

The West Point and Annapolis idea of educating representative young men from political districts is already abroad in nearly every State in the American Union. A combination of this idea with the

[1] The writer is informed by President James C. Welling, of the Columbian University, that of the 190 students in the law school of that institution about 40 per cent. are in government service; of the 100 medical students, 45 per cent.; of the 80 scientific students, 50 per cent. From Georgetown College and the "National University" the writer has not succeeded in obtaining returns, but in the opinion of good judges of the Washington situation, from 40 to 50 per cent. of the student class in these three professional schools are government employés. There is a decided demand for special education on the part of our existing civil service. The tendency should be encouraged in every legitimate way.

merit system in appointment is frequently made by Congressmen in the institution of a competitive examination to discover whom they shall appoint as cadets. The joint system has long been established in the State of New York, the centre of political gravity in these United States. The system should be taken up by the present administration, which sprang from New York and which represents the New York idea in administrative reform. The West Point plan of taking student appointees from congressional districts, and the Cornell University plan of student appointment for merit, should be transplanted together to the city of Washington. From each of the three hundred and twenty-five congressional districts there should be appointed by the respective Congressmen, upon competitive examination held by the State or leading university, or by some other impartial examining board, one student of the grade of bachelor of arts, to enjoy government tuition in Washington for two years at a civil academy, as hereafter described, with an allowance of $600 a year for necessary expenses, as is now done for cadets at West Point and Annapolis. As at these two government academies, so in the Civil Academy, if properly constituted, undoubtedly a large proportion of the appointees would be "found deficient;" many would resign for professional reasons or from dissatisfaction with the civil service, but a choice remnant would surely be saved to the state; the fittest would survive. Even if all returned to their own homes after two years' public training, the cause of good citizenship would be greatly promoted.

These student appointees, or government "fellows,"[1] should not be required to herd in barracks or dormitories, but allowed to live like frugal citizens in Washington. They should not be under martial law or even scholastic discipline of the juvenile sort. They should be treated as responsible men under contract, as government employés, with special or assigned duties, under the general direction of an Educational Commission, appointed by the President for the specific purpose of managing the civil academy or government college, which would require no very elaborate or costly equipment. A few lecture rooms and a working library would suffice. The students should be instructed in physical, historical, and economic geography; in political, constitutional, and diplomatic history; in the modern languages; and in all branches of political science, including political economy, statistics, forestry, administration, international law, comparative methods of legislation, and comparative politics. Instruction should be given in class sections (as at West Point) and in public lectures by government experts and university specialists, who might be engaged from time to time from different institutions for such services. The best tal-

[1] For the fellowship and scholarship system in American colleges, see *Annual Report of Cornell University*, 1883, pp. 63–65. For a complete survey of the subject of fellowships in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States, see *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, Appendix for 1885, "Report on Fellowships."

ent of this country and of any other, whether university men or professional politicians, could be commanded for such occasional work.

In addition, the students should be distributed through the various government departments, at first in very subordinate and not too exacting positions, where they should be held accountable daily for a moderate amount of routine work or for certain practical tasks. Upon the daily record of such work and upon the results of occasional examinations, set by authority of the Educational Commission in specified fields, should depend the tenure of office as government students and the promotion to more advanced privileges of practical work, such as special investigations in the interest of branches of the administration. As a reward of merit, certain picked men might be detailed for special graduate work in different American universities or even in European universities, at the *École Libre* in Paris or possibly in the Statistical Bureau at Berlin, both of which institutions are practical training schools in the art of administration. Men thus educated would prove of great service to the Bureau of Labor or to the Bureau of Statistics. They would be capable of doing much of the special work now required in the taking or elaboration of the United States census. At present, special economic or statistical work is sometimes done by men selected upon political recommendation and not always thoroughly fitted for the task required.

That this idea is in the air of Washington and is not deemed impracticable by practical politicians, is seen in the recent remark of Mr. Trenholm, comptroller of the currency, who is reported to have said: "It is my intention to take young men from various parts of the country and give them a preliminary training in this office; fit them for bank examiners, and then appoint them. By this arrangement I think I will be able to have in these positions men who have excellent qualifications for their duties, and thus make a most efficient force of bank examiners. Besides, it will be the best kind of civil service reform."[1]

The system might be applied also to the training of picked young men for the consular, diplomatic, and other branches of the public service which require special knowledge. European Governments foster their civil and diplomatic services by systematic training in connection with government offices and schools of administration. The practice is already beginning to evolve in connection with the State Department and the training of consular clerks.[2] It might easily be extended in connection with other departments and the various scientific bureaus.

[1] "The Civil Service Commission and the Heads of Bureaus." Baltimore *American*, January 16, 1887.

[2] The consular clerk system was inaugurated by act of Congress approved June 20, 1864 (see 15 Statutes at Large, page 139; Revised Statutes, sections 1704 and 1705). Consular clerks, not exceeding thirteen in number at any one time, are appointed by the President. They are assigned to such consulates as the President shall direct. At present they are assigned to the consulates at Havana, Paris, Rome, Kanagawa, Bordeaux, Turin, Liverpool, Berlin, London, Cairo, Chemnitz, and Honolulu. Before

The government commission for the civil service academy or government college should not be appointed in the interest of party, but of scientific politics and good administration. It should be as trustworthy as the three commissioners for the government of the District of Columbia, and it should work in perfect harmony with the administrative offices of the government.

The necessary elements for the beginning of a civil academy are for the most part already existing in the city of Washington, and only need to be properly co-ordinated. The practical appliances for a unique American experiment in the promotion of political education of the highest sort for the sons of American citizens are already at hand in the government offices and various scientific bureaus. Foundations for the institutional or scholastic side of the proposed civil academy also exist in Washington. It is perhaps not generally known that the Federal City already contains one of the very best systems of public education in these United States. The high school of Washington is already a virtual seminary of history and political science. These subjects form a special department of instruction, employing one teacher and three assistants. The entire faculty is so thoroughly specialized in the teaching of natural science, mathematics, languages, etc., that in almost any other city save Washington this high school would be called a college. The institution, like the entire school system of the Federal City, has been under the sovereign control of Congress, and is largely supported by government appropriations. It is high time that this excellent system of public education should be carried one step higher, *for Washington is not as other cities.* The existing high school should be developed into a free government college, supported by Congress, governed by the proposed commission, and supplying such further scholastic training in the arts and sciences as members of the existing civil service or future appointees to the civil academy might require. Upon these scholastic or purely academic foundations should be superimposed a system of lectures by government experts and university specialists, as already described.

Suggestive information respecting European methods of promoting political education for governmental purposes may be found in the report of the Paris Exposition of 1878. That portion of the commissioners' report relating to the subject of political education was written by

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appointment i must be satisfactorily shown to the Secretary of State, after examination and report by an examining board, that the applicant is qualified for the duties to which he may be assigned. A consular clerk cannot be removed, except by cause stated in writing, which must be submitted to Congress at the session first following such removal. *Consular clerks hold office during good behavior. They usually receive instruction at the Department of State before going to their posts. The idea underlying this system is that of training young men for consular positions of the higher grade.* One consular clerk, not now in the service, was promoted to a consulship; many of them have been made vice consuls, and some of the present incumbents fill the vice-consular office in addition to the consular clerkship.

Hon. Andrew D. White, and contains a most instructive résumé of what has been done in this regard in every great modern state. A part of this report was given as a public address on "Education in Political Science" by President White before the Johns Hopkins University, on its third anniversary, February 22, 1879. The address was published in pamphlet form in Baltimore, but the original detailed report is more serviceable for the purpose here suggested.

Another interesting and valuable report is that on the "Training by Universities of the Public Servants of the State," published in the Proceedings of the Educational Conference[1] held in London in 1884. The *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, to which reference is made in this report, is a model civil academy, devoted to the preparation of young men for the service of the French Republic. Instruction in the art of administration, in finance, diplomacy, public law, and history, is given by government officials, senators, retired ministers, professors, and men of the highest repute as practical economists and politicians. So excellent is the work of this French school that the University of Virginia and the School of Political Science, Columbia College, have sent thither graduate students for the study of administration and political science. Two graduates from the Johns Hopkins University are proposing to spend the coming year in the same civil academy. If this country fails to provide the proper means for teaching what is most needed in America, our young Americans will find means abroad, and, when they return, they will be likely to institute suggestive comparisons for the information of their countrymen. There is crying need of schools of administration in this country. Dorman B. Eaton, the recent head of the Civil Service Commission, said to the graduate students in Baltimore that he did not know of a single place in the whole country where men could study what the country wants to know about methods of administration. The case is not quite so grievous as that, for a beginning has already been made in this kind of work in Columbia College, in the University of Pennsylvania, in Baltimore, and perhaps elsewhere.

A third source of light and information is Doctor Engel's descriptive pamphlet on the Seminary of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, published in German, Berlin, 1864. This institution is a training school for university graduates of the highest ability in the art of administration, and in the conduct of statistical and other economic inquiries that are of interest and importance to the Government. The practical work is done in connection with government offices, among which advanced students are distributed with specific tasks. Systematic instruction is given by lectures, and by the seminary or laboratory method, under a general director. Government officials and university professors are engaged to give regular courses to these advanced students. It is considered one of the greatest student honors in Berlin for a university

[1] *International Conference on Education*, vol. iii, p. 191. London: William Clowes and Sons. 1884.

graduate to be admitted to the Statistical Seminary. It is easier for foreigners to secure this privilege than for Germans. One graduate of the Johns Hopkins University (a doctor of philosophy) has enjoyed instruction in that Prussian laboratory of political science. If one would see what good work comes forth from that Berlin civil academy, he should examine the catalogue of the periodicals and other publications which have been issued by the Statistical Bureau[1] and commission his Berlin bookseller to send him a few specimen monographs. Through this bureau the University of Berlin and the Prussian administration are brought into closest *rapport*. The work of taking the census of Prussian population and resources is intrusted to educated men, trained to scientific accuracy by long discipline and practical experience. The work of the Prussian census in 1875 was so well arranged that all the results were delivered at noon on the day promised, and the entire cost was kept within the original estimate.

CENTENARY OF THE INAUGURATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1889.

In December, 1886, there met in the city of Philadelphia delegates from the various States and Territories to devise plans for the celebration, September 17, 1887, of the centenary of the signing of our present national Constitution. Among the measures proposed and agreed upon by the conference was "the creation of a suitable memorial in the city of Philadelphia commemorative of the signing and adoption of the Constitution."[2]

On January 10, 1887, a select committee of the Senate reported the following resolutions, which were considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

Resolved, That it is expedient that order be taken by Congress for the due celebration at the city of Washington, on or about the 30th of April, 1889, of the centennial of the inauguration of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, further, That the Select Committee on the Centennial of the Constitution and the Discovery of America be directed to consider and propose *the best mode* of carrying out the foregoing resolution.[3]

Undoubtedly the idea of a permanent memorial of the Constitution in the city of Washington will find its way into Congress through the influence of the Select Committee on the Centennial. Whatever shape the celebration may take, there will naturally be a desire to establish some centennial landmark. The times are therefore ripe for suggestion.

[1] For a more detailed account of the Prussian Statistical Seminary see the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. ii, 79–81. For the catalogue of the publications of the Statistical Bureau, address Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Bureaus, Berlin, S. W., Lindenstrasse, 28.

[2] *Proceedings of the Constitutional Centennial Commission*, held December 2–3, 1886, at Philadelphia, p. 17.

[3] *Congressional Record*, January 11, 1887, p. 510.

It will be remembered by every student of American constitutional history that, when the original convention of State delegates met in the city of Philadelphia in 1787, various plans were suggested for the reformation of that defective system of government under which the United States had suffered since the first institution of the Articles of Confederation in 1777. Among the plans was one suggested by Governor Randolph, representing the Virginia delegation of seven men. He proposed, in a series of resolutions, the great idea "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary." The Virginia proposition, in the process of debate, evolved into the present Constitution of the United States. Randolph's resolutions were known as the "Virginia plan."

There could hardly be a more appropriate mode of creating a perpetual memorial of our Federal Constitution than by nationalizing at Washington and everywhere promoting throughout the individual States that system of education in good citizenship which made the Virginia plan a possibility, which trained up such public men as George Washington, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, George Mason, Professor George Wythe, Professor James McClurg, and James Madison, the seven members of the Virginia delegation, of whom at least six were in some way, as alumnus, professor, or overseer, connected with the old College of William and Mary, that school of Jefferson and of American statesmen. A permanent memorial of our Federal Constitution should *revive and perpetuate the higher education in history and politics*, which was well represented by the Fathers of the Republic, notably by James Madison[1] and George Washington in their historical study of federal government, from the time of the Grecian leagues down to the Swiss Cantons, the United Netherlands, and the old German Confederation. Equally remarkable evidence of the fact that our Constitution was founded and maintained by the aid of political science and of historical politics is seen in the Federalist and in John Adams's Defence of the Constitution. If we would commemorate the patriotic work of the framers of our Constitution, we should *promote in every possible way throughout this country and at the nation's capital that political wisdom upon which the Union was established.*

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[1] Madison's *Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies, preparatory to the Federal Convention of* 1787 (see his Writings, i, 293–315), afford very conclusive evidence as to the historical and political studies which were cultivated by the authors of the "Virginia plan." Washington copied out Madison's Notes in the most painstaking manner for his own practical guidance (see the Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks, vol. ix, pp. 521–528). Mr. Sparks says in a foot note, "I can give no other account of the manuscript, than that it exists among his papers. It could hardly have been drawn up originally by him, as several works are cited which were written in languages that he did not understand." Comparison shows that the original work was Madison's. James Madison was a graduate of Princeton, but he became one of the visitors of William and Mary.

Institutions of learning are, after all, nobler monuments to great men and great events than are obelisks or statues of marble. The national endowment or permanent support of the higher political education "within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government," would realize the highest ideal of the Father of his country. This ideal was Washington's last will and testament to the American people.

SCIENTIA PRO PATRIA!

Johns Hopkins University,
March 4, 1887.

APPENDIX.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

NOTE.—The writer is indebted for the use of documents, catalogues, and pamphlets introductory to his subject to the valuable collections already made by the Bureau of Education. Nowhere in this country can the history of American schools, colleges, or universities, be so well studied as in the city of Washington. The materials and bibliographies there accessible are of surprising extent and value, when one considers the slender resources and inadequate appropriations with which the Bureau has done its useful work. Institutions of learning should take pains, each for itself, to supply this national repository of educational archives with as perfect a collection of documentary materials and as full a bibliography as can be prepared. Something has already been done in many instances, but in others even the catalogue files are very defective. In the centennial year, at the request of the Bureau, manuscript or printed accounts of the history of many colleges and universities were forwarded to Washington, and are now preserved in the educational library. This valuable collection should be properly supplemented, revised, and ultimately arranged for publication, after the manner of that excellent compilation on Public Libraries in the United States, published by the Bureau of Education in 1876.

In order that the bibliographical results of his own special study of the College of William and Mary may not be lost, the writer appends the titles of works which he has found of service.

Hening's Statutes of Virginia. 1809–20.

This early historical collection of Virginia laws from 1619 to 1792 is one of the most important sources of the educational history of Virginia.

Palmer's Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 1875–85.

Doctor Palmer's able and excellent work of compilation (from 1652) has been done since the War, and has now reached its fifth volume. This series suggested the publication of the Maryland archives by the Maryland Historical Society, at the expense of the State. Both series are invaluable to the students of southern institutions.

The Acts of the Assembly and the various Codes of Virginia.

In the indexes, under the heads of Education, Schools, Colleges, Williamsburg, William and Mary College, University, very many important facts may be found respecting the history of the higher education in Virginia.

The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710–1722. 2 vols. Richmond, 1882–85.

These letters, carefully edited and annotated by Mr. R. A. Brock, the accomplished secretary and librarian of the Virginia Historical Society, are at once most interesting evidence as to the devotion of the early Virginians to their college, and as to the present renaissance of historical studies in the New South. Governor Spotswood's activity in the interest of William and Mary College reminds one of Jefferson's services to the University of Virginia.

The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751–1758. 2 vols. Richmond, 1883–84.

Another illustration of Mr. Brock's excellent editorial work (see index under Williamsburg, and William and Mary College), and also of the present activity of the Virginia Historical Society in publication. These original and unique records were purchased in London in 1881, at auction, upon order by telegraph from that public-spirited American citizen, W. W. Corcoran, Esq., of Washington, D. C., and were by him presented to the Virginia Historical Society.

Hugh Jones. The Present State of Virginia. Sabin's Reprints, 1865 (original edition, 1724).

This writer was a professor in the college in Governor Spotswood's time, and has given us altogether the best picture of Williamsburg in those days. He was also chaplain in the House of Burgesses and assistant in the Bruton parish church, which antedated the college and the capitol by more than a quarter of a century.

Beverly's History of the Present State of Virginia (to 1706).

An historian contemporary with the founders of William and Mary College.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. v. An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia, section xii, "Concerning the College of William and Mary."

This is an original source of information, from a Virginia manuscript presented nearly a century ago to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Carter B. Harrison, Esq., of Prince George County. The author was contemporary with the foundation of the college.

Stith's History of Virginia. 1747.

William Stith's history of the Virginia Company was published in Williamsburg in 1747. The historian became president of the college.

Keith's History of Virginia. 1738.

Burk's History of Virginia. 1804–16.

Both of the above accounts of the college are drawn chiefly from Beverly.

Neill's Virginia Company (1869), Virginia Vetusta (1885), and Virginia Carolorum (1886).

These volumes, prepared by the Rev. E. D. Neill, are invaluable for documentary evidence as to the beginnings of education in colonial Virginia. See Education, College, and Schools, in index.

Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and, in general, Jefferson's Writings. 1801.

These are the most important of all sources for the transitional period from colonial to State history, and from the college to the university. Upon the latter subject, the most original and authoritative work is the Early History of the University of Virginia as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, Richmond, 1856.

Sparks. Life and Writings of Washington. 1858.

See index under William and Mary College, National University, etc.

Pickell. History of the Potomac Company. 1856.

For the relation of Washington's economic enterprise to the cause of higher education, compare Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. iii, 93–95.

The Officers, Statutes, and Charter of the College of William and Mary. Philadelphia, 1817.

This document, together with various editions of the laws and regulations, is preserved in the library of the Bureau of Education.

Catalogues of the College of William and Mary.

Many of these are also to be found in the educational library at Washington. They are particularly valuable sources of information, because of the historical matter published in the introductions.

The History of the College of William and Mary, including the General Catalogue, from its Foundation to 1874.

This document, published in Baltimore and Richmond for the sake of reviving public interest in the college, is by far the most valuable historical account of the institution. It was this work which first interested the present writer in William and Mary, and it has afforded him more suggestive id than any other one work. It contains the most important original documents relating to the college, the charter, deed of transfer, etc.; and an historical sketch from materials prepared by the late Professor Robert Morrison, who represented the department of history and political economy in *ante bellum* days. The writer takes this occasion to acknowledge, in the most grateful way, his special indebtedness to Professor Morrison for his pioneer service in investigating the history of William and Mary College. If every professor of history would take as much interest in the origin and development of the college or university which he represents, the records of the higher education in the United States would be much better known than they are at present.

Foote's Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical. Philadelphia, 1850.

This is a valuable collection of materials for the educational history of Virginia. The work is written from a Presbyterian point of view, but it is very just to William and Mary College, which represents the Episcopal Church. Foote's Sketches contain interesting information respecting the "log colleges" and the introduction of Princeton ideas into Virginia and the Carolinas. A North Carolina graduate student, from Wake Forest College, now at the Johns Hopkins University, is upon this trail. Foote traces the rise of Liberty Hall Academy, now Washington and Lee University, and also the history of its ancient rival, Hampden-Sidney College, in Prince Edward County. One must understand the influence of these Presbyterian institutions of learning in Virginia in order to realize why William and Mary College failed to become what the University of Virginia now is. A non-sectarian institution was absolutely necessary to balance these rival forces.

Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia. 1852.

Bishop Meade's Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia. 2 vols. 1857.

This standard work on the ecclesiastical and social history of Virginia contains interesting notices of Williamsburg and its college. The first volume contains a fair engraving of the old college building.

Anderson's History of the Church of England in the Colonies. 1856.

A work of educational as well as of historical significance. This history of Episcopacy in America gave New England scholars the first clue to the existence of William Bradford's manuscript History of Plymouth Plantation in the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham on the Thames.

William Stevens Perry. Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, 1650–1776. 1870.

The Bishop of Iowa has done great service to historical science by collecting and editing original documents. Many of them are of great interest and importance to the College of William and Mary. The character and writings of Commissary Blair, the first college president in Virginia, are well illustrated. There is a picture of the college in vol. i, p. 123.

——— History of the American Episcopal Church. 1885.

A monumental work in two large volumes, based upon the author's earlier researches in American church history and upon the new method of co-operation in historical writing. The College of William and Mary is well described.

De Bow. Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, vol. iii, "Virginia." New Orleans, 1852–55.

De Bow's writings are the foundation of the economic history of the South, and he does not neglect the cause of education, which is one of the essential factors of every state's economy.

The Southern Literary Messenger.

A file of this magazine is a veritable treasure-house of historical and sociological materials relating to the Old South. There are to be found in this file three different articles upon the subject of William and Mary College: (1) March, 1855, vol. 21, No. 3; (2) October, 1856, vol. 23, No. 4; (3) March, 1859, vol. 28, No. 3. The latter article was published just after the fire which destroyed the college building in February, 1859.

Howison's History of Virginia. 1846.

Campbell's History of Virginia. 1860.

A popular work containing interesting notices of the College of William and Mary. There are various other well known histories of Virginia which contain some account of the college, but all are drawn from sources already mentioned.

The Orderly Book of that part of the American Army stationed at or near Williamsburg, Va., under the command of Gen. Andrew Lewis, from March 18, 1776, to August 28, 1776, with Notes and Introduction by Charles Campbell, Esq. Richmond, privately printed. 1860.

This neat little volume, of one hundred pages, the first of a proposed series of "Historical Documents from the Old Dominion" begun just before the outbreak of the civil war, contains, in the introduction, some interesting topographical details respecting the city and neighborhood of Williamsburg. The book is a curious historic link between the outbreak of the revolutionary war and of the civil war.

Henry Cabot Lodge. Short History of the English Colonies in America. 1881.

This work contains an account of the social and educational condition of Virginia before the outbreak of the Revolution.

"APOLLO ROOM," OLD RALEIGH TAVERN.
Published through the courtesy of the Century Company.

Page 86.]

Doyle. English Colonies in America. 1882.

Eben Greenough Scott. The Development of Constitutional Liberty. 1882.

Scott gives a somewhat more favorable picture of the state of Virginia society than either Lodge or Doyle.

John Esten Cooke's Virginia. 1883.

This introductory volume in the American Commonwealth Series is the most recent history of the State, and describes in a graphic manner its historic seat of learning. Mr. Cooke, whose recent death is deplored by all who knew him, wrote an excellent magazine article upon William and Mary College, for *Scribner's Monthly*, November, 1875, where it enjoyed the leading place. It was an illustrated article, and from it have been taken, by the courtesy of the Century Company, the plates in the present monograph. Besides those already shown, there are various others of historical interest, for example, the old Raleigh Tavern, with its famous "Apollo Room," where the court balls and social assemblies of colonial Virginia were held; where Jefferson and his college friends used to dance; and where the Virginia House of Burgesses reassembled after it had been dissolved by Earl Dunmore. There, as in the tennis court at Versailles, a popular revolution was inaugurated. The old capitol at Williamsburg is also pictured. There, in 1765, occurred that famous debate on the Stamp Act, when Patrick Henry said, "If this be treason, make the most of it!" The old capitol, "the heart of rebellion" in those revolutionary days, was destroyed by fire in 1832, but a chance drawing of it by a Williamsburg lady is reproduced in Mr. Cooke's article. In fact, the reading of his pictorial sketch is almost as profitable as an actual visit to Williamsburg.

John Austin Stevens. Centennial Handbook. New York, 1881.

This is the most convenient guide for the historical pilgrim visiting Williamsburg and other points of interest in that region between the York and James Rivers, doubly famous as a seat of war. There the Continental army and the French allies forced the British to capitulate; there the American Revolution was successfully ended; there the forces of a divided Republic long struggled for the mastery. Williamsburg, both in the American Revolution and in the late civil war, was a strategic base of military operations, the very key to the Yorktown peninsula. Whoever unlocks that old Williamsburg portal, whether in the study of war or peace, politics, society, church, or education, unlocks the whole history of Virginia.

Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution (1851), vol. ii, pp. 262–265, 278.

The modern student who returns to this good friend of his youth to see what is said about old Virginia and Williamsburg will feel as grateful as he does to "Porte-Crayon" for his Virginia Illustrated. The man who drove fourteen hundred miles in a wagon, visiting revolutionary scenes, north and south, can give "points" to aspiring excursionists of the new school. Here are some of his notes: "I arrived at Williamsburg at noon [December 20, 1848], and proceeded immediately to search out the interesting localities of that ancient and earliest incorporated town in Virginia. They are chiefly upon the main street, a broad avenue pleasantly shaded, and almost as quiet as a rural lane. I first took a hasty stroll upon the spacious green in front of William and Mary College, the oldest literary institution in America except Harvard University. The entrance to the green is flanked by stately live oaks, cheering the visitor in winter with their evergreen foliage. In the centre of the green stands the mutilated statue of Lord Botetourt, the best beloved of the colonial governors. This statue was erected on the old capital in 1774, and in 1797 it was removed to its present position. I did not make a sketch of it, because a student at the college promised to hand me one made by his own pencil before I left the place. He neglected to do so"! Speaking of the Apollo Room in the rear building of the old Raleigh Tavern, Lossing says: "Up to the day of my arrival it had remained unaltered. Carpenters were then at work remodelling its style, for the purpose of making it a ball-room. * * * Had my visit been deferred a day longer, the style of the room could never have been portrayed. * * * The sound of the hammer and saw engaged in the work of change seemed to me like actual desecration; for the Raleigh Tavern and the Apollo Room are to Virginia, relatively, what Faneuil Hall is to Massachusetts." If the modern student would see how the room appeared to Mr. Lossing, let him look in the Field-Book, vol. ii, p. 278. The accompanying sketch is taken from Mr. Cooke's article.

Edwin D. Mead. Remarks on William and Mary College. Boston Christian Register, September 23, 1886.

"It is a pity," he says, "when one considers the educational needs of the South, that something should not be done to perpetuate this old college, second only to Harvard in age and historical interest, both in memory of its great past and in the active service of the present. *Such great traditions as those of William and Mary College are themselves of the highest utility in education and ought not to be wasted.*"

Ben: Perley Poore's Descriptive Catalogue of the Public Documents of the United States. 1885.

See index under William and Mary College for all the government material concerning the institution. This excellent catalogue is an Ariadne thread through that vast labyrinth of our United States public documents, and it has enabled the writer to find the following state papers relating to his subject:

Senate Document No. 72, 28th Congress, 2d Session, vol. iii, January 29, 1845.

A report on claims for revolutionary losses.

Senate Reports, No. 219, 31st Congress, 2d Session, vol. i, December 12, 1850.

Adverse to claims for revolutionary losses.

House Reports, No. 65, 41st Congress, 3d Session, vol. i, March 3, 1871.

Recommending appropriation of $65,000 for the college.

House Reports, No. 9, 42d Congress, 2d Session, vol. i, January 29, 1872.

This contains the favorable report of the Committee on Education and Labor, recommending a bill to reimburse the College of William and Mary for property destroyed during the civil war, by "disorderly soldiers of the United States." The sum of sixty-four thousand dollars was proposed for reimbursement.

House Miscellaneous Documents, No. 247, 43d Congress, 1st Session, vol. iii, April 13, 1874.

Urging Congress to make an appropriation for William and Mary College.

House Reports, No. 203, 44th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, March 3, 1876.

This contains Senator Hoar's historical tribute to the College of William and Mary.

House Reports, No. 12, 45th Congress, 2d Session, vol. i, December 5, 1877.

Favorable to relief for loss of property during the late war.

Andrew Ten Brook. American State Universities: Their Origin and Progress. A History of Congressional University Land Grants. A particular Account of the Rise and Development of the University of Michigan, and Hints toward the Future of the American University System. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1875.

This valuable work, the pioneer in the systematic historical treatment of American universities, contains an excellent although rapid sketch of the higher education in Virginia.

The College Book, edited by Charles F. Richardson and Henry A. Clark. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

Another pioneer work, admirably supplementing that of Professor Ten Brook, for it relates chiefly to the older and more independent college foundations. William and Mary College follows Harvard University. The Virginia institution is well described by the editors, and remarkably well illustrated by the heliotype process.

Remarks of Benjamin S. Ewell, President of the College of William and Mary, before the Committee of Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, January 24, 1872.

Report and Address of President Ewell, at the convocation in Richmond, April 18, 1879.

Letter from President Ewell to H. B. Adams, concerning the present situation and prospects of the College of William and Mary.

The following interesting communication is absolutely the most recent and authoritative information from Williamsburg, Va. President Ewell represents the college in the most unique manner. He might say with perfect truth, *Le collége, c'est moi!*

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT EWELL.

"COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

"(*Founded* 1693.)

"Session begins second Wednesday in October,
and ends the 4th of July following.

"*Williamsburg, Va., January* 19, 1887.

"PROFESSOR HERBERT B. ADAMS:

"*Dear Sir:*—Do not suppose that my delay in replying to your letter of the 14th ultimo has arisen from any failure on my part to gratefully appreciate the proof it gave of your interest in this old college. The manifestations of similar interest by gentlemen

prominent in their several walks of life all over the country assure me now, as they have done since 1865, that existing difficulties will in time be overcome, and that this institution will take another lease of educational life. That President Gilman shares in the possession of this interest I know from a limited correspondence I have had with him.

"There are no students here now, and I am the only person belonging to the college faculty at the present time. The college was forced to incur a building debt after 1865, and its endowment, greatly diminished by the accidents of war, was not sufficient to pay this debt and support a faculty. After repeated attempts to do both, it became evident that the vitality of the college required a temporary closing, and the annual proceeds of its endowment to be applied to the payment of its pecuniary obligations. As the faculty is the corporation, its chartered and corporate title being "The President and Masters or Professors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia," it was necessary to preserve the form of the faculty, with the minimum of substance. Under this policy the debts have been reduced from $28,000 to about $7,000. When this indebtedness is satisfied it is estimated that the college will have its buildings and contents, worth some $80,000, and an endowment of $40,000, more or less, yielding an income of $2,500. With this as a nucleus, free from all incumbrance, it may happen that some of the liberal northern men will complete its endowment. * * *

"A year or two ago a wealthy Bostonian died, and in his will was a legacy to the college of $400,000. To this will there had been a codicil annexed, transferring the gift to the University of Virginia. The college wishes the death of no one, but may not, in time, a wealthy benefactor insert a similar provision in his will and, unfortunately, "join the great majority" before he annexes such a mischievous codicil!

"The above pretty well answers your questions—most of them I should say, for there is one relating to the college bell not yet attended to. There is an ancient tradition connected with the college to the effect that a full session of students followed the ringing of its bell[1] on the 1st of October at sunrise. The session began early in October. The transformation of this tradition into a daily ringing by me exceeds the story of the 'Three black crows.' But, to compensate, it has given me a wide reputation as a 'bell-ringer,' equal or superior to that of the celebrated 'Swiss bell-ringers.' So I laugh at the story without murmuring or contradicting. I send you a catalogue of the college (general), and inclose one or two extracts from newspapers.

"Most respectfully, yours,

"BENJ. S. EWELL."

[1] Regarding the bell-ringing at the opening of each academic year, the writer has been assured, on independent testimony from Williamsburg, that the old custom is still kept up. And here is collateral evidence from a northern man, Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, who visited William and Mary College in the spring of 1886: "The old, gray-haired president, as each October comes round, goes to the college and has the old college bell rung, as a formality to still retain the charter." The writer may remark, *en passant*, that the charter does not require this annual duty; but tradition and the general consensus of Virginians compel us to believe in the *propriety* of the custom! The writer's friend, Mr. Mead, says that he talked with President Ewell there in Williamsburg "in these last May days," and that the good president "believes that the bell will yet be heard." In a letter which Mr. Mead received from President Ewell, the latter said: "I believe some northern man will immortalize himself by re-endowing William and Mary College, and that it will be again as useful as it has been in the past." Mr. Mead quoted this in a lecture in the Old South Church in Boston, and put the question: "Who is the northern man that will hear this prophecy and fulfill it?"

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.

EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS, PH. D.

No. 1.

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS. (*Published* 1887.)

No. 2.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS. (*Published* 1888.)

No. 3.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY CHARLES L. SMITH. (*Published* 1888.)

No. 4.

HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY C. MERIWETHER. (*In Press.*)

No. 5.

EDUCATION IN GEORGIA.

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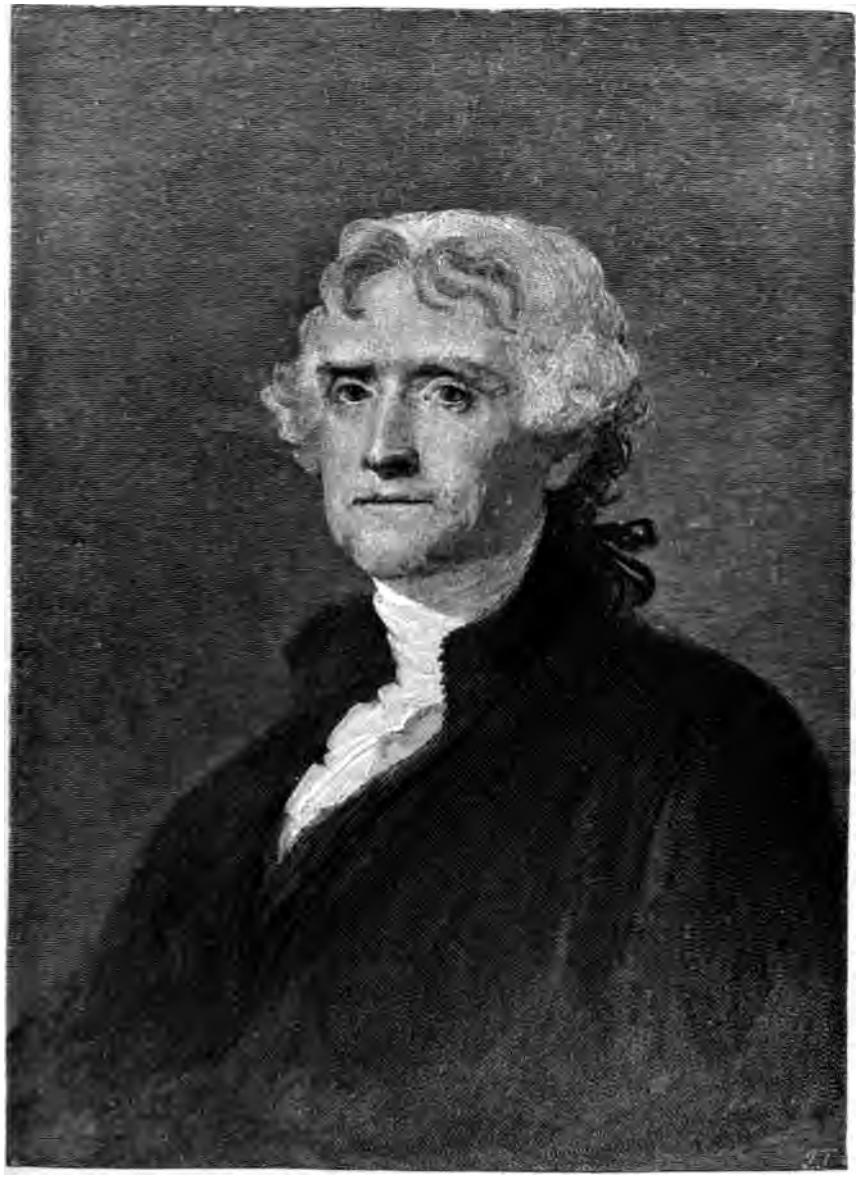
No. 6.

EDUCATION IN FLORIDA.

BY GEORGE GARY BUSH. (*In Press.*)

Monographs on other States in Preparation.



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U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION
CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION NO. 1, 1888

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY
EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

No. 2

THOMAS JEFFERSON

AND

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

BY

HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D.
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH

AUTHORIZED SKETCHES OF HAMPDEN-SIDNEY, RANDOLPH-MACON, EMORY-HENRY, ROANOKE, AND RICHMOND COLLEGES, WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, AND VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1888

17036—No. 1

"The University of Virginia, as a temple dedicated to science and liberty, was, after his [Jefferson's] retirement from the political sphere, the object nearest his heart, and so continued to the close of his life. His devotion to it was intense, and his exertions unceasing. It bears the stamp of his genius, and will be a noble monument of his fame. His general view was to make it a nursery of republican patriots, as well as genuine scholars." (James Madison: Letter concerning Jefferson, November 2, 1826.)

"Our University, the last of my mortal cares, and the last service I can render my country." (Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell.)

"Our views are catholic for the improvement of our country by science." (Jefferson to George Ticknor.)

"No man of the time threw so much solid matter into his compositions as Mr. Jefferson." (Jared Sparks.)

"No cause deserves more generous support than that of higher education in the Southern States." (George William Curtis.)

"Any one who will visit the Southern colleges and schools will find in them a generation of students, alert, vigorous, manly, and tremendously in earnest. It is evident that a race of exceptional moral earnestness and mental vigor is now growing up in the South, and that it is sure to be heard from." (The Century Magazine: Topics of the Time.)

"The University is the natural ornament and the bright consummate flower of democracy." (Senator George F. Hoar: Address at the laying of the corner-stone of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., October 22, 1887.)

The University "is an institution which better than anything else symbolizes the aim and tendencies of modern life." (Bishop Spalding, at the founding of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1888.)

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LETTER.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D C., December 9, 1887.

The Honorable THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The interest awakened by the history of the College of William and Mary, prepared by Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, and published by this Bureau as Circular of Information No. 1, 1887; and the Study of History in American Colleges and Universities, also prepared by Dr. Adams, and published as Circular of Information No. 2, 1887, justifies a further inquiry into the history of higher education in the State of Virginia, and in other States of the American Union. The work should be done gradually and methodically. Without attempting to cover the entire field at once, I have thought it wise to encourage the preparation by Dr. Adams of a special monograph concerning Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, with brief historical sketches of the various colleges in that State. Jefferson's work was of fundamental importance in the establishment of the University of Virginia, which is the historical successor of the College of William and Mary. The connection of the two institutions has been clearly traced by Dr. Adams in Jefferson's projects for educational reform. The first idea of the University of Virginia was the proposed transformation of the old colonial college into something higher and broader. But this idea failed of realization by reason of sectarian opposition to an Episcopal establishment. The present University of Virginia is an interesting illustration of the possible union of religious interests in the support of higher education by the State.

Jefferson was the first conspicuous advocate in this country of centralization in university education, and of decentralization in preparatory and common schools. He was a thorough believer in the concentration of State aid upon higher educational interests, and in the support of primary and secondary education by local taxation and private philanthropy. In his judgment, local government and common schools should have been established together and concurrently in the State of Virginia. He would have subdivided the counties into "hundreds" or "wards," corresponding to the militia districts, and have made the district school-house the place of local assembly and primary education.

The training of every community to good citizenship and self-help by active participation in local affairs, such as the support of schools, roads, and bridges, was the ideal of popular education in the mind of Jefferson. He proposed that the children should be taught not merely reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, but also through reading books the history of the world and their own country. Such an educational ideal, at once sound, sensible, and thoroughly democratic, is worthy of reconsideration after the lapse of more than a century since it was first proclaimed.

Jefferson devised an ingenious plan whereby the boys of best talent, the sons of the people, might be discovered and sent forward, although poor, to preparatory colleges, and finally to the University of Virginia. Such a plan is now in practical operation in the State of New York, in connection with Cornell University, which accepted the agricultural college land grant upon the condition of free education to talented graduates of local high schools and academies, and also prevails in many other States, where young men receive the benefits of the higher education, without charge for tuition, at the State universities and agricultural land-grant colleges. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest are great needs in American schools, colleges, and universities. Jefferson's ideas, if they should ever be realized throughout the country, will deliver us on the one hand from the over-education of mediocrity, and on the other from the under-education of genius. It is the duty of democracy to evolve from itself the highest talent, not only for government and administration, but for the advancement of science and the arts.

The idea is far too prevalent that the American people have done their whole duty in everywhere instituting common schools by State authority. Popular education in this form is indeed a recognized necessity, and, generally speaking, it is an accomplished fact; but there is a higher form of popular education, to the necessity of which the people as a whole have not yet risen. That form is university education in the interest of good government and the promotion of science in these United States.

Washington had this higher form of education in mind when he said to Congress that "a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation," and when he advocated a national institution in which the primary object should be "the education of our youth in the science of government."

Jefferson had it in mind when he was urging the State Legislature to establish the University of Virginia, and when he thus defined the objects of the higher education:

"To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend; to expound the principles of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unneces-

sary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another; to harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry; to develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order; to enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts and administer to the health, the subsistence, and the comforts of human life; and, finally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others and of happiness within themselves. These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the Legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, the gratification and happiness of their fellow-citizens."

Jefferson's views upon the relation of the State to university education are so striking and so timely in these days, when some Legislatures are treating State universities in a grudging, short-sighted, and parsimonious spirit, that I can not refrain from quoting still further from that remarkable report which decided the establishment of the University of Virginia:

"Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think they do not better the condition of men; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private, individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, is far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage, or not at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. * * * Nor must we omit to mention * * * the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation."

While the present monograph describes, for the encouragement of the friends of higher education, the triumph of what was called in Virginia the "holy cause of the University," after nearly fifty years of arduous struggle by Jefferson with popular indifference and local jealousy and ill-advised opposition, the study is not without its interest for the friends of primary education, which Jefferson had quite as much at heart as university education.

He believed in aiming at the highest, as did the founders of Harvard and William and Mary Colleges. He believed that with the opening of mountain sources of learning, the lower valleys and broadening plains

of popular education would the better flourish. In studying the historical origin of the University of Virginia, we discover its connection with enlarged and wide-reaching ideas of a system of public education, the influence of which should extend far beyond the borders of a single State.

In the extensive correspondence, legislative inquiries, reports of educational commissions, and legislative enactments which led to the foundation of the University of Virginia in 1819, we have a rich fund of suggestive ideas for the founders of educational institutions, whether public or private, high or low. The range of thought is from a district school to a national university. These ideas are all the more interesting, because the best of them are clearly the product of Jefferson's thoroughly democratic mind, enriched by higher education, by travel, and by an intelligent study of the best institutions of learning in the New and in the Old World. It is surprising to observe how Jefferson anticipated many of the modern educational ideas which have come into conspicuous favor since his day. For instance, non-sectarianism in university education; ethics and the languages of the Old and New Testaments as a suitable university basis for theological training; the importance of the academic study of history, politics, and economics; the teaching of history in common schools by means of reading-books; the practical value of the modern languages; the significance of German studies, particularly of Anglo-Saxon; the early English origin of free institutions; the advantage of student self-government as a substitute for faculty-espionage; physical education; military training of students; manual and industrial training; the connection of higher education with the higher interests of the American people. Jefferson seemed to recognize that our schools, colleges, and universities, if they are to serve efficiently the state or country in which they are placed, must have broad foundations, and cultivate, instead of selfish exclusiveness, a noble popularity which does honor to the Republic.

To the University of Virginia, Jefferson's creation, the whole country is indebted for the following distinguished services to the higher education: (1) The recognition of real university standards of instruction and scholarship. (2) The absolute repression of the class-system and the substitution of merit for seniority in the award of degrees. (3) The first complete introduction of the elective system. (4) The establishment of distinct "schools," in which great subjects were grouped; for example, ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, law and politics; each school having its autonomy and its own standard of graduation. (5) The institution of constitutional government, in academic form, with an appointed president or chairman of the faculty, holding office for one year, but eligible for reappointment by the board of visitors. (6) The promotion of self-government among the students, with the cultivation of an *esprit de corps* sustaining high standards of academic honor and scholarship.

I beg leave to recommend the publication of this monograph, which illustrates the educational views and wide influence of the Father of the

University of Virginia, who was also one of the founders of this Republic.

The monograph contains, besides Dr. Adams' original researches, an interesting and valuable study by one of his graduate students at the Johns Hopkins University, Mr. William P. Trent, of Richmond, who earned his degree of Master of Arts at the University of Virginia, and who, at Dr. Adams' suggestion, has investigated the influence of Jefferson's institution upon the life and thought of the South. Mr. Trent has also prepared, with very great labor, statistical tables showing the various lines of public and professional activity taken by the alumni of the University, now widely scattered throughout the Southern States.

Following these tables is an authorized sketch of the present condition and organization of the University, by Professor John B. Minor. A bibliography of the best sources of information is appended by the editor. Authorized sketches of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, Emory and Henry, Roanoke, and Richmond Colleges, and of Washington and Lee University, have been secured through local co-operation. Illustrations for the work have been obtained from a variety of sources. The most interesting are copies of Jefferson's original drawings for the construction of the University buildings.

This contribution to the educational history of Virginia is the first of a State series, which, with your approval, Dr. Adams will continue to edit for the Bureau of Education. The present monograph will be followed by historical studies of education in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, by student representatives of those States.

The Bureau of Education has now in course of preparation a second co-operative series, on the history of higher education in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, to mark educationally the centenary of the first settlement of the old Northwest Territory. This plan of work has been undertaken with your sanction, and will be continued during the coming winter.

I deem it not improper, in the conclusion of this letter, to express how deeply the Bureau of Education is indebted to your generous and liberal encouragement, in its efforts to aid and broaden the scope and usefulness of its work.

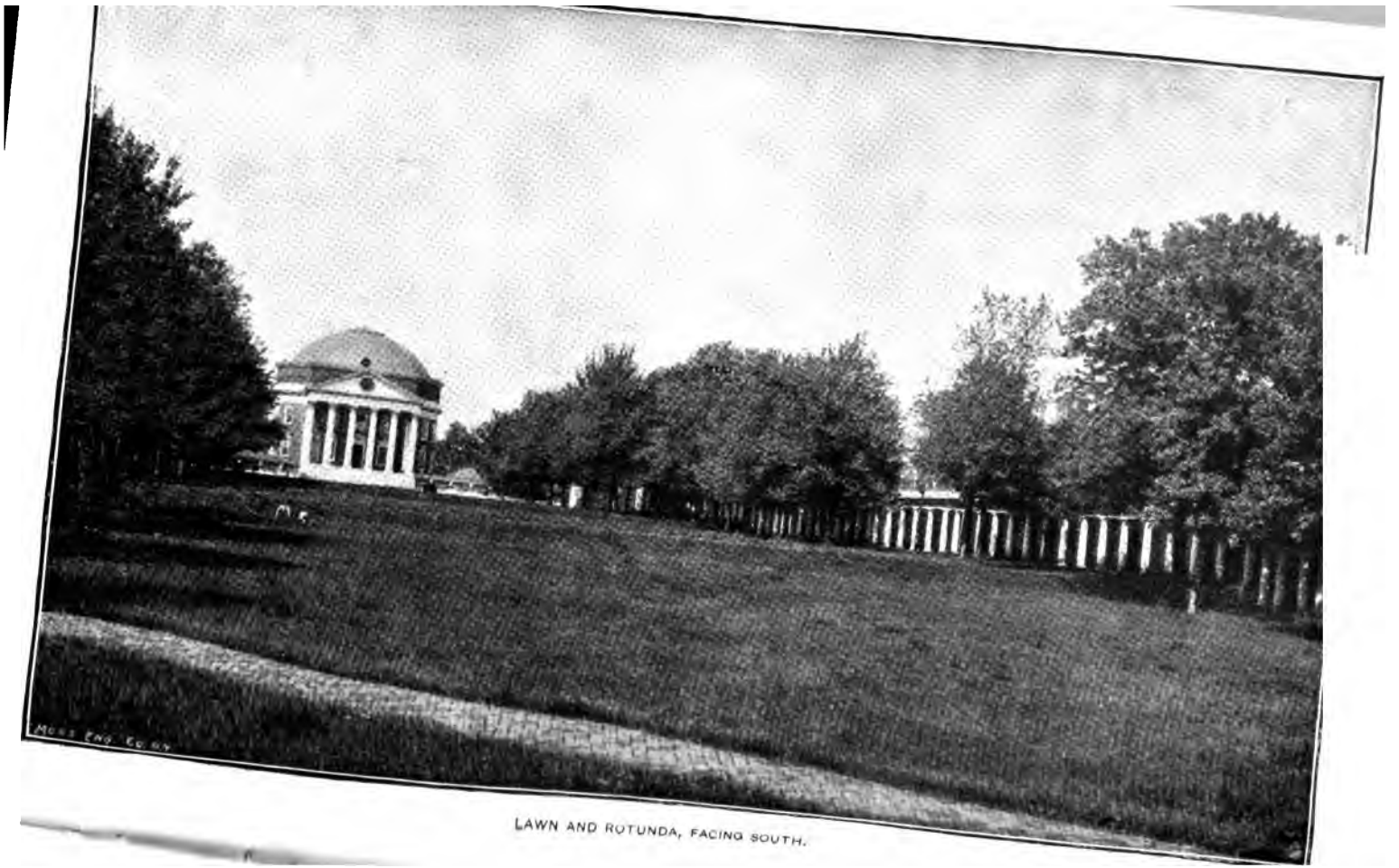
In being elevated to that august tribunal which presides over one of the three departments of this great Union of States, you will carry with you the best wishes of the friends of education, and will view from a higher stand-point the value and beneficence of public education to the whole country.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

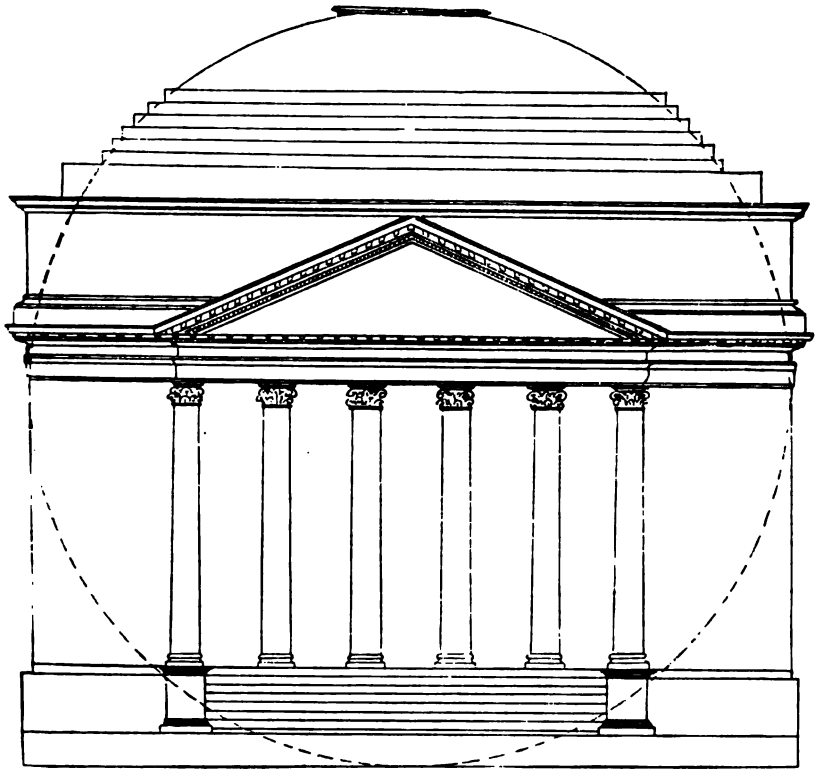
N. H. R. DAWSON,
Commissioner.

Approved.

L. Q. C. LAMAR,
Secretary.

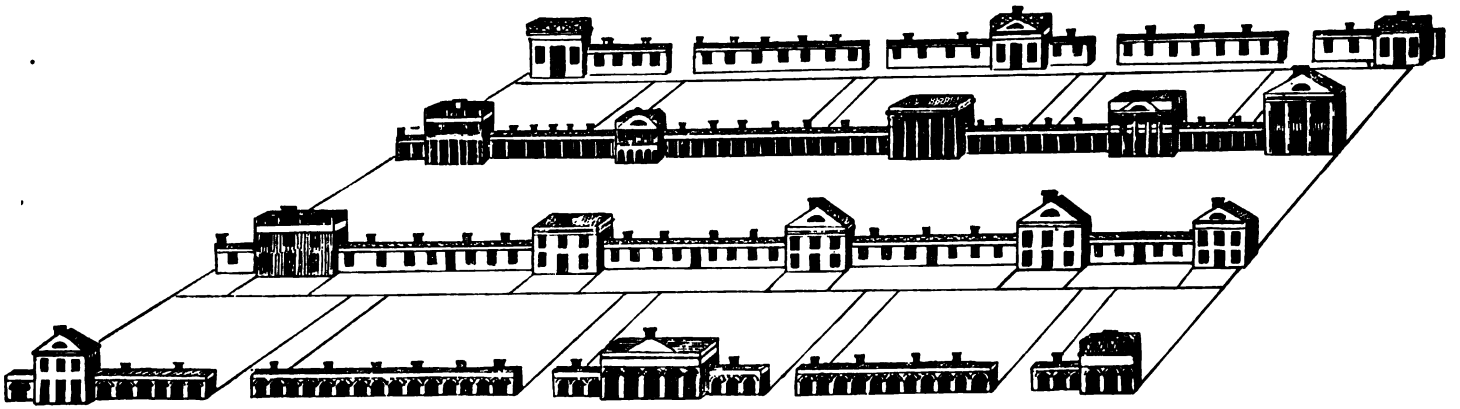


LAWN AND ROTUNDA, FACING SOUTH.



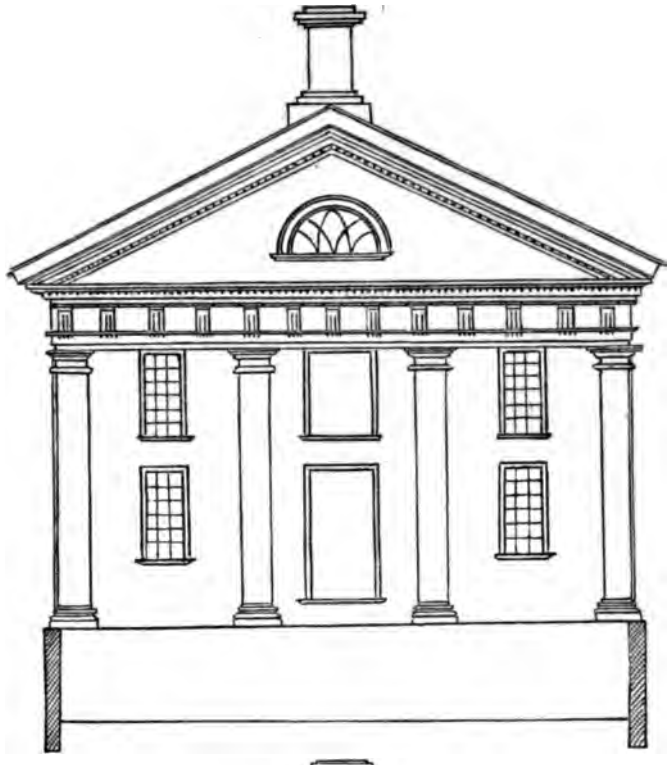
JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

This plate is marked in the corner, in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting, "Library" On a separate sheet are given the plans for the first and second floors, and on the back of this separate sheet are given the calculations for bricks and materials necessary for the building. These calculations are headed as follows: "Rotunda reduced to the proportions of the Pantheon and accommodated to the purposes of a Library for the University, with rooms for drawing, music, examinations, and other accessory purposes. The diameter of the building, 77 feet, being one-half that of the Pantheon, consequently one-fourth its area and one-eighth its volume."



JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

This was drawn in India ink by Mr. Jefferson and shaded by his granddaughter, Cornelia J. Randolph.



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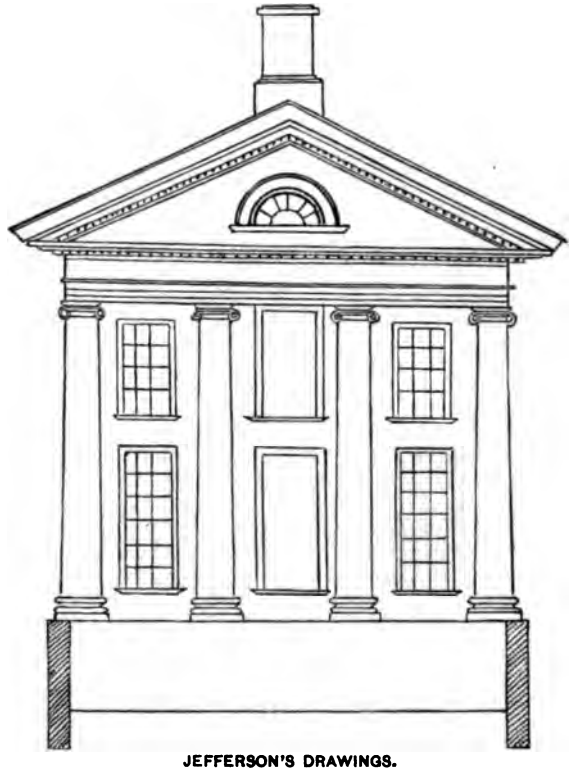
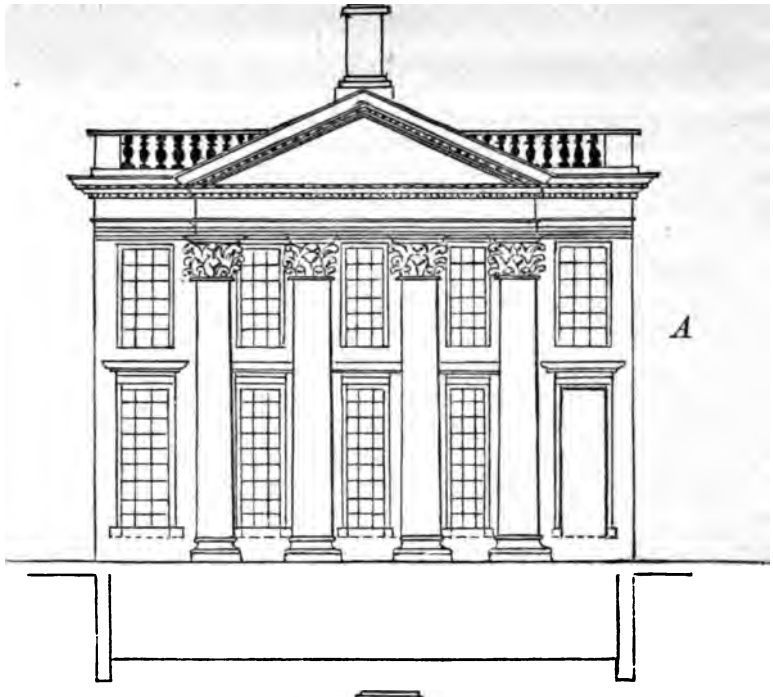
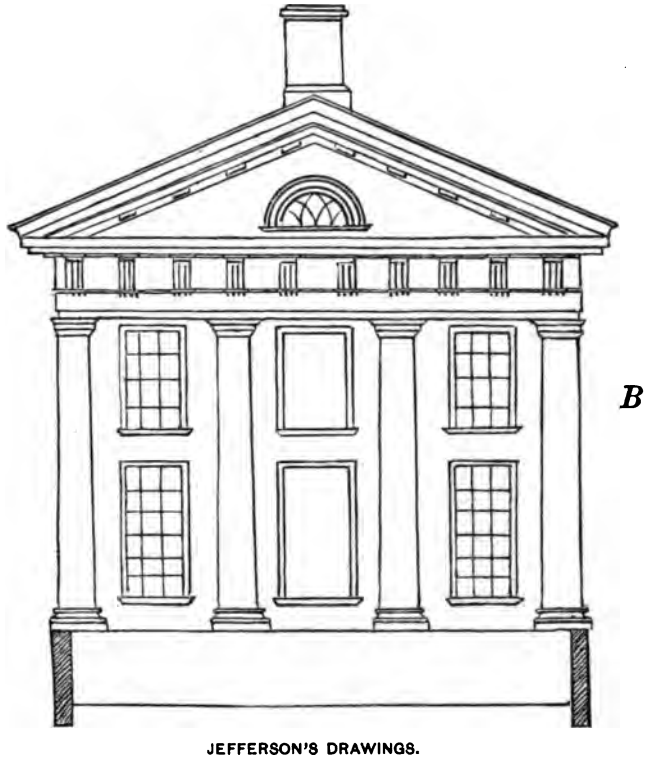


B

JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

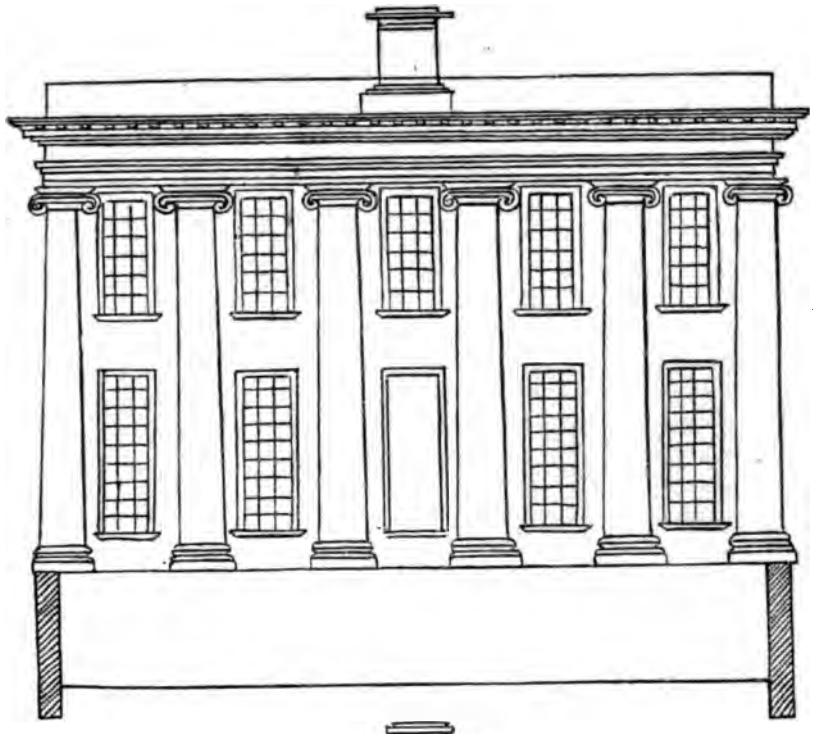
A.—Pavilion No. I (west): The *Doric of Diocletian's Baths*—Chambray.
B.—Pavilion *No. II (east): Ionic of* Fortuna Virilis.





JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

A.—Pavilion No. III (west): Corinthian of Palladio.
B.—Pavilion No. IV (east): Doric of Albano.



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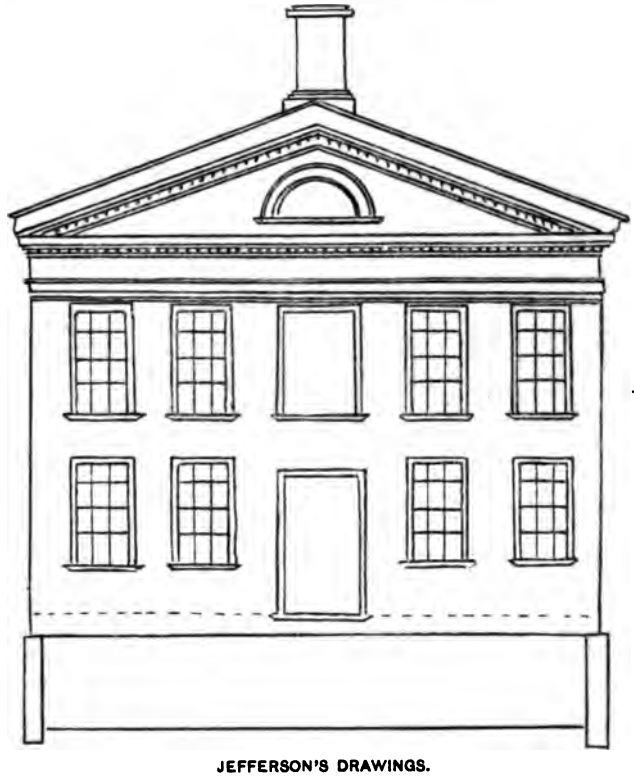
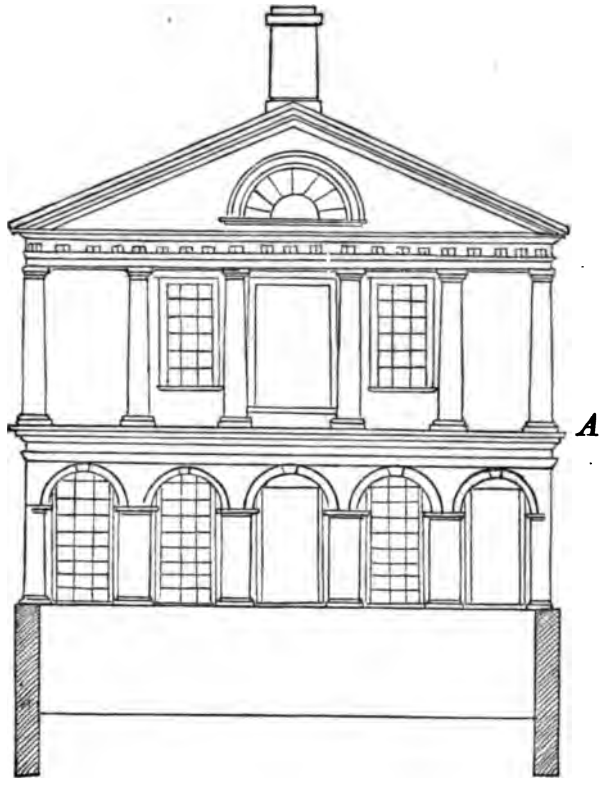


B

JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

A.—Pavilion *No. V (west)*: Palladio's Ionic order with modillions.
B.—Pavilion No. VI (east): Ionic of the Theatre of Marcellus.



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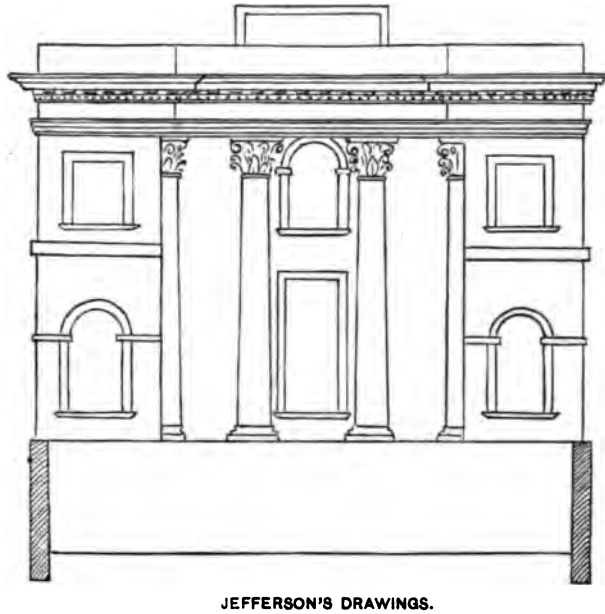
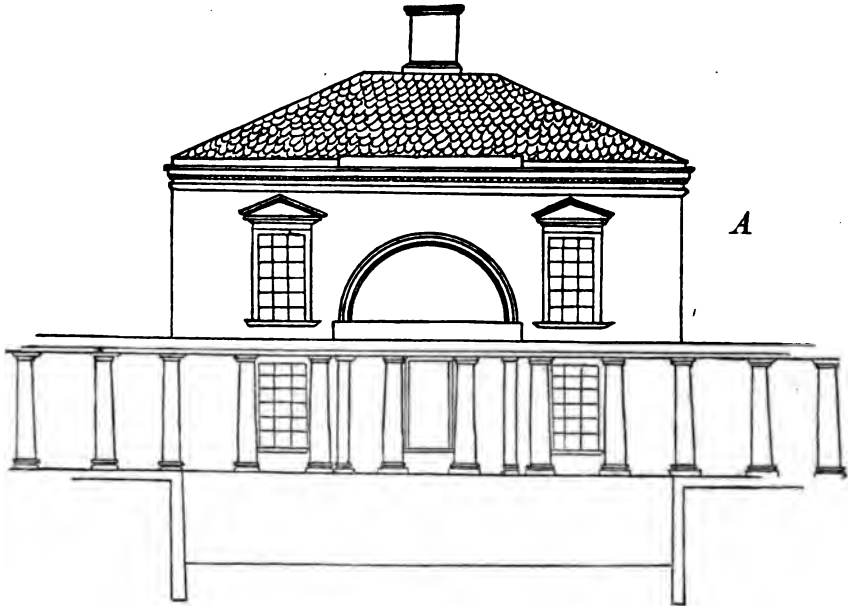


B

JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

A.—Pavilion No. VII (west): Doric of Palladio.
B.—Pavilion No. VIII (east): Corinthian—Diocletian's Baths.



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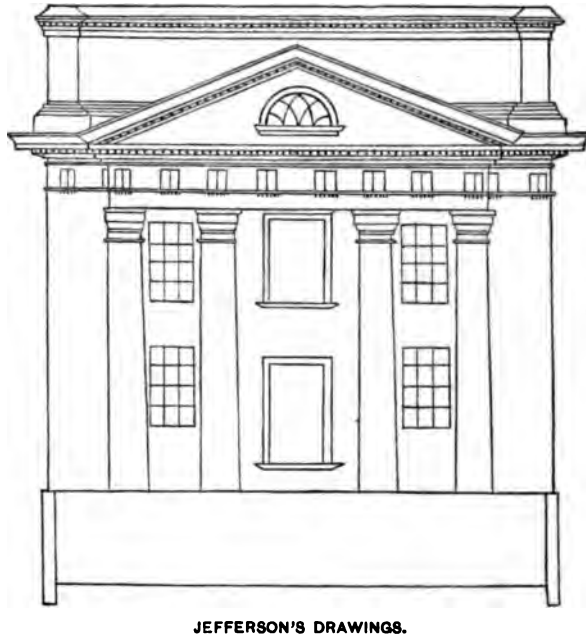
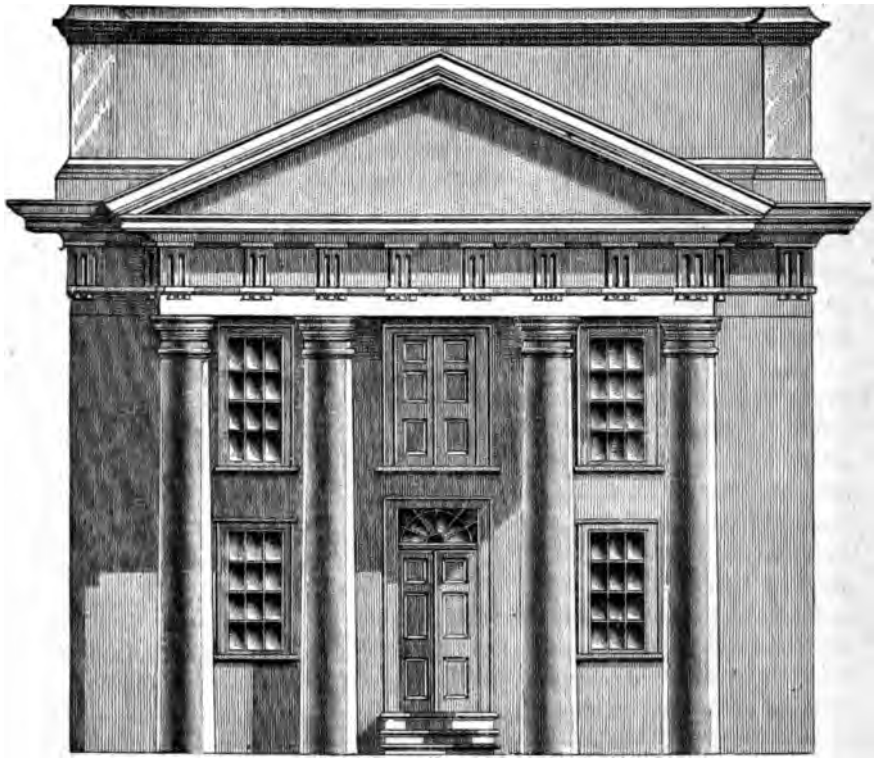


B

JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

A.—Pavilion No. IX (west): Ionic of Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
B.—Pavilion No. X (east): Doric of the Theatre of Marcellus.



This sketch was no doubt made by Mr. Jefferson's granddaughter, Cornelia J. Randolph, and must have been taken from some book on architecture. It seems to have served as a model for "Pavilion No. X (east): Doric of the Theatre of Marcellus." The model was modified in No. X. It is interesting, as the original may some time be found, and the source of Mr. Jefferson's inspiration, for this building at least, discovered.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

INTRODUCTION.

"An institution," said Emerson, "is the lengthened shadow of one man." The truth of this epigrammatic saying is richly illustrated in the history of church, state, and society. Conspicuous examples occur in the founding of towns, cities, schools, colleges, and universities. There are many noble institutions which, if we look backward, seem to cast the lengthening shadows of individual influence across the valleys of history; but, if we look forward, such institutions are seen to be the advancing and growing light of the world.

It is not enough to consider the founders of human institutions as standing apart and alone. Men should be viewed historically in their relation to society. Institutions are rarely the product of one man's original ideas. Suggestions have usually been taken from other men and other institutions. There is a subtle genealogy in human creations which is as complex as the relations of man to society and to past generations. Just as every individual human life is a long train of lives, carrying the hereditary forces of family and race—a ghostly train of progenitors, with their good or evil tendencies—so every human institution is the historical resultant of many individual forces, which the will-power of one man or one set of men has brought into effective combination at some opportune time.

JEFFERSON'S ALMA MATER.

Thomas Jefferson is justly called the "Father of the University of Virginia." That institution is clearly the lengthened shadow of one man. But William and Mary College was the *alma mater* of Thomas Jefferson. There at Williamsburg, in intimate association with a Scotch professor of mathematics and philosophy, with a scholarly lawyer, and with the Governor of the colony, Thomas Jefferson, of Albemarle, the son of a Virginia planter, received his first bent toward science and higher education, toward law and politics, the fields in which he afterward excelled. Jefferson's first idea of a university for Virginia is inseparably connected with his proposed transformation of William and Mary College, of which, as Governor of the State, he became, *ex officio*, a visitor in 1779. The writer has already explained in his sketch of William and Mary College why that ancient ecclesiastical institution, the oldest of all

colleges in the South, and, next to Harvard, the oldest in the country, failed to become a State university. The present monograph will show how an educational germ, springing from William and Mary College, invigorated by fresh ideas from beyond the sea, and transplanted to a more favorable environment, developed into larger life through the fostering care of Thomas Jefferson, supported by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Institutions like that royal old college at Williamsburg[1] never really die. They bring forth fruit in old age. Their strength is renewed, like the eagle's. They transmit their life to others in ways no less remarkable than are the processes of nature.

HISTORY OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE CONTINUED.

This study of the early history of the University of Virginia was begun as a natural continuation of the history of William and Mary College, but it has led to a much wider view of the subject than was originally intended. The monograph now embraces a survey, not only of Jefferson's educational work, but of the history of higher education throughout the State. In the latter part of his work, the author has received efficient co-operation from the representatives of the various Virginia colleges and universities. While under special obligations to professors and college presidents, whose names are mentioned in their proper connection, very particular thanks are due to the chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, Col. Charles S. Venable, to the distinguished head of the law school of that institution, Professor John B. Minor, and to Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, for the kind assistance and material information afforded the present writer.

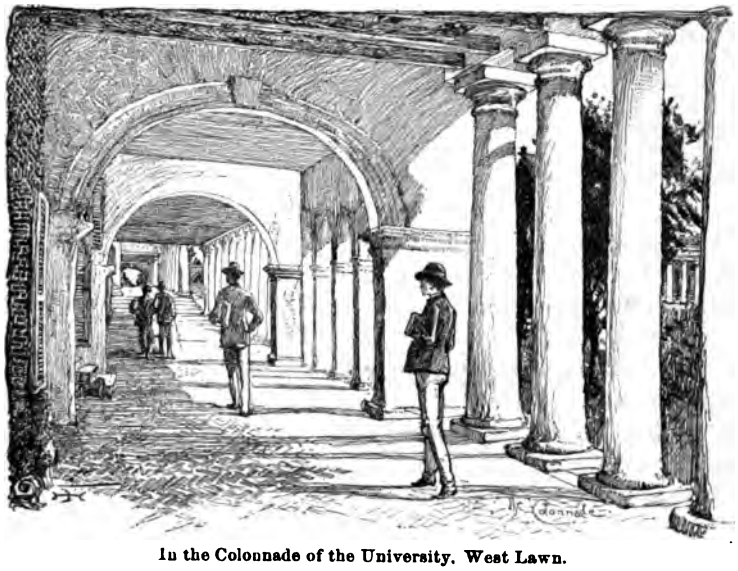
JEFFERSON'S ORIGINAL DRAWINGS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Grateful acknowledgments are made to Miss Sarah N. Randolph, of Baltimore, for placing at the service of the writer the original drawings, plans, and estimates for the University of Virginia, prepared by her great-grandfather, Thomas Jefferson, whose correspondence and papers were edited by her father, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. These unique illustrative materials, preserved as heirlooms by the Randolph family, throw a wonderful light upon the origin of the University. The observer realizes as never before how entirely and absolutely that institution was the historic product of one man's mind. Not only the University itself as an academic organization, but the very ground-plan and structure of its buildings, every material estimate and every architectural detail, are the work of Thomas Jefferson.

[1] The recent revival of William and Mary College by the Legislature of Virginia is a gratifying proof of popular interest in higher education and in the historical associations of that ancient institution. The college is to become a higher training school for the teachers of Virginia. The superintendent of public instruction, Dr. John L. Buchanan, has been appointed president, and the various chairs of instruction, including History and English, will soon be filled anew.

The thousand and one matters which college presidents and boards of trustees usually leave to professional architects and skilled labor, were thought out and carefully specified on paper by the "Father of the University of Virginia."

The student begins to appreciate the significance of the above phrase when he sees Jefferson's original survey of the ground for a campus or lawn, and his mathematical location of the buildings, with the minutest directions regarding every one. Cellars and foundation walls, windows, doors, roofs, chimneys, floors, partitions, stairs, the very bricks and timber requisite for every dormitory, were all estimated with nicest accuracy. "The covered way in front of the whole range of buildings is to be Tuscan, with columns of brick rough cast, their diameter 16 inches, but in front of the pavilion to be arches, in order to support the columns of the portico above more solidly." Not only did Jefferson draw plans and make estimates for every important feature of the University, but he trained his brick-makers, masons, and carpenters, and superintended every operation. He even designed tools and implements for his men, and taught them how to cover roofs with tin. One or two skilled workmen were imported from Italy to chisel the marble capitals of those classic columns which support the porticos of the pavilions in which the professors now live, but the chief work was done by home talent under Jefferson's watchful eye.

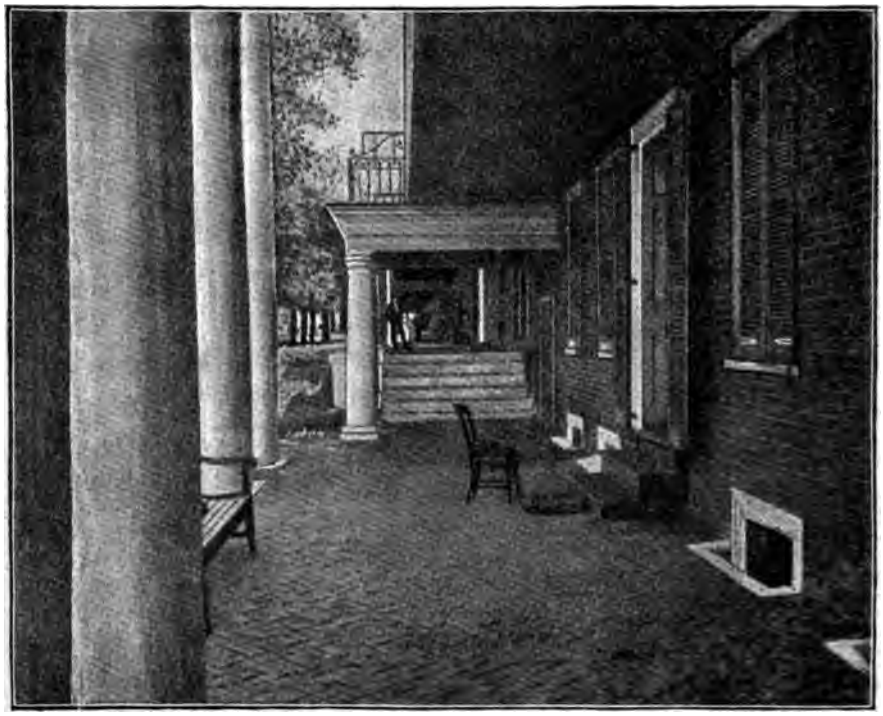


In the Colonnade of the University. West Lawn.
[*Published by courtesy of the Century Company.*]

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES.

A visitor pacing slowly through those monastic colonnades extending along two sides of the great quadrangle campus of the University of Virginia will receive a strange variety of impressions from the extraordinary architectural combinations which greet his wandering

eyes. The arcades themselves, from which open directly the single-chambered rooms of the students, remind one of cloistered walks in some ancient monastery. These student-rooms are like monkish cells. But what wonderful façades are those which front the professors' houses or pavilions! They reproduce classic styles of architecture.

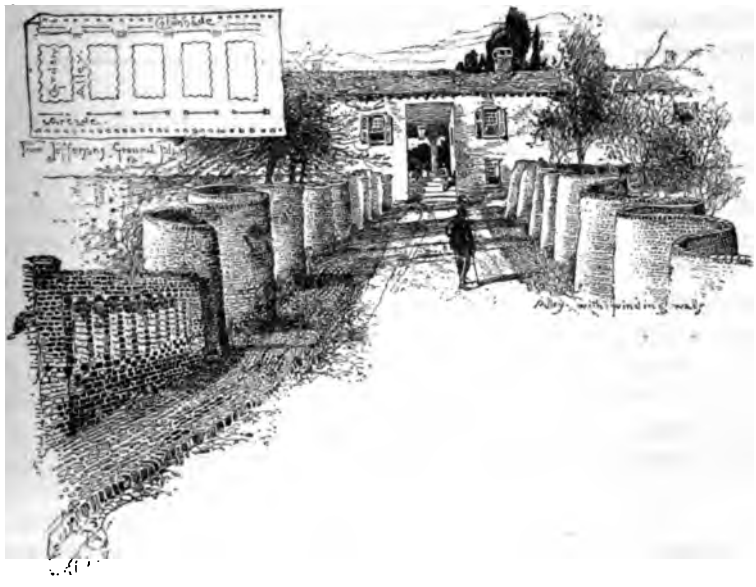


In the Colonnade of the University, East Lawn.

The shadows of remote antiquity are cast upon those beautiful grassy lawns which form the campus, or, shall we say, the *campo santo*, of the University of Virginia. From Jefferson's drawings we learn, what is now well-nigh forgotten, that these varying types of classical architecture were copied from well-known Roman buildings, pictured by Palladio[1] in his great work on architecture. There in the theatre

[1] "The Architecture of A. Palladio, in four books, containing a short treatise of the five orders, and the most necessary observations concerning all sorts of buildings: as also the different construction of private and public houses, highways, bridges, market-places, xystes, and temples, with their plans, sections, and uprights, revised, designed, and published, by Giacomo Leoni, a Venetian, architect to His most Serene Highness, the late Elector Palatine; translated from the Italian original. The third edition corrected. With notes and remarks of Inigo Jones: now first taken from his original manuscript in Worcester College Library, Oxford. And also as an Appendix, containing the Antiquities of Rome, written by A. Palladio. And a Discourse of the Fires of the Ancients, never before translated. In two volumes. London, 1742." Palladio's service to architecture has recently been made the subject of an interesting article in the Nation, December 29, 1887, under the title "Palladio at Vicenza." There is also an interesting sketch of Palladio in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

of Marcellus dwells the household of Professor Minor. Yonder are reminders of the baths of Diocletian, the baths of Caracalla, and of the temple of Fortuna Virilis. And there, at the upper or northern end of the quadrangle, stands the Roman Pantheon, the temple of all the gods, reduced to one-third of its original size, but still majestic and imposing. This building, with its rotunda, upon which Jefferson spent almost as much pains as Michael Angelo did upon the dome of St. Peter's, is used for the library and for various lecture halls. Young people dance merrily under that stately dome at the end of the academic year. The young monks thus escape from their cells into the modern social world. How charmingly old Rome, mediæval Europe, and modern America blend together before the very eyes of young Virginia!



Alley and Serpentine Brick Walls leading through Professors' Gardens to the Central Lawns.

[*Published by courtesy of the Century Company.*]

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND.

There is a manifest unity in Jefferson's institutional creation, and yet a reflecting student cannot fail to see that there is an interesting historical background to this beautiful picture. In the material structure of the University of Virginia there is much to remind the traveller of Old World forms, and in the documentary history of the institution itself there are many indications of European influence upon the mind of Jefferson. These things have greatly interested the present writer, and they may not be unworthy of the attention of friends of American educational history, in which so little work has been done, especially in the Southern States. The formative influences which entered into the making of the University of Virginia are doubtless more

numerous than those described in the following monograph; but Jefferson was the master and controller of them all. It is no detraction from his individual power of origination to open the volume of his large experience in the world, and to point out here and there his connection with men and things that shaped his purpose to its noble end. Instead of evolving the University of Virginia entirely out of his own inner consciousness, Jefferson combined, in an original and independent creation, the results of academic training, philosophical culture, foreign travel, wide observation, and of an extensive correspondence with the most illustrious educators of his time. His intelligent study of Old World institutions prepared him to devise something new for Virginia and America. How the idea of one man became the sovereign will of the State, after a struggle of fifty years for the higher education, is an instructive study, affording grounds for encouragement in these modern days.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY AT RICHMOND.

SURVIVAL OF FRENCH INFLUENCE.

A very remarkable attempt was made in the latter part of the eighteenth century to establish the higher education in this country upon a grand scale. It was an attempt, growing out of the French alliance with the United States, to plant in Richmond, the new capital of Virginia, a kind of French academy of the arts and sciences, with branch academies in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The institution was to be at once national and international. It was to be affiliated with the royal societies of London, Paris, and Brussels, and with other learned bodies in Europe. It was to be composed of a president, a vice-president, six counsellors, a treasurer-general, a secretary, a recorder, an agent for taking European subscriptions, French professors, masters, artists-in-chief attached to the academy, twenty-five resident and one hundred and seventy-five non-resident associates, selected from the best talent of the Old World and of the New.

The academy proposed to publish yearly, from its own press in Paris, an almanac, announcing to the academic world not only the officers and students of the Richmond institution, with their distinguished associates, but also the work projected by the academy from year to year. Such work when completed was to be published in the memoirs of the academy and distributed to the learned societies of Europe and to the associates and patrons of the institution. The academy was to show its active zeal for science by communicating to France and other European countries a knowledge of the natural products of North America. The museums and cabinets of the Old World were to be enriched by specimens of the flora and fauna of a country as yet undiscovered by men of science. Experts of every class were to be sent out from Paris to the new academy, where they were to teach American youth, and at the same time serve on scientific commissions for governments, corporations, and stock companies. These professors were to pay to the academy, for its economic support, one-half of all receipts for instruction and commission work. Special stress was laid upon the importance of

introducing into America French mineralogists and mining engineers. If this latter idea had been realized the mineral resources of the United States would have been exploited in the interest of European capital.

CHEVALIER QUESNAY'S PROJECT.

The projector of this brilliant scheme was the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire, grandson of the famous French philosopher and economist Dr. Quesnay, who was the court physician of Louis XV. Chevalier Quesnay, the grandson, was one of those enthusiastic Frenchmen who, like La Fayette, came over to this country to aid in the war of the Revolution. Led on, he says in his memoir,[1] by the hope of achieving military distinction, Quesnay served as a captain in Virginia during the years 1777–78. A long and severe illness compelled him to give up his military ambition. Having occasion to travel through the country, he conceived the idea of improving it by the introduction of French culture and the fine arts. He saw a good opportunity of multiplying the relations between France and America, or, as he naïvely says, "de la lier avec ma patrie par de nouveaux motifs de reconnaisance, de conformité dans les gouts, et de communication plus intime entre les Individus des deux Nations."

The chevalier says that the first idea of founding an academy in America was suggested to him in 1778, by Mr. John Page, of Rosewell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, who urged him to procure professors from Europe, promising to secure their appointment and make Quesnay president of the academy. The ambitious Frenchman appears to have made diligent propaganda throughout Virginia, and indeed throughout the country, in the interest of his novel academic idea. He even succeeded in raising by subscription the sum of sixty thousand francs,—a fact which indicates that the scheme was seriously entertained. There is a published list of the original subscribers in Virginia, embracing nearly one hundred names.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS IN VIRGINIA.

The following "Liste des Premiers Souscripteurs en Virginie, Année 1786," will have historical interest, for it represents the first contributors to university education at the South: "Messieurs B. Adams, R. Armstead, Moses Austin, Henry Banks, Chiswell Barett, John Barett, Smith Bleakey [Blakey?], Robert Boling, William Booker, Richard Bowler, Robert Boyd, James Bronsley [Brownley?], John Burton, William Burton, Archibald Cary, Cohen & Isaac, William Coulter, Samuel Coush [Couch?], Reuben Coutls [Cutts?], Samuel McCraw, Thomas

[1] Mémoire, Statuts et Prospectus concernant l'Académie des Sciences et Beaux-Arts des États-Unis de l'Amérique, établie à Richemond, capitale de la Virginie; présentés à Leurs Majestés, et à la Famille Royale, par le Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Cailleau, Imprimeur de l'Académie de Richemond, rue Gallande, No. 64, 1788. 118 pp. 12mo.

McCrusey, Francis Dandridge, William Davis, Thomas M. Deane, Henry Dixon, Johns Dixon, William Duval, Serafina Formicula, William Foushée, Gabriel Galt, A. Geoghegen, John Gibson, Erasmus Gill, H. Gironde, Francis Goode, Robert Goode, Thomas Gordon, Francis Graves, Robert Greenhow, John Gunn, John Harvie, William Heslet, Gilbert Hay, Custis Haynes, James Hays, Joseph Higbee, David Humphreys, Daniel Hylton, Francis James, Richard Jernon, John McKeand, John Ker, David Lambert, Robert Lauglin, Benjamin Lewis, William Lewis, Abraham Lott, John McLurg, William Lynn, Sampson Mathews, John May, William Mayo, Dabney Miller, Robert Mitchel, A. Montgomery, Richard Morris, Mme. Susanna Nevens, William Pennoch, George Pickett, Barnet Price, John Prior, N. Raguet, Thomas Randolph, T. M. Randolph, Henry Randolph, Thomas Richard, A. McRobert, Jesse Roper, Thomas Rosses, John Stewart, John Stocdelt [Stockdell?], Tenner [Turner?] Southall, R. Southgates, Thomas Taab, Stephen Tankard, Peter Tinsley, Samuel Trower, Daniel Trunchart [Truehart?], Edward Voss, Daniel Wandeval, James Warington, Foster Web, Bikerton Web, Nathaniel Wilkinson, Isaac Yonghusband, P. Yonghusband."

Some of these old Virginia names are somewhat disguised by the vagaries of a French printing office, but many of them were recognized by Samuel Mordecai,[1] a Richmond antiquary of a former generation. Chevalier Quesnay says the first man who subscribed to his project was Colonel Randolph: "Le Colonel Randolph de Tachao [Tuckahoe], le premier qui ait souscrit, a fait d'autres avances considérables en faveur de cet Établissement." Quesnay says also that "John Harvie, Écuyer, Maire de la ville, Directeur de la Vente des Terres de l'État, est le premier qui ait adopté le projet de cet établissement; il l'a toujours protégé depuis avec fermeté." In order to convince the French public that he had the strongest social support in America, Quesnay referred to a great number of distinguished people in various American cities who had shown him encouragement. In view of the prospective rivalry of the Richmond Academy with old William and Mary College, it is interesting to find Quesnay mentioning, among his friends in Williamsburg, "le Rév. M. Madison, Président de l'Université, MM. John & Thomas Carter; le Général Gibson." He mentions also friends in Norfolk, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria. To Baltimoreans the following local patrons of liberal culture in the eighteenth century will not be without interest: "En Mariland, à Baltimore, M. Martin, Avocat-Général; M. le Docteur Buchanan (fils du feu Général de ce nom); M. Krocket, MM. Vanbibet, Williamson, Provayance Graves, le Colonel Brent, M. Hemsley, le Docteur Courter, etc." Thus the Chevalier Quesnay proceeds in his interesting tour of social progress through the older cities of the Atlantic seaboard, from Baltimore to Philadelphia, Trenton, Elizabeth, Newark, and New York. His local lists of first

[1] Samuel Mordecai: Virginia, especially Richmond, in By-Gone Days. Second edition, p. 205.

families afford an interesting criterion of the cultivated society of the period immediately following the American Revolution. This clever, diplomatic Frenchman evidently had the social entrée wherever he went on his academic mission. While mentioning, among his friends in New York, Governor Clinton, General Courtland, Mr. Duane (then mayor of the city), the Livingstons, Hoffmans, Halletts, Pintards, Seatons, Whites, and the army officers Niven, Ludlow, Ogden, Vandyke, Wool, and others, it is noteworthy that Quesnay speaks of General Baron von Steuben as "le premier de cet État qui ait adopté le projet" of a French academy in America. It was an educated German in New York who first recognized the clever Frenchman's brilliant idea.

LETTER TO FRANKLIN.

Quesnay's project was clearly for something higher than an American college. He had in mind the highest special training of American students in the arts and sciences. The following extract from a letter written to Dr. Franklin by his daughter, Mrs. Bache, doubtless at Quesnay's request, shows how the proposed academy was viewed by educated people at the time. The letter is here translated into English from Quesnay's French version, published in his memoir for the sake of influencing public opinion in France, where the name of Franklin was greatly revered:

"PHILADELPHIA, *February* 27, 1783.

"MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER: With this letter you will receive a project for a French academy which is to be established here. It is a very extensive plan, which will do honor to the gentleman who has designed it, as well as to America. If it can be executed, it will in no way interfere with the plans of the colleges; it will be solely for the completion of the education of young men after they have graduated from college. Those who are already under M. Quesnay have made great progress.

"He regards you as the father of science in this country, and appreciates the advice and instruction which you have never failed to give those whose talents are worthy of recognition. Money is the one thing needful; but the brother of M. Quesnay, when he delivers this letter, will inform you how you can be most serviceable. I know well how occupied you must be in this important crisis; but as a mother who desires to give her children a useful and polite education, and who will be especially proud to have them trained in her own country and under her own eyes, I pray you to give M. Quesnay every aid and assistance that may lie in your power."

Quesnay decided to establish his academy in Richmond, because his earliest American associations and his best friends were in that capital. There he acquired, he says, a superb site for the building. His topographical description of Richmond, with reference to the situation of the academy, is pleasing and graphic: "La position de cette ville est

charmante à tous égards, son emplacement occupe une vallée et deux collines, sur l'une desquelles est bâtie l'Académie. La rivière de James forme, au pied de son enceinte, une superbe cascade, d'environ trois milles de longueur." The exact site of the academy was long ago recorded by Samuel Mordecai, the Richmond antiquary, who probably saw the building with his own eyes. He says, in his charming medley of Richmond history: "The site chosen by M. Quesnay, and on which he erected his academy, is the square on which the Monumental Church and the Medical College now stand, the grounds extending from those lower points up Broad and Marshall to Twelfth Street. The academy stood nearly on the spot where the Carlton House stands."

THE ACADEMY FOUNDED.

The proceedings connected with the laying of the corner-stone are described by Quesnay, in his Memoir, and by the Virginia Gazette for July 1, 1786. The foundation was laid June 24 with masonic ceremonies in the presence of a great concourse of citizens. The mayor of the city, the French consul, and, as Quesnay reported, "deputies of the French nation,"[1] were there to honor the occasion. With the corner-stone was laid a silver plate bearing this inscription, preserved in French in Quesnay's Memoir: "Première Pierre d'une Académie dans la ville de Richemond, Alexandre-Marie Quesnay, étant Président, posée à l'Orient de Richemond, par les Maîtres-Gardiens & Compagnons de la L. No. 31, le jour de la Fête de St. Jean Baptiste, l'An de la V. L. 5786, de l'Ère Vulgaire 1786. John Groves, Maître, James Mercer, Grand Maître, Edmund Randolph, D. P. G. Maître." Upon another silver plate was recorded the following Latin inscription, which perhaps suffered in the printer's hands:

Anno Domini 1786, *Reipublicae* 10, *VIII. Kalendas Julii, Res Virginae administrante Patrik Henri, Academiae quam designavit*

ALEXANDER-MARIA QUESNAY

atque beneficiis plurium Civium bene meritorum adjutus, tandem perficiet, prima fundamenta posuit

JOHANNES HARVIE, *PRAET. URB.*

The six counsellors,[2] chosen by the subscribers to act with President Quesnay, are mentioned in the latter's Memoir of the academy. They were John Harvie, mayor of the city of Richmond, and "allié à la famille de son Excellence M. Jefferson;" Col. Thomas Randolph; Dr.

[1] Quesnay appears to have had several French supporters in his academic undertaking. He says: "M. Claude-Paul Raguet a rendu des services importans à l'Auteur; MM. Audrin, la Case, Omphéry, MM. les Docteurs Noel et le Maire; MM. Dorssière et Bartholomy, et MM. Cureau et Charles-François Duval, *en Virginie* (tous Français) ont appuyé son entreprise."

[2] The Virginia Gazette, May 1, 1786.

James McClurg; Col. Robert Goode; Dr. William Foushée; and Robert Boyd. Benjamin Lewis was appointed treasurer.

Having founded and organized his Academy under the most distinguished auspices, Quesnay returned to Paris, and began an active social and scientific propaganda in the interest of his grand project for uniting intellectually America and France. He called upon the savants of Paris. He visited the studios of artists. He consulted everybody whose opinion, good-will, or active co-operation was worth having. Quesnay was certainly successful in awakening the interest of the most influential people in the idea of establishing a French academy in Richmond. As grandson of a distinguished scholar, and as a returned soldier of France, he was able to obtain access to the highest circles. His project was presented to the King and Queen and to the royal family in a memoir published with the sanction of the royal censor. The most cultivated men of the time appear to have favored Quesnay's undertaking. A commission of the Royal Academy of Science, signed by De la Lande, Thouin, Tenan, and Lavoisier, and certified by its secretary, the Marquis de Condorcet, reported favorably upon the memoir, as did also a similar commission of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, signed by Vernet and other eminent artists. The published list of foreign associates (*Associés Étrangers*) of the Richmond Academy embraces the most distinguished French names in art, science, literature, and politics, together with representative men of England and the United States. French influence naturally predominated.

DISTINGUISHED ASSOCIATES.

Among the celebrities whom Quesnay managed to associate with his Richmond Academy were Beaumarchais, secretary of the King; Condorcet and Dacier, secretaries respectively of the Royal Academies of Science and of Art; the Abbé de Bevi, historiographer of France; Marquis de la Fayette, then a marshal of the armies of the King; Houdon, the sculptor; Malesherbes, minister of state; Lavoisier; the Comte de la Luzerne, minister and secretary of state; Marquis de la Luzerne, royal ambassador to Great Britain; Marquis de Montalembert; the Duc de la Rochefoucauld; Vernet, and many others.

Conspicuous as representatives of England and of America were Dr. Bancroft, of the Royal Society of London; Dr. George Buchanan, of Baltimore, Md., "Président de la Société Physique d'Edinbourg"; Thomas Paine, member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; Dr. Richard Price, of London; Thomas Shippen, of Philadelphia; Jonathan Trumbull, who is described as "John Trombul, à New Haven état de Connecticut"; Dr. Robert Walker, of Petersburg, Va.; Samuel Rutledge, of Charleston, S. C.; Benjamin West, of London, *et al.* Of all the names given, the most significant to a student of American educational history is that of Thomas Jefferson, "Ministre Plénipotentiaire des États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, à Paris."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Living in Paris at this very time, and mentioned by Quesnay among the supporters of the proposed Academy, Jefferson must have been familiar with this early project for introducing the higher education of France into his native State. He looked upon the project with favor, otherwise he would not have allowed his name to be so prominently used in connection with Quesnay's scheme, which was, moreover, supported by some of the best men in Virginia. Indeed, Quesnay's idea was similar to that afterwards cherished by Jefferson himself when, in 1795, he began to correspond with George Washington about the feasibility of removing bodily to Virginia the entire faculty of the Swiss College of Geneva, which was thoroughly French in its form of culture. In this connection it is interesting to find among the associates of the Richmond Academy M. Pictet, "citoyen de Genève," probably the very man with whom Jefferson afterwards corresponded with reference to removal to Virginia. Jefferson himself says that he met some of these Swiss professors in Paris. Undoubtedly it was in that polished circle of learned men, within which Quesnay and Jefferson moved, that the latter's ideas of university education began to take cosmopolitan form. His original idea of a university for Virginia was to develop the curriculum of his *alma mater*, William and Mary College; but we hear nothing more of that idea after Jefferson's return from Paris. The idea of distinct schools of art and science, which is so prominent a characteristic of the University of Virginia to-day, is the enduring product of Jefferson's observation of the schools of Paris and of his association and correspondence with their representative men.

FRENCH CULTURE IN AMERICA.

If circumstances had favored Quesnay's project, it is probable that the University of Virginia would never have been founded. There would have been no need of it. The Academy of the United States of America, established at Richmond, would have become the centre of higher education not only for Virginia, but for the whole South, and possibly for a large part of the North, if the Academy had been extended, as proposed, to the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Supported by French capital, to which in large measure we owe the success of our Revolutionary War, strengthened by French prestige, by literary, scientific, and artistic associations with Paris, then the intellectual capital of the world, the academy at Richmond might have become an educational stronghold, comparable in some degree to the Jesuit influence in Canada, which has proved more lasting than French dominion, more impregnable than the fortress of Quebec.

Nothing is so enduring, when once established, as forms of culture. If French ideas had really penetrated Virginian society, they would have become as dominant in the South as German ideas are now be-

coming in the State universities and school systems of the Northwest. French ideas survived in Virginia and in the Carolinas long after the Revolution, and long after the French Government had ceased to interfere in our politics. It was one of the most difficult tasks in Southern educational history to dislodge French philosophy from its academic strongholds in North and South Carolina. It was done by a strong current of Scotch Presbyterianism proceeding from Princeton College southwards. In social forms French culture lingers yet in South Carolina, notably in Charleston.

FAILURE OF QUESNAY'S SCHEME.

Quesnay's scheme was not altogether chimerical; but in the year 1788 France was in no position, financial or social, to push her educational system into Virginia. The year Quesnay's suggestive little tract was published was the year before the French Revolution, in which political maelstrom everything in France went down. If it had not been for one copy of Quesnay's Memoir, picked up years afterward among the drift-wood of the Revolutionary period by President Andrew D. White, it is doubtful whether the project for a French academy in Richmond would have found its present place in the educational history of Virginia.

Provisional arrangements had been made by Quesnay in 1788, after a year or more of social propaganda, for instituting the following "schools" of advanced instruction in Virginia: foreign languages; mathematics; design; architecture, civil and military; painting; sculpture; engraving; experimental physics; astronomy; geography; chemistry; mineralogy; botany; anatomy, human and veterinary; and natural history. The selection of suitable professors, masters, and artists was intrusted to a committee of correspondence established at Paris, and consisting of Quesnay, founder and president of the Academy, or of his representative; of a permanent and assistant secretary, a treasurer-general, and nine commissioners elected from prominent members of the Academy. The prospect of appointing a numerous faculty seems to have become darker with the approach of the Revolution in France.

The committee of correspondence was organized, but when it met it appointed only one professor. His name was Dr. Jean Rouelle. He is described as a profound scholar and an experienced traveller, having a wide acquaintance with the natural sciences. He was elected (significantly enough from a French economic view) mineralogist-in-chief of the Richmond Academy. He was also to be professor of natural history, chemistry, and botany, thus combining the leading natural sciences in one comprehensive chair. He was engaged for a term of ten years, and was instructed to form cabinets and collections for distribution in America and Europe. It was arranged that he should sail for America early in October, 1788; but it is doubtful whether he really went.

Quesnay's brilliant project attracted brief admiration and then sank into oblivion.

FATE OF THE RICHMOND ACADEMY.

The building[1] which he founded in Richmond was, however, completed. It served a purpose which entitles it to a monumental place in

[1] Quesnay's French Academy was early converted into a theatre, the first institution of the kind Richmond ever had. Dramatic art found its first American recognition at Williamsburg and Annapolis; but Richmond early became one of its favorite seats. The "Old Academy," in Theatre Square, was destroyed by fire; but a new theatre was erected in the rear of the old. This new building was also burned. Samuel Mordecai, a contemporary observer, says this theatre was "the scene of the most horrid disaster that ever overwhelmed our city, when seventy-two persons perished in the flames on the fatal 26th of December, 1811, where the Monumental Church now stands, and its portico covers the tomb and the ashes of most of the victims." This terrible holocaust and the memorial structure, piously erected upon the spot, will doubtless serve to remind the reader of the historic site of Quesnay's academy, in the beautiful city of Richmond, which is set upon hills.

Quesnay's curious and interesting *Mémoire concernant l'Académie des Sciences et Beaux Arts des États-Unis d'Amérique, établie á Richemond*, from which the above sketch is chiefly drawn, was first mentioned to the present writer by Mr. George L. Burr, instructor of history in Cornell University. Voyaging through the Thousand Islands, up that ancient river route by which the teachers and traders of France first penetrated Canada, we fell to talking of William and Mary College and of the educational history of Virginia, upon which the writer was then engaged. Mr. Burr, who had with him some of the proofs of the catalogue of the Andrew D. White Historical Library, now belonging to Cornell University, suddenly called to mind in that collection a French tract upon the Academy of Richmond. The writer's curiosity was immediately aroused, and he begged to have the tract forwarded to Baltimore for examination. A careful reading of Quesnay's Memoir proved conclusively that a current of French influence was beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century to penetrate Virginia. Representing science and culture rather than religious or economic zeal, this Virginia current was different from the original French influence which crept into Canada by way of the St. Lawrence; and yet it is very interesting to note what a practical direction French science took in relation to the discovery of our natural resources. Not without significance was Quesnay's casual suggestion of the propriety of establishing "une Chapelle pour les Catholiques Romains épars en Virginie."

Samuel Mordecai, the Richmond antiquary, who must have seen in his youth the "Old Academy," had access to Quesnay's Memoirs in preparing his chapter on Richmond theatres. He says of the tract: "The writer is indebted to a gentleman of literary taste and research for the use of an exceedingly rare little volume (in French), entitled Memoir and Prospectus concerning the Academy of Fine Arts of the United States of America, Established at Richmond, the Capital of Virginia, by the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire, Founder and President." More than a generation has passed away since Mordecai thus expressed his obligation to a gentleman of literary taste and research. The present writer can not better thank President Andrew D. White for the use of his copy than by repeating the words of the Richmond antiquary. Recent inquiry has developed the fact that Mr. Charles Poindexter, the State librarian of Virginia, whom the writer met with Mr. Burr among the American librarians upon the river St. Lawrence, presented a copy of Quesnay's tract some years ago to the State library in Richmond, and also the fact that, within a year or two, a copy of the same rare little book was bought for a private library in Baltimore at an auction sale in the capital of Virginia.

the history of Virginia architecture. It was the place of assembly for the Virginia convention which, in 1788, ratified the Constitution of the United States. There, in the building designed to be the Academy of the United States of America, the statesmen of Virginia met, day after day, to discuss the greatest question which was ever agitated by any American academic or deliberative body since the Declaration of Independence. It was the question of Federal union. It was decided after long and earnest debate, in which such men as James Madison, John Marshall, James Monroe, George Wythe, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, Pendleton, Nicholas, Grayson, Innis, Lee, and Patrick Henry took their respective parts. It was, after all, a nobler national academy than that which the Chevalier Quesnay had conceived, nobler because it was American and not French. However admirable French science and the fine arts may have appeared to the Virginians at that time, it must be acknowledged that it was far better for their Commonwealth that the introduction of these excellent gifts should have been deferred until a later period, when Jefferson was able to give Virginia the ripened fruit of a long life of observation, inquiry, and reflection in that noble university which bears Virginia's name.

CHAPTER II.

JEFFERSON ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMON SCHOOLS.

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson's ideas of university education in Virginia were closely connected with thoughts of instituting local self-government for the support of common schools. As early as 1779 he introduced into the General Assembly, among other useful measures, a bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge. The means proposed to accomplish this desirable end was the annual election in every county of three so-called aldermen, who should proceed to divide their respective counties into hundreds.[1] This old English territorial division, which originated in the distribution of land to military groups comprising one hundred settlers, of whom ten families constituted a tithing, was now suggested by Jefferson as a suitable territorial basis for school districts. Jefferson's bill provided that the electors within every hundred should be called together to "choose the most convenient place within their hundred for building a school-house."

Since the days of the Germanic folk-mote of armed warriors there has been no better object for primary assemblies of the people. In ancient days freemen assembled in mass meeting to elect chieftains for tribal forays. The noisy clash of arms and the talk of war accompanied these local elections. In times of peace the distribution of land for tillage and rules for the herding of cattle and swine occupied village attention. In modern days higher interests have developed in our agrarian communities. The local organization and support of churches, the maintenance of common schools, roads, and bridges, and, more recently, ideas of village improvement,[2] have come to the front in the local councils of American freemen.

[1] That Jefferson was not altogether unconscious of the historic significance of his proposed "hundreds" is clear from a letter to a writer on the English Constitution, Major John Cartwright, written June 5, 1824, when the project of subdividing the counties into wards was again under consideration. Jefferson said the hundreds should be "about six miles square, and would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred."

[2] Village improvement associations now flourish from Maine to Georgia. Among the earliest were those in Berkshire County, Mass., notably the Laurel Hill Association, at Stockbridge, Mass., which is well described by N. H. Egleston, in his Villages and Village Life.

IDEA OF HISTORICAL READING IN COMMON SCHOOLS.

Jefferson's original bill in 1779 provided not only for the popular foundation of common schools, but for the free training of all free children, male and female, for three years in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The proposed admission of girls was a step in advance of the times, for not until the year 1789[1] did Boston allow the female sex to attend her public schools. Most remarkable, too, was Jefferson's idea, that reading in the common schools should be made the vehicle of historical instruction. The bill enjoins that "the books which shall be used therein for instructing the children to read shall be such as will at the same time make them acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English, and American history." Jefferson elsewhere maintains that, in the common schools, where most children receive "their whole education," it should be "chiefly historical." This was very advanced ground for an eighteenth century educator; indeed, the nineteenth century is likely to pass away before all American teachers reach any such rational standpoint. Jefferson regarded language simply as an instrument for attaining knowledge; and, in his opinion, a knowledge of what men have actually done in this world is a most important educational and moral force. Jefferson wished to have children's minds stored with useful historical facts. He said, "history, by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them to act as judges of the actions and designs of men." Such an historical idea of popular education, if introduced, not by wretched manuals, but by happily illustrated, well-selected historical reading-books, in the hands of intelligent, enthusiastic teachers, capable of telling now and then a good tale not in the book, would revolutionize common-school education in America. The idea of making reading the avenue to intelligence has already begun to dawn in our modern text-books, but it was suggested more than a century ago by Thomas Jefferson. The idea is, however, capable of a special and most useful application to the teaching of history. The writer has seen tried with great success the experiment of reading history to children in a Baltimore kindergarten, and he has great faith in that method for all grades of education. Jefferson proposed that a "general plan of reading and instruction" should be recommended by the College of William and Mary, and introduced by a county superintendent or county "overseer" of education in the local hundreds.

LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

Above the common schools, according to Jefferson's original plan, there were to be grammar or classical schools, where Latin, Greek, English, geography, and higher arithmetic should be taught. The counties were to co-operate in local groups, from three to five or more in each group, for the institution of a joint grammar school or classical acad-

[1] Boston School Report, 1866, p. 28.

emy in a convenient location, which was to be determined by the county overseers of the common schools, who were to appoint a visitor of the grammar school from each county. The board of visitors had power to choose their own rector, to employ masters and ushers, to fix tuition, etc. The College of William and Mary, again, was to have general control of this plan of superior instruction. Thus the classical academies, middle schools, or colleges, as Jefferson afterwards termed them, would centre in the higher education, as did the common schools.

CONNECTION OF POPULAR AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson proposed to connect the three great branches of education, the primary, the secondary, and the higher. As stated in the bill of 1779, and as further explained in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia (Query XIV), the overseers of schools in the hundreds were to select annually "the best and most promising genius" whose parents were unable to afford him further education, and this "boy of best genius" was to be sent forward to the nearest grammar school, there to be educated gratis for one or two years. At an annual visitation one-third of the least promising of these "public foundationers" were to be dismissed after one year's instruction; the rest were to remain for a second year at public cost, and then *all* were to be dismissed or thrown on their own resources "save one only, the best in genius and disposition, who shall be at liberty to continue there four years longer on the public foundation, and shall thenceforward be deemed a senior." Thus, in the twenty or more Latin schools throughout the State, a score or more of the brightest boys would be discovered each year. After six years' public training one half of this picked number were to be dismissed for the supply of Latin school teachers, and the other half, of superior genius, were to proceed to William and Mary College for three years' specialization in such sciences as they might select. Of course other students than the "foundationers" could attend, at their own expense, either the grammar schools or the College of William and Mary. The above plan was suggested for the discovery and development of natural talent among the sons of the people. By an ingenious system of natural selection and by the survival of the fittest, Jefferson hoped to secure for the service of the State the choicest products of democracy. By connecting the common schools with the academies and university, the very highest education was to be brought within the reach of the poorest boy in Virginia, if deserving of such rare educational privileges.[1]

[1] Jefferson remained to the end of his life an earnest advocate of the idea of making the higher education accessible to the higher talent which is always latent in the common people. Writing to his friend Mann Page, August 30, 1795, Jefferson said: "I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the higher degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world and to keep their part of it going on right; for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence."

Such was the original ground-plan of Jefferson's system of public education for Virginia. Although never adopted in its entirety, the plan served Jefferson as a basis for all subsequent educational thinking. For more than forty years his mind moved along these three lines of institutional reform for his native State: (1) subdivision of the counties into hundreds, wards, or townships, based on militia districts, which should become school districts; (2) grammar schools, classical academies, or local colleges; (3) a State university. Of the three objects, he held that the first and the third were of the greatest importance to the State and required the highest legislative care. The second object—the classical academies—could be left with greater safety, he thought, to private enterprise and philanthropy.

Jefferson never advocated university education at the expense of common schools. He labored for both forms of popular instruction, although he always maintained that primary education should be based upon local taxation and self-help, with, perhaps, some assistance from county or State sources where local means were inadequate. As to the relative importance of the university and common schools for the people of Virginia, he once said, in a letter to his friend Joseph C. Cabell, January 13, 1823: "Were it necessary to give up either the Primaries or the University, I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened than a few in a high state of science and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be. The nations and governments of Europe are so many proofs of it."

HIGHER EDUCATION THE SOURCE OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

It is, however, a matter of historical fact that civilization began with the higher education of a few, and that all forms of popular culture have proceeded from higher sources. New England and Virginia both began with classical schools and colleges. Jefferson himself was compelled to repeat the university experiment of the Old World for the higher education of democracy in Virginia. In the development of popular education, as of popular government, there have always been recognized leaders. Neither science nor religion could have gone forth in fertilizing streams for the benefit of mankind unless there had been mountain sources above the plain. The wisdom of the Egyptians was that of "a few in a high state of science." Moses was trained in one or more of those sacred colleges. In no way can we better account for the mental, moral, and religious improvement of the race than by recognizing the influence of chosen men, chosen tribes, chosen peoples, and chosen institutions that have served to train the masses to a knowledge of higher things. The common schools of America sprang from sources higher than themselves, from lakes far back in historic mountains, more remote and mysterious than were once the sources of the Nile. The history of education is one long stream of continuous, inexhaustible flow from such

high springs of science as the schools of Thebes, Memphis, Alexandria, the Græco-Roman world, and from such fountain-heads of learning as the Benedictine monasteries, the cathedral schools, colleges, and universities of mediæval Europe.

It will be disastrous for American democracy and for American educators when they begin to level their high schools and higher education in the interest of what may be thought more popular and practical for the passing moment. To level the higher education in our towns and States in the alleged interest of the people would be as dangerous as for the General Government to level the great light-houses along our coast and suffer our ships to depend upon the friendly rays that shine out from the lowly cottages of men living along the shore. This country needs to-day all the light which scholars can afford. While every State should be as full of school-houses as it is of villages and hamlets, and as rich in local colleges and classical academies as circumstances may require, there will always be need of a few men and a few institutions in "a high state of science." Universities are the light-houses of popular education. They show all educators on what course to steer. All knowledge, like all science, "moves but slowly, slowly, creeping on from point to point."

FAILURE OF COMMON SCHOOL LAW IN 1796.

Jefferson's idea of introducing common schools into Virginia in connection with higher education received no attention from the Legislature until the year 1796, when a law was passed in the interest of the general education of the people. Although the merits of the measure were freely and warmly recognized, yet a fatal mistake was made by the Virginia legislators in leaving the initiation of schools for the people to a majority of the acting justices in each county. These justices were prominent, well-to-do gentlemen, but they had no inclination to tax themselves for the education of their poorer neighbors. Accordingly free schools went by default. Jefferson strongly condemned this inefficient legislation. The State should have compelled local taxation for educational purposes, and not have left such a great public interest to local option. Jefferson returned again and again to the support of free schools in connection with local government and university education, but this grand combination of ideas found no general recognition in Jefferson's life-time.

IDEA OF LOCAL DIVISION OF COUNTIES.

More than one hundred years ago (1779) Thomas Jefferson declared for the great principles of local independence in both education and government. They were principles second only in importance to national independence and colonial union. Jefferson's political philosophy is summed up in the following striking extract from a private letter to a member of the Virginia Legislature, February 2, 1816: "Let the Na-

tional Government be intrusted with the defence of the nation and its foreign and Federal relations; the State Governments with the civil rights, laws, police, and administration of what concerns the State generally; the counties with the local concerns of the counties; and each ward direct the interests within itself. It is by dividing and subdividing these republics, from the great national one down through all its subordinations, until it ends in the administration of every man's farm and affairs by himself, by placing under every one what his own eye may superintend, that all will be done for the best."

In the same letter Jefferson declared his views with reference to the joint institution of local government and common schools: "My idea of the mode of carrying it into execution would be this: Declare the county *ipso facto* divided into wards for the present by the boundaries of the militia captaincies; somebody attend the ordinary muster of each company, having first desired the captain to call together a full one. There explain the object of the law to the people of the company; put to their vote whether they will have a school established, and the most central and convenient place for it; get them to meet and build a log school-house; have a roll taken of the children who would attend it and of those of them able to pay; these would probably be sufficient to support a common teacher, instructing gratis the few unable to pay. If there should be a deficiency, it would require too trifling a contribution from the county to be complained of, and especially as the whole county would participate, where necessary, in the same resource. Should the company, by its vote, decide that it would have no school, let them remain without one."[1]

[1] Correspondence with Jefferson and Cabell, 53, 54. Other interesting evidence of Jefferson's views of the relation of local government to popular education may be found in the above Correspondence, pp. 103, 186, 413. See also Jefferson's Writings, VI, 542, 566; VII, 205, 357, 358. Very suggestive upon the importance of local government as a means of education for citizens are the remarks of Colonel Coles, Jefferson's private secretary, addressed to Mr. Joseph C. Cabell, July 17, 1807. The secretary undoubtedly reflected the opinions of his chief: "Our division into counties is certainly much too large, and attended with a thousand inconveniences. The division into townships or hundreds might very easily be made in Virginia, if in forming them we would follow the bounds of the militia companies, which are already well known and which exist in every county in the State. Each hundred should be a little republic within the republic of the county. Each hundred should regulate its own police, should have a magistrate to try warrants, etc., hold elections, at which the most aged and infirm might attend; should provide for its own poor; establish a public school, to which even the most indigent might send their children; should annually select a jury man who, with those selected by the different hundreds throughout the State, might be distributed by lot or otherwise among the superior and inferior courts, so as to provide a sufficient number for each. In this way the elective principle would be introduced into every department of the government, and an independent and impartial jury might always be had, which under our present system must depend entirely on the character of the marshal or sheriff. The people, too, of each hundred, becoming familiar with the transaction of business when summoned together on an occasion of emergency, would act with promptitude and force, which the *particular character* of a part of our population will render the more valuable."—Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, p. 18.

FIRST APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS.

In the year 1818 the first general provision for elementary education was made by the State of Virginia. It was agreed by the Legislature that $45,000 a year should be appropriated from the income of the so-called "literary fund" (which will be hereafter explained, for it was the economic basis of the University of Virginia). A radical legislative mistake was made in distributing this money to the counties as an educational bounty for the education of the poor. The county authorities took the money for the support of charity schools, which were supported in certain towns or in convenient local centres. Popular education was regarded in much the same pitiful light as was the care of the poor. The better class of people provided for their children by private schools, academies, and family tutors. It was an error in public policy to grant a State subsidy for county education. The counties should have been required to tax themselves.

Jefferson saw this error, and contended that local taxation was the proper basis for the support of common schools, and that State aid should be reserved for higher education. But he was not able to convince the men of his time of the soundness of his views. Not even a compromise between local taxation and State aid, which under the circumstances would have been a wise policy, would the Virginians accept for their counties. Jefferson argued that wealthy planters could well afford to tax themselves for local education, for it would people their "neighborhood with honest, useful, and enlightened citizens, understanding their own rights, and firm in perpetuating them." He said that the descendants of the rich would usually become poor in the third generation, and would then find a chance of rising again through popular education, for which other rich men would pay. The debt of one age would be repaid by succeeding ages. Jefferson said in the year 1818: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it will be the latest, of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." It was reserved for later times (1870) to begin the complete realization[1] of Jefferson's generous and democratic ideal of education for the people.

[1] The rapid and gratifying progress of common school education in Virginia since the year 1870 is shown in the able and highly instructive reports of the superintendents of public instruction in that State, notably those by Dr. W. H. Ruffner, son of a former president of Washington College, Dr. Henry Ruffner, who wrote a remarkable history of that institution, still in manuscript and in the keeping of the secretary and librarian of Washington and Lee University. The recent history of popular education in Virginia is given in the reports of the present superintendent of public instruction, Dr. John L. Buchanan, to whose courtesy as well as to that of Dr. Ruffner the writer is greatly indebted for documents and information. The Educational Journal of Virginia is a valuable collection of papers and discussions, showing a growing interest in school work, improved methods, and educational history. The reports of the Peabody Education Fund are also a mine of useful materials for the student of these

JEFFERSON ON TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson greatly admired the town governments of New England, because of their compact, vigorous organization. He had experienced their energy at the time of the Embargo. "I felt the foundations of the Government shaken under my feet by the New England townships. There was not an individual in their States [New England] whose body was not thrown with all its momentum into action; and although the whole of the other States were known to be in favor of the measure, yet the organization of this little selfish minority enabled it to overrule the Union. What would the unwieldy counties of the Middle, the South, and the West do? Call a county meeting, and the drunken loungers at and about the court houses would have collected, the distances being too great for the good people and the industrious generally to attend. The character of those who really met would have been the measure of the weight they would have had in the scale of public opinion. As Cato, then, concluded every speech with the words, '*Carthago delenda est*,' so do I every opinion, with the injunction, 'Divide the counties into wards.' Begin them only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others they are the best instruments."

TOWNSHIPS IMPRACTICABLE IN RURAL VIRGINIA.

While admiring Jefferson's ideal of local government, one may seriously doubt its practicability in that rural and widely scattered condition of Virginia population. The actual condition of society must always be taken into account when measures of social, educational, or administrative reform are under consideration. As a matter of fact, hundreds, towns, and boroughs were prominent features, on paper, in the early institutional history of Virginia; but the local government and communal life which naturally evolve with such local institutions, when suited to the actual wants of the people, did not and could not evolve in the Old Dominion. Society dispersed and sought to reproduce the more or less isolated country life of the English landed gentry. The Virginians, if they could afford it or cared to do it, educated their children after the immemorial custom of Old England, by a combination of home training under competent tutors or local clergymen, with college training and public life. William and Mary College was the Oxford of Virginia. County government played in Virginia the same rôle in the political education of the people as it has always played in Old England. County court day and county elections were

subjects at the South. A good summary of the educational advantages of Virginia, based upon Dr. Ruffner's reports, was given in 1876 by Maj. Jedediah Hotchkiss, in his Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary, which is for our time what Jefferson's Notes on Virginia were for his contemporaries.

the Southern counterpart of Northern town meetings, as Southern court greens are the analogue of New England town commons.

Each section of country developed its own interests as best it could, and in perfect harmony with its own environment. Communal life at the North had its peculiar advantages, and bore its peculiar fruits in common schools, libraries, lyceums, etc. Rural life at the South was not without its charms, and it certainly produced its share of able men. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, and Henry Clay were rural types of good citizenship. The roll of William and Mary College affords remarkable evidence of what Virginia produced without town government or common schools. With them she might have produced something different; but the facts are sufficiently gratifying. Virginia remained what nature and history made her. Jefferson could not establish towns and village schools in a sparsely-settled country, where population had no tendency to aggregate, but rather to scatter.[1] By the constitution of 1850 Virginia instituted districts within her counties for electoral and other convenient purposes; but there was still no proper economic basis for towns or for district schools. The Civil War did not improve the situation. Nevertheless, immediately afterward, the reconstruction party sought a panacea for all evils by introducing the township system of New England, which was never really suited to the local needs of Virginia, and was less so than ever after the State had been a battle ground of the Republic for four years. It is needless to say that the institution of town government in a State where there was no adequate communal basis for the system was the height of folly and failed miserably. There was no *raison d'être* for town government. A Northern man has only to travel in almost any direction across Virginia to realize how absurd it was to decree town government throughout regions where there were then no towns. The scattered population understood and naturally preferred their own county system, which suited their actual rural condition.

"THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH."

There are, however, to-day along the line of Virginia railways, besides certain old boroughs, here and there indications of the gradual germination of a natural and healthful local life. With the increase of railroad stations, mills, and of settlements at cross-roads; with school-houses, churches, court-houses, and stores; with the break-up of great plantations and the multiplication of small farms, there will come a gradual increase of population and more and more of these local aggregations of society, which by and by will demand local government in smaller units than the county or the district. The more flourishing and

[1] On the disadvantages of town government for Virginia, see Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 18–19, *note*, and Tucker's Life of Jefferson, II, 352–355.

progressive localities will become incorporated as towns or villages, and tax themselves for schools and public improvements. In all probability a compromise between county and town government will prove itself best adapted to the local wants of the South, as already has proved the case in the States northwest of the Ohio. Indeed, the model system of local government is this very compromise system, as developed by the blending of town and county types, notably in the State of Illinois.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—EUROPEAN INFLUENCES.

SCHOLASTIC CURRICULUM.

Interesting evidence upon Jefferson's original idea of promoting higher education in Virginia is to be found in a bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary College, proposed by the committee appointed in 1776 for the revision of the laws. Jefferson was a member of this committee, and his hand is clearly to be traced in the provisions of the bill. After reviewing the history of the college, Jefferson describes the faculty as consisting of "one school of sacred theology, with two professorships therein, *to wit*, one for teaching the Hebrew tongue and expounding the Holy Scriptures; and the other for explaining the common-places of divinity and the controversies with heretics; one other school for philosophy, with two professorships therein, *to wit*, one for the study of rhetoric, logic, and ethics, and the other of physics, metaphysics, and mathematics; one other school for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues; and one other for teaching Indian boys reading, writing, vulgar arithmetic, the catechism, and the principles of the Christian religion."[1] This is the clearest and fullest statement which the writer has thus far discovered of the actual curriculum at William and Mary College under the colonial régime. This fresh information will supplement what the writer has elsewhere[2] said respecting the course of study pursued at Williamsburg in early days. In general, as was surmised, the course resembles that given at Harvard College in the seventeenth century.

JEFFERSON'S PROPOSED CHANGES.

Jefferson's propositions for the modification of this ancient scholastic curriculum represent the first current of modern ideas, which began in 1779, at Williamsburg, to flow into American academic life. In place of the president and six professors, Jefferson proposed that there should be eight professors, one of whom should be appointed president, with an additional salary of £100 a year. The eight professorships were to be as

[1] Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education for the State of Virginia, pp. 55, 56. Richmond, 1817.

[2] William and Mary College; Circular of Information, 1887, No. 1, p. 20.

follows: (1) Moral philosophy, the laws of nature and of nations, and the fine arts; (2) law and police, including economics, politics, and commerce; (3) history, civil and ecclesiastical; (4) mathematics; (5) anatomy and medicine; (6) natural philosophy and natural history; (7) ancient languages, including Oriental (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac) and Northern tongues (Mœso-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Icelandic); (8) modern languages.[1] Very characteristic of Jefferson is the passage in the above bill respecting the Indians, a passage which is further explained in the Notes on Virginia (Query XV). Instead of the Indian school called "The Brasserton," Jefferson proposed that the faculty should appoint a missionary, who should visit the Indian tribes and "investigate their laws, customs, religions, traditions, and more particularly their languages, constructing grammars thereof, as well as may be, and copious vocabularies." When the missionary had accomplished these pious objects in one tribe, "he might pass on to another." The materials which he collected were to be deposited in the college library at Williamsburg. One can almost fancy that Jefferson had in mind an ethnological bureau, foreshadowing that developed in Washington in these latter days by Major Powell.

INTRODUCTION OF MODERN STUDIES.

Although this bill was not passed by the Legislature, nevertheless its provisions were, to a considerable extent, actually realized by Jefferson in 1779 through the board of visitors. He says in his Notes on Virginia (Query XV) that the visitors excluded the two schools of divinity (which included the study of Hebrew); and also the school of Latin and Greek, chiefly because it was a mere preparatory school, which "filled the college with children." Jefferson was warmly devoted to the classics, and, in his original bill, provided both for them and for Oriental languages; but it was found difficult to increase at once the chartered number of professorships, and Jefferson was accordingly compelled to change the subjects of instruction to matters of more immediate importance to Virginia and the political training of her sons and citizens. Accordingly the following professorships were provided for: (1) Law and police (the science of administration); (2) anatomy and medicine; (3) physics and mathematics; (4) moral philosophy, with the law of nature and nations, and the fine arts; (5) modern languages; (6) the Indian school. Jefferson did not despair of increasing ultimately the original number of professorships by legislative enactment and of adding other branches of science. Here is one of his most striking suggestions: "To the professorships usually established in the universities of Europe it would seem proper to add one for the ancient languages and literatures of the north, on account of their connection with our own language, laws, customs, and history." The modern idea of Germanic institutional and linguistic studies is here clearly foreshadowed. Indeed, Jefferson was the very first advocate of the study of Anglo-Saxon

[1] Sundry Documents, p. 60.

in this country. The subject was early introduced at the University of Virginia, and Jefferson published a book upon Anglo-Saxon, which was reprinted in 1851.

ROCHEFOUCAULD ON WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.[1]

In the travels of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt through the United States in the years 1795–97 there may be found an interesting account of Williamsburg and its famous old college, which had then fallen into decay, although it was afterwards in a measure restored. He says the income, which before the Revolution was from $17,000 to $18,000 per annum, was then reduced to $3,500. The colonial duties on tobacco had fallen to nothing, and the principal resources of the college were the rent on 20,000 acres of land, let out on long leases, and "all in a state of cultivation." A small duty on land surveys, which were regulated by the college, eked out its slender income, which "the Legislature does not seem inclined to augment."

Rochefoucauld describes the course of study as consisting of mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, natural and civil law, with the modern languages. He is surprised to find the students not living in dormitories, "those vast buildings destined for their reception." He says the students "are dispersed through the different boarding-houses in the town, at a distance from all inspection." The duke is still more surprised to find Bishop Madison, the president, and the professors defending this system, and asserting that "it has been proved by experience that good order, peace, and even the success of their studies are more effectually promoted by this separation of the students than by their being united together within the same walls." The duke is inclined to think that the faculty, in pursuing this policy, pay greater regard to their own ease than to the welfare of the young men intrusted to their charge.

The French traveller notes that the students pay a fee of $14 to each professor whose course of lessons they follow. Board and lodging then cost from $100 to $120. The entire expense of a year at William and Mary College would amount to about $170. Besides his fees from students, each professor received an annual salary of $400. The president, who was also professor of natural and moral philosophy, received $200 in addition. The internal administration of the college is described as in the hands of the professors, under the general supervision of a board of eighteen visitors chosen throughout the State. The condition of the college building seemed to the duke "very indifferent." The institution was too poor to indulge in repairs, unless aided by an appropriation from the Legislature. "It possesses a library tolerably well furnished with classical books; it consists almost entirely of old books, except two hundred volumes of the finest and best French productions

[1] Travels of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt through the United States in 1795–97. Second edition, III, 47–56. London, 1800.

sent as a present by Louis XVI at the termination of the American war, but which a merchant at Richmond, who was commissioned to forward them to the college, suffered to lie forgotten in his cellars amid hogsheads of sugar and casks of oil until, when at length he did forward them, they were totally spoiled. The funds of the college do not allow any addition to their library, which moreover is very ill kept in point of order and cleanliness."

These interesting and critical observations by an intelligent Frenchman upon the condition of William and Mary College at the close of the eighteenth century indicate very clearly that something better was needed in the way of higher education for the State of Virginia. Indeed, a project was already under discussion with a view to that desirable end, as will appear from the following striking extract from the duke's travels: "The Legislature of Virginia is said to entertain the design of founding a new college in a more central part of the State, but it is not known whether that of Williamsburg is to be taken as the groundwork of the intended establishment, or suffered to continue on its present footing and left to its own scanty resources, while the new college should be liberally endowed."

This information was perhaps received from Williamsburg professors who were familiar with Jefferson's early-cherished plan of transforming William and Mary College into a university. The reference to a "new college in a more central part of the State" is most striking, for it indicates that Jefferson's novel project was already in the air. How that new idea evolved we shall discover in the next two chapters. The duke says that Bishop Madison, and Mr. Andrews, professor of mathematics, "did me the honours of the town with that obliging politeness which I have been habitually accustomed to experience in America. In the two days which I spent at Williamsburg they introduced me to the chief part of the society of the place, which appears very much united, and to consist of well-informed men. Bishop Madison is himself a man of considerable knowledge in natural philosophy, chymistry, and even polite literature. His library, much less numerous than that of the college, consists of a more choice selection of books, especially of those relating to the sciences. He annually augments his collection by the addition of the most esteemed scientific and new publications. To him the public are indebted for meteorological observations very accurately made in different parts of Virginia, and to which he has devoted much time." With this pleasant picture of a Virginia college president of the last century, who, like President Ewell, appeared serene and hopeful in a trying situation, let us pass to a new chapter in the educational history of Virginia.

JEFFERSON'S INTEREST IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson's interest in matters pertaining to higher education was quickened by acquaintance with Quesnay's project, by residence abroad from 1784 to 1789, and by a comparative study of the leading European

universities. In 1785, one year before the founding of the French Academy at Richmond, Jefferson was still loyal to his *alma mater*, and wrote to a young Virginian that he could do quite as well in most studies at William and Mary College as at foreign institutions. At that time Jefferson was inclined to favor the Italian universities, and thought Rome the best of all educational centres, because of its historic associations and its rare opportunities for art study, in which Jefferson delighted. In 1791 he had come to the conclusion that there was no place on the continent of Europe that could be compared with Geneva. Edinburgh and Geneva were, in his opinion, "the two eyes of Europe." Jefferson's educational ideals were now thoroughly European. Quesnay's project of introducing French academic culture into Virginia had its counterpart in Jefferson's scheme to transplant the College of Geneva to American shores.

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THE FACULTY OF GENEVA.

In 1794 the French faculty of that latter institution became dissatisfied with their political environment, and wrote to their old friend Jefferson, whom some of the Swiss professors had met in Paris, saying that they were willing to come out to Virginia in a body if suitable arrangements could be made for the continuance of their academic work. Jefferson seized upon the idea at once. It was the historical origin[1] of his project for a cosmopolitan university, to be equipped with the best scientific talent that Europe could afford. The idea of importing a learned Irishman or a sober and attentive Scotchman to be the principal of Albemarle Academy in 1783 was perhaps a germ of this larger thought, which had been developed by European associations with Quesnay and Swiss scholars in Paris. Jefferson dreamed no longer of developing an ecclesiastical institution like old William and Mary College into a State university. He proposed now to the Virginia Legislature to make provision for the establishment of the Genevan college in Virginia.

The practically-minded Virginians thought the scheme too expensive and too grand. Jefferson then appealed to George Washington for support and encouragement. At that time Washington was in possession of certain stock in the Potomac and James River Companies, shares in which had been given him by the Virginia Legislature. Washington had accepted these shares upon the condition of his using them for a public educational purpose. Jefferson now urged Washington, in a long and enthusiastic letter, to employ the stock given him by Virginia for the purpose of endowing university education in his native State in the form proposed by the Swiss College of Geneva. Washington demurred; he doubted the expediency of importing a body of foreign professors not familiar with the English language and at variance politically with the

[1] This subject of the influence of the Genevan project upon Jefferson's university idea and upon Washington's idea of a national university in the city of Washington has been treated more in detail in the writer's sketch of William and Mary College, pp. 40–47.

popular party in their own land. If foreign professors were to be imported, Washington thought they should not be all from one nation. He said that celebrated Scotchmen might also be obtained. By this wise counsel Jefferson was induced to restrain his enthusiasm, and when next we hear of his importing foreign professors, he had, for practical and conservative reasons, passed over to the English training ground of Oxford and Cambridge in search of candidates.

In his letter to D'Ivernois, in discouragement of the Swiss proposition, Jefferson unconsciously reveals the personal motive which afterward made him so strenuous upon the location of the University of Virginia in his own immediate vicinity: "I should have seen with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of such a mass of science in my country, and should probably have been tempted to approach myself to it, by procuring a residence in its neighborhood, at those seasons of the year at least when the operations of agriculture are less active and interesting."[1] This thought of intimate association with scientific men, a thought born of old associations in Williamsburg and Paris, was never afterward abandoned by Jefferson. He clung to the idea of introducing into Virginia a few representative scholars from the Old World. This idea grew stronger after his retirement from active politics, and after his settlement at Monticello for the enjoyment of a peaceful old age. Then the thought of himself approaching a distant academic community naturally gave place to the easier and pleasanter project of making science come to the neighborhood of Monticello. That happy realization of Jefferson's dream was, however, yet a long way off. Let us consider some further indications of the dawning idea of the University of Virginia as seen in his correspondence.

DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

In 1794 Dr. Joseph Priestley emigrated to America. He was that remarkable English scholar whose natural bent towards the physical sciences Benjamin Franklin early encouraged. He is perhaps best known to the scientific world by reason of his work on the History of Electricity, published in 1767, and his contributions to the science of chemistry. He discovered what was afterwards called oxygen, and he made the beginnings of gas analysis. Perhaps the great mass of Americans would recognize Priestley's merits with alacrity if they knew that he invented soda-water, and was a good friend of the American Colonies. The man was a scientific genius, but he was born and bred a dissenter. Unfortunately, besides teaching the ancient and modern languages, grammar, oratory, law, natural science, mathematics, and philosophy, he undertook to preach dissenting doctrines. His views were too liberal for the age in which he lived. Priestley was a Socinian, or Unitarian. No phase of dissent was more abominated in England at the close of the last century than Unitarianism. It was rivalled only in

[1] Letter dated at Monticello, February 6, 1795.

popular hatred by the French Revolution, with which Priestley sympathized.

In 1791 Priestley was preaching in Birmingham, where he had a congregation of dissenters, and enjoyed the society of James Watt and Dr. Darwin, grandfather of Charles Darwin. The celebration of the second anniversary of the taking of the Bastile gave rise in Birmingham to a riot, which, curiously enough, spent its fury upon the houses and chapels of dissenters of various denominations. The walls of buildings in Birmingham were placarded with phrases like these: "Damn Priestley." "No Presbyterianism." "Damn the Presbyterians."

Although Priestley had had nothing whatever to do with the political celebration, the boys in the street, sons of worthy parents, shouted out, when they saw the inoffensive pastor and scholar: "Damn Priestley; damn him, damn him, forever, forever!" It seems almost incredible that less than one hundred years ago these things should have actually occurred in the streets of Birmingham. The facts are perfectly well authenticated. Indeed, far worse things are true. Priestley's chapel and house were burned, and he and his family barely escaped from that English town with their lives. His books, papers, scientific apparatus, and all that he possessed were destroyed by a loyal and pious mob. Priestley bore this persecution meekly, and took refuge in the great city of London. There, however, even his scientific friends began to treat him with coldness, so that in 1794, as already stated, he emigrated[1] to this country, where he found shelter and scientific occupation in Northumberland, Pa.[2] His son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Cooper, whom Jefferson regarded as

[1] Some idea of the bitterness of English feeling against Priestley may be derived from William Cobbett's Observations on the Emigration of Dr. Joseph Priestley, and on the Several Addresses Delivered to him on his Arrival at New York. (See Porcupine's Works, Vol. I.) Cobbett calls Priestley the "fire-brand philosopher."

[2] Priestley is to-day highly honored in his own land. A statue was lately erected to his memory, and Professor Huxley delivered the commemorative address, from which the above facts have been gathered. See Humboldt Library, No. 66: Technical Education and other Essays; Essay on "Joseph Priestley." See also Priestley's Autobiography, and the Life and Correspondence of Dr. Priestley, by J. T. Rutt. Priestley was born in 1733, near Leeds, and died, "clear-headed and busy to the last," at Northumberland, Pa., February 6, 1804. The Encyclopædia Britannica, in its interesting article on Priestley, says, "he was probably one of the very first teachers to appreciate the importance of physical science to early culture." Benjamin Franklin anticipated Priestley in scientific studies. These two men, with Dr. Thomas Cooper and Thomas Jefferson, were kindred spirits. To historical students Priestley is known by his Chart of History, which gained him an LL. D. at Edinburgh, and by his History of the Corruptions of Christianity, and his General History of the Christian Church to the Fall of the Western Empire. He wrote on the greatest variety of subjects,—history, politics, sociology, logic, philosophy, theology, biblical interpretation, and all the sciences of his time.

Dr. Priestley's religious writings exerted a powerful influence upon the mind of Jefferson. They were the basis of his own views, which he frequently described as "Unitarian." In a letter to John Adams, dated August 22, 1813, Jefferson said: "I have read his [Priestley's] Corruptions of Christianity and Early Opinions of Jesus over and over again; and I rest on them, and on Middleton's writings, especially his

"one of the ablest men in America," also settled in Pennsylvania. In the light of the above facts, we can understand what Jefferson meant when he spoke of these two men as refugees "from the fires and mobs of Birmingham."

JEFFERSON AND PRIESTLEY.

To Dr. Priestley Jefferson wrote from Philadelphia, January 18, 1800: "We have in that State [Virginia] a college (William and Mary) just well enough endowed to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution[1] has doomed it. It is moreover eccentric in its position, exposed to all bilious diseases, as all the lower country is, and therefore abandoned by the public care, as that part of the country itself is in a considerable degree by its inhabitants. We wish to establish in the upper country, and more centrally for the State, an university on a plan so broad and liberal and *modern*, as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other States to come and drink of the cup of knowledge and fraternize with us. The first step is to obtain a good plan; that is, a judicious selection of the sciences, and a practicable grouping of some of them together, and ramifying of others, so as to adopt the professorships to our uses and our means. In an institution meant chiefly for use, some branches of science, formerly esteemed, may be now omitted; so may others now valued in Europe, but useless to us for ages to come. As an example of the former, the Oriental learning, and of the latter, almost the whole of the institution proposed to Congress by the Secretary of War's report of the 5th instant. Now there is no one to whom this subject is so familiar as yourself. * * * To you, therefore, we address our solicitations, and to lessen to you as much as possible the ambiguities of our object, I will venture even to sketch the sciences which seem useful and practicable for us, as they occur to me while holding my pen: Botany, chemistry, zoölogy, anatomy, surgery, medicine, natural philosophy, agriculture, mathematics, astronomy, geography, politics, commerce, history, ethics, law, arts, fine arts. This list is imperfect[2] because I make it hastily, and because I am unequal to the subject. * * * We should propose that the professors follow no other calling, so that their whole time may be given to their academical

letters from Rome and to Waterland, as the basis of my own faith." There would be much less obscurity and misunderstanding about Jefferson's religious views if people would take him at his word and in the light of his relations to Priestley and Cooper. All three were Unitarians.

[1] The strongest reason for abandoning William and Mary College is given in a letter to Dr. Priestley, January 27, 1800: "As I had proposed that William and Mary, under an improved form, should be the University, and that was at that time pretty highly Episcopal, the Dissenters after a while began to apprehend some secret design of a preference to that sect."

[2] In a subsequent letter to Dr. Priestley, Jefferson apologizes for the omission of languages in his university scheme, and takes occasion to pay a warm tribute to classical culture, including Greek.

functions; and *we should propose to draw from Europe the first characters in science, by considerable temptations, which would not need to be repeated after the first set should have prepared fit successors and given reputation to the institution. From some splendid characters I have received offers most perfectly reasonable and practicable.* * * * Will not the arrival of Dupont tempt you to make a visit to this quarter?"

These extracts indicate the shape which the idea of a university was already taking in Jefferson's mind as early as 1800, and the influence which Old World associations had already exerted upon him. In another letter to Dr. Priestley, dated Philadelphia, January 27, 1800, Jefferson said: "I have a letter from Mr. Dupont, since his arrival at New York, dated the 20th, in which he says he will be in Philadelphia within about a fortnight from that time, but only on a visit. How much would it delight me if a visit from you at the same time were to show us two such illustrious foreigners embracing each other in my country, as the asylum for whatever is great and good!"

DUPONT DE NEMOURS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION.

One of the most interesting of Jefferson's correspondents was the distinguished French economist and philosopher, Dupont de Nemours. He was a friend of Turgot, and belonged to that group of French economists who labored to avert the French Revolution by economic measures. His writings upon social and philosophical subjects were influential in their day, and are mentioned in some detail in the sketch of his life printed in the *Biographie Générale.* Dupont de Nemours was a member of the *Assemblée des Notables,* and was one of the best types of educated public men under the old régime. It was his earnest and unwearied endeavor to benefit society by advocating sound political economy and popular education. He made Jefferson's acquaintance in Paris before the outbreak of the Revolution, and came to this country at the close of the eighteenth century. He arrived in New York in January, 1800, and soon after visited Jefferson in Philadelphia, as is indicated in Jefferson's letter to Priestley above quoted. On the occasion of this visit it is probable that Jefferson talked over with Dupont de Nemours the general project of encouraging higher education in America. By this time Washington's scheme for a national university, to be established in the Federal city of Washington, was generally known. He had announced it to Congress and had provided for it by his last will and testament. Men's thoughts of higher education were beginning to take national scope.

Dupont de Nemours undertook to write a treatise on National Education in the United States. This work (*Sur l'Éducation Nationale dans les États Unis*) was written in French, and was completed June 15, 1800, at "Good Stay, près New York." The work was published at Paris, and the author took occasion to say that it was written in the year 1800 "à la demande de M. Jefferson, alors vice-président, et depuis président des

États-Unis d'Amérique; il a eu le suffrage de ce grand Magistrat et de son respectable successeur." The work went through at least two French editions. A copy of the second edition, which the present writer has read with great care, bears the imprint, "Paris, 1812," and contains 159 small octavo pages. By a curious chance this copy was sent to the author of this report by a representative of the well-known Dupont family, long resident at Wilmington, Del., with a request for information whether this treatise, written by their ancestor, had any influence upon the plans of Thomas Jefferson for university education in Virginia. The one who sent the treatise had no knowledge of the fact that the writer, at that very time, was investigating the origin of the University of Virginia; hence the acquisition seemed remarkably good luck.

CHARACTER OF THE TREATISE.

Dupont de Nemours' treatise on National Education in the United States relates in general, as the title implies, to a general system of popular education for the whole country, rather than to the organization of a university in Virginia. The author said, indeed, that it was especially concerning the establishment of a university that he had been desired to prepare his monograph. The university idea of Dupont de Nemours included not only the higher, but also secondary and primary education. In fact, his plan embraced the whole educational field, and was described as the University of North America. The author says that he is perfectly well aware of the fact that he has broken away from the historic constitution of universities, with their traditional faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. In his judgment, however, America and even European countries require a national system of education, beginning with common schools and culminating in special, professional, and technical institutions. He proposed that the city of Washington should be made the educational, as well as the political, capital of the United States. There, he said, should be planted four *grandes écoles:* (1) a school of medicine; (2) a school of mines; (3) a school of social science and legislation; and (4) a school of the higher mathematics. To be a student of the national university in the full sense of that term, one must have passed through all the ascending grades of education, from the lowest primary to the highest special school or professional schools ("Un jeune homme qui aura suivi l'école primaire, le collège et les grandes écoles, sera un élève de notre université").

There was to be no necessary connection between the various *grandes écoles* in Washington, save perhaps in the fact of a common establishment in one grand building devoted to a national library, a national museum, with offices for the ministry of public instruction, rooms for a philosophical society, and a botanical garden attached. The brilliant imagination of the French philosopher pictured this palace of education as one of the chief adornments of the Federal city. He would have

recommended for Washington a national university in splendor second only to the Capitol itself. He would have had the American people, instead of building royal palaces, like the Louvre, or the Tuileries, or the palace at Versailles, build a People's Palace for their own higher education in art, science, and self-government.

It is obvious that the scheme for national education proposed by Dupont de Nemours was altogether too grand for realization in a federal republic, where the higher education was but feebly developed, even within the individual States. And yet, although conceived upon far too magnificent a scale, this broad scheme, based upon common schools and developing into a university system, has some general resemblance to that conceived by Jefferson for the State of Virginia as early as 1779. It is possible, and not altogether improbable, that Dupont de Nemours' treatise gave both sanction and emphasis to Jefferson's project for a State university, composed of distinct schools for the most advanced instruction. The idea was not peculiar to Dupont de Nemours. It was originated in the schools of Paris, which formed the oldest university in Europe, centuries before the time of Jefferson and his advisers. The influence exerted by Dupont de Nemours must be regarded as one that strengthened and confirmed ideas already in Jefferson's mind. The thought of State education was in the air. Alexander Hamilton grasped it in his scheme for the University of the State of New York, regulating to this day educational interests high and low. Early in the present century the statesmen of Prussia grasped the same idea, and reformed a down-trodden, humiliated people by a system of public education which began with the lowest and led to the highest.

PROFESSOR MINOR ON DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

Professor John B. Minor, in a graphic and instructive account of the origin of the University of Virginia, is generously inclined to credit Dupont de Nemours with considerable influence upon Jefferson's plan for university organization. Professor Minor says: "The scheme adopted bears a close resemblance to that of the German universities, but it is probable that Mr. Jefferson derived it not from that source, but immediately from Mons. Dupont de Nemours, a Frenchman of prominence, with whom he occasionally corresponded, and who during a sojourn in the United States was a frequent guest at Monticello. The writer has seen a manuscript translation (executed by Francis W. Gilmer) of an essay written by M. Dupont de Nemours, apparently by special request, setting forth his opinions as to the best mode of organizing seminaries of learning in the United States, the ideas of which so closely coincide in some particulars with the scheme of the University as to exclude the supposition of a resemblance merely casual."[1] Pro-

[1] Historical Sketches of Virginia: Literary Institutions of the State; University of Virginia, Part I. Published in the Old Dominion Magazine, Vol. IV, March 15, 1870 (Richmond, Va.). This invaluable series of articles on the University of Virginia

fessor Minor clearly has in mind the prominence given by both Jefferson and his French adviser to the university system of independent schools, severing allegiance from the time-honored dogma that a university must "have its foundation in arts," or consist of four faculties—theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. In this respect the Frenchman and the Virginian certainly stood upon common ground.

PROFESSOR PICTET, OF GENEVA.

The Dupont treatise on national education by Dupont de Nemours was doubtless shown to Jefferson in 1800. Three years later we find the latter corresponding with Professor Pictet, of the Swiss College at Geneva, probably the same man who had been associated with Jefferson in Quesnay's scheme for a French academy at Richmond. In a letter dated Washington, February 5, 1803, Jefferson said, respecting Pictet's proposed removal to Virginia: "I knew it was not safe for you to take such a step until it would be done on sure ground. I hoped at that time that some canal shares which were at the disposal of General Washington might have been applied toward the establishment of a good seminary of learning; but he had already proceeded too far on another plan to change their direction. I have still had constantly in view to propose to the Legislature of Virginia the establishment of one on as large a scale as our present circumstances would require or bear. But as yet no favorable moment has occurred. In the meanwhile I am endeavoring to procure materials for a good plan. With this view I am to ask the favor of you to give me a sketch of the branches of science taught in your college, how they are distributed among the professors; that is to say, how many professors there are and what branches of science are allotted to each professor, and the days and hours assigned to each branch. Your successful experience in the distribution of business will be a valuable guide to us who are without experience. I am sensible I am imposing on your goodness a troublesome task; but I believe every son of science feels a strong and disinterested desire of promoting it in every

came to the writer's attention after his own work was substantially finished, and confirms, by actual knowledge and independent testimony, many of the judgments formed by the present writer upon documentary evidence studied at a distance from the University premises. The above-mentioned historical sketches relate solely to the University of Virginia, and were continued in monthly parts from April, 1870, until June, 1871. The Old Dominion Magazine was early discontinued. Professor Minor said to the writer in a private letter: "I suspect my copy, now somewhat dilapidated, is the only one extant, and it is as precious to me as an ancient MS., because I contemplate some day reprinting it in book form." The writer made a pilgrimage to the University of Virginia to get a glimpse of this work, of which no trace could be found in the libraries of Richmond. The University of Virginia and the "Theatre of Marcellus" proved such interesting object-lessons, that a student could really find no time to read books upon those premises. By the necessities of the situation he was constrained to borrow the precious history and to take it to Baltimore for careful examination. He improves this occasion to thank Mr. Minor anew for his great kindness, and to thank also those who dwell in the "Theatre of Marcellus" for their co-operating influences.

part of the earth, and it is the consciousness as well as confidence in this which emboldens me to make the present request." This is a good illustration of Jefferson's method of acquiring information upon educational matters, and of his continued interest in the university idea, even when burdened with responsibility as President of the Federal Republic.

JOSEPH CARRINGTON CABELL'S EUROPEAN TRAINING.

In the year 1806 a young Virginian, returning from three years' travel and study in Europe, arrived in Washington with letters of introduction to Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States. This young man, then twenty-eight years old, was Joseph Carrington Cabell (1778–1856). He was a graduate of William and Mary College in the year 1798, and afterward studied law in Williamsburg with Judge Tucker. Like Thomas Jefferson, Cabell was one of the finest types of liberal and professional culture ever graduated from that royal old college, which trained up many statesmen for Virginia. Like Jefferson, too, Cabell had experienced the liberalizing and broadening influence of European culture. He went to Europe in 1803 for his health, which remained delicate throughout his entire life. Like Jefferson, again, Cabell made Paris the centre of his European study. He heard the lectures of Cuvier and other professors at the Collège de France. He studied natural science at Montpellier, and sojourned at various Italian universities, notably at Padua, Rome, and Naples. Educational methods appear to have been Cabell's as well as Jefferson's principal object of inquiry. Both men conceived the same ideal of benefiting their native State by means of progressive ideas from Europe. Like Jefferson, Cabell interested himself in Swiss education. He went to Verdun and studied the novel system of Pestalozzi, which he afterwards endeavored to introduce into Virginia. He visited also the Universities of Leyden, Cambridge, and Oxford, and thus completed a grand tour of educational observation. Such was the preliminary training of the man whose influence was to become second only to that of Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia. This man's work is almost unknown outside his native State, and it is the privilege of a student of educational history to point out the important connection established between Cabell and Jefferson.

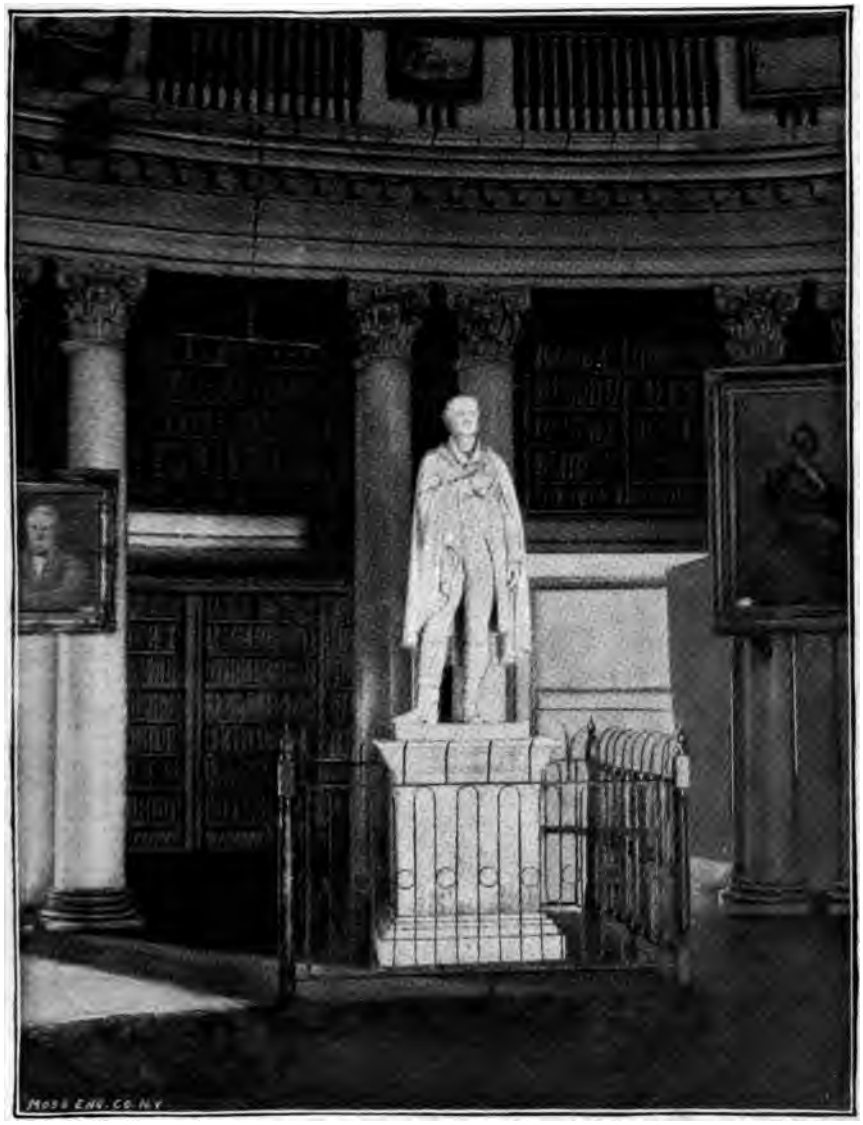
JEFFERSON AND CABELL.

The young Virginian attracted the veteran statesman so strongly, that the latter offered Cabell various positions in the civil and in the diplomatic service; but Cabell had lived long enough away from home. He was anxious to return to Virginia and to identify himself with the interests of his own people. In the year 1807 he became interested in the project of De la Coste, a French scientist, to establish a museum of natural history at William and Mary College. Application was made to Mr. Jefferson for aid, but the project was discouraged by him. Jefferson

had now drifted far away from his *alma mater*. His private secretary, Col. Isaac A. Coles, wrote to Cabell, expressing, naturally, Jefferson's own views, and making this important suggestion: "If the amelioration of education and the diffusion of knowledge be the favorite objects of your life, avail yourself of the favorable dispositions of your countrymen, and consent to go into our legislative body. Instead of wasting your time in attempting to patch up a decaying institution, direct your efforts to a higher and more valuable object. *Found a new one which shall be worthy of the first State in the Union.* This may, this certainly will one day be done, and why not now? *You may not succeed in one session, or in two, but you will succeed at last.*" Thus, in 1807, from Jefferson's own secretary came to Cabell a Declaration of Independence in the matter of higher education for Virginia. It was at once the assertion of a new line of educational policy, and a practical suggestion to an ambitious young man, able and willing to carry the university idea into the Virginia Legislature.

Following the advice of his friend, Cabell went into Virginia politics. He became a member of the House of Delegates in 1809, and two years later was elected to the State Senate, where he remained until the year 1829, the most efficient champion of Jefferson's three great ideas,—local government, popular education, and a State university. It is the simple truth to say that, without Joseph Carrington Cabell's persistent labors in the Legislature, his self-sacrifice and indomitable courage, his wonderful political tact and unfailing diplomacy, Jefferson's university ideal would never have been realized, at least in his life-time. It was once publicly stated in the Virginia Senate, in 1828, that in promoting "that monument of wisdom," the university, Cabell was "second only to Jefferson."

In visiting the library of the University of Virginia, all men gaze with interest upon the statue of Jefferson, standing there under the stately dome which he so nobly planned. Few strangers, however, seek out that interesting portrait of Cabell which hangs upon the library wall. A thoughtful, kindly, yet determined face has this Virginia scholar, who, by good politics, founded and sustained a great university. Through that one man's energy Jefferson succeeded in achieving the independence of higher education in Virginia, and in uniting men of all sects in the support of a State university.



STATUE OF JEFFERSON BY GALT, IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

CHAPTER IV.

ALBEMARLE ACADEMY AND CENTRAL COLLEGE.

JEFFERSON'S NEW PROJECT.

In the possession of Miss Sarah N. Randolph, of Baltimore, is an original letter by Jefferson, dated at Annapolis, December 31, 1783, and containing the first intimation of an attempt to establish an institute for liberal education in the vicinity of his own home. There is no address upon the letter, but it was evidently written to some gentleman in Albemarle County. A copy has been kindly made for insertion here:

"DEAR SIR: Just before I left Albemarle a proposition was started for establishing there a grammar school. You were so kind as to tell me you would write me the progress of the proposition. On my part I was to inquire for a tutor. To this I have not been inattentive. I inquired at Princeton of Dr. Witherspoon, but he informed me that that college was but just getting together again, and that no such person could of course be had there. I inquired at Philadelphia for some literary character of the Irish nation in that city. There was none such, and in the course of my inquiries I was informed that learning is but little cultivated there, and that few persons have ever been known to come from that nation as tutors. I concluded on the whole, then, if the scheme should be carried on, and fixed on so firm a basis as that we might on its faith venture to bring a man from his native country, it would be best for me to interest some person in Scotland to engage a good one. From that country we are sure of having sober, attentive men. However, this must await your information.

"We learn with certainty that a war in Europe is unavoidable—the two empires on one side and the Turks on the other. It is probable France and Prussia will aid the Turks; Great Britain is likely to be employed by Ireland. The Dutch are engaged in civil commotions, the object of which is the reduction of the power of the stadtholder. We have yet but seven States in Congress, and nine are required to ratify the treaty. As the ratification should be exchanged in Paris by the 3d of March, this gives us great uneasiness. I am, with much esteem, Dear Sir,

"Your friend and servant, TH. JEFFERSON."

Thus, in the greatest diplomatic crisis in our nation's history, and in the midst of world-moving events, Jefferson found time to think of the

higher educational interests of his native county. The letter is most remarkable, not only as illustrating the condition of higher education in America at the close of the Revolution, but as clearly foreshadowing that broad educational policy which Jefferson afterwards adopted for the University of Virginia in securing its first professors from Europe.

The project for an academy in Albemarle County slumbered until 1803, when the institution was chartered by the Legislature; but it remained on paper only, until after Mr. Jefferson's election to the board of trustees, March 23, 1814. From that election dates the beginning of the actual development process of the Albemarle Academy into the University of Virginia. After long years of inquiry and reflection, Jefferson had evolved in his own mind a system of higher education, of which William and Mary College had supplied the original germ. That system was now to be grafted upon Albemarle Academy and made to flourish under Jefferson's own eye.

He was present at the next meeting of the board of trustees. Peter Carr was chosen president, and Mr. Jefferson was made chairman of a committee to report a plan for raising funds. The committee reported within ten days; subscriptions were recommended, a lottery was proposed, and Jefferson was made chairman of a committee to petition the Legislature for the proceeds of the sale of certain glebe lands in Albemarle County. A committee was soon appointed to select a site for the academy, who reported August 19, 1814, in favor of placing the academy in the vicinity of the town of Charlottesville, and presented a plan for improving the site. In all probability this plan was drawn by Jefferson, who certainly prepared the ground-plan of Central College, which became the University of Virginia. Albemarle Academy, although it existed only on paper, is important historically, for it was the legal foundation of those two higher institutions, and the immediate occasion of the educational correspondence with Dr. Thomas Cooper and Peter Carr.

DR. THOMAS COOPER.

Dr. Thomas Cooper was an Englishman by birth and the son-in-law of Dr. Priestley, the English philosopher. With him Cooper came out to America, and found refuge from political and religious persecution in the State of Pennsylvania.[1] Both were liberals in politics and in religion. Cooper edited his father-in-law's writings and acquired the reputation of being a Unitarian, which greatly impeded his scientific career in this country. The man was well versed in the natural sciences, particularly in chemistry, physics, and physiology. To all the excellence of scientific training and a well-rounded university cult-

[1] Jefferson mentions Priestley and Cooper in a letter to Tench Coxe, dated Monticello, May 1, 1794: "I am sorry Mr. Cooper and Priestley did not take a more general survey of our country before they fixed themselves. I think they might have promoted their own advantage by it, and have aided the introduction of improvement where it is more wanting."

ure, he added a special aptitude for the law and for political science. He was one of the earliest writers in this country upon the subject of political economy, and he was absolutely the first to introduce the study of Roman law by his edition of Justinian,[1] with analogies and contrasts

[1] Upon inquiry at the University of Virginia, the writer learned from Professor Minor, the head of the law department, that he owned a copy of Cooper's work on Roman law. Amid the varied interests attending the writer's hurried visit he neglected to note the exact title of Cooper's work. He owes the following information to the courtesy of Mr. Minor:

"LAW DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
"*December* 1, 1887.

"In pursuance of yours of 30th ultimo, received this morning, I inclose a copy of the title-page of Cooper's Institutes, with the number of pages covering each part of the contents, showing also that the volume is ordinary law octavo. It contains nothing but Tribonian's elementary exposition of the leading principles of the intended *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and especially of that part known as the Pandects or Digest. The English translation of Dr. Cooper is ranged side by side with Justinian's Latin text; so that the latter alone would embrace about 250 octavo pages. Cooper's translation is founded upon that of Harris, and differs from it only in occasionally employing a more condensed expression. His notes owe very little to Harris, and in the main appear to me, who am only a sciolist in the Roman law, judicious and instructive. It is certainly remarkable that in England, as well as with us, the study of Roman jurisprudence should have been so slowly introduced amongst the professors of the common law; and especially as amongst the practitioners in the ecclesiastical courts and the courts of admiralty a familiar acquaintance with it had been cultivated from the time of Stephen, in the eleventh century. Lord Mansfield seems to have stood alone, amongst the frequenters of Westminster Hall, in his knowledge of Roman law, and Judge Story and Chancellor Kent pretty much monopolized it in the United States until comparatively a few years ago. I suppose its being the basis of the law of Louisiana may have given some impulse to the more recent tendency to study it. In 1845 Makelday's Compendium of Modern Civil Law, edited by Kaufmann, was published in New York, but I have the impression that its circulation was very limited; and to this day with us the acquaintance with the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and with the commentators is confined within the narrowest limits."

The following is a copy of the title-page of Cooper's Institutes, as described by Professor Minor: The Institutes of Justinian, with Notes, by Thomas Cooper, Esq. [Second edition.] New York: Halstead and Voorhees, Law Publishers, Corner of Nassau and Cedar Streets. 1841.

	Pages.
Index to notes and references	xxi
Dr. Cooper's preface	v
Harris's account of rise and progress of Roman law	vi
Institutes, *Proemium*	4
Body of work	386
Novels, extracts from *De Successione*	10
Dr. Cooper's notes, etc	206
Index	21
Total	659

A copy of the original edition of Cooper's Institutes of Justinian, prepared when Cooper was professor of chemistry at Carlisle, Pa., and published at Philadelphia, 1812, was presented to the writer of this report by one of his students from Pennsylvania, after the above account of the edition of 1841 had been received from Professor Minor.

between the English and the Roman law—a work which led Jefferson to propose a history of the common law and the study of historical jurisprudence.[1] Cooper was driven to the practice of law as a livelihood in Pennsylvania, and rose to the position of a judge. Hence he is frequently mentioned in Jefferson's correspondence as Judge Cooper, although more usually known in American educational history as Dr. Cooper. He was for a time professor in Dickinson College, and was after-

[1] Jefferson anticipated some of the modern tendencies of legal education. Very interesting views with reference to historical jurisprudence and a proper course of legal study are to be found in his letter to Cooper, dated January 16, 1814, and in his advice to Dabney Terrell, February 26, 1821. (See Works, VII, 206, 209, 382, 414.) Jefferson's views in regard to the subject of law were as advanced as his views of education. As early as the time of the Revolution he attempted to put the laws of Virginia into simple, straightforward, intelligible English. He once said to Cabell, September 9, 1817: "I dislike the verbose and intricate style of the modern English statutes, and in our revised code I endeavored to restore it to the simple one of the ancient statutes, in such original bills as I drew in that work. I suppose the reformation has not been acceptable, as it has been little followed."

A valuable article on "Thomas Jefferson as a Legislator" was published in the Virginia Law Journal for December, 1887, by R. G. Kean, Esq. He says that the influence of Jefferson in the reformation of the tautological style of legal expression made itself felt in the Virginia code of 1849, prepared by the late Conway Robinson and John M. Patton. The laws of Virginia, as revised by Jefferson, Wythe, [and Pendleton,] were reported in one hundred and twenty-six bills, all embraced within ninety folio pages. Bills for a system of public education and a bill prohibiting the slave trade were among these proposed laws. Among them, also, was the famous statute establishing religious freedom, passed August 13, 1786, when Jefferson was in Paris. It excited great interest in Europe among diplomatic circles and was inserted in the *Encyclopédie*. The criminal law was wonderfully improved by Jefferson. He eliminated the barbarous features of English penal law, and reduced the cases requiring the death penalty from twenty-nine to two,—treason and murder. This portion of Jefferson's work as a legislator is remarkable for his citations from the original Anglo-Saxon laws (see Works, IV, 146).

In regard to slavery, Jefferson and his fellow commissioners not only reported a bill prohibiting the further importation of slaves (which was one of the first laws passed, 1778; see Hening, IX, 471), but were prepared to report in favor of emancipation of all of slave descent born after the passage of the act just named; but the public mind would not bear the proposition then, "nor will it bear it even at this day," said Jefferson in his memoir in 1821. "Yet the day is not distant when it must bear it and adopt it, *or worse will follow*. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free." There is an interesting letter on abolition in Jefferson's Works, VII, 408. Jefferson prepared statutes which swept away the English laws of entail and primogeniture, with every vestige of feudalism. So perfect was his statute of descents that "in the experience of a completed century but one single doubt as to the construction and effect of any part of it has arisen. That single doubt was resolved by the case of *Davis* v. *Rowe*, 6 Randolph, 355." Even that case, it is said, was decided by principles contained in the original act.

The above statement is condensed from Mr. Kean's interesting and suggestive article. Similar views are expressed in 2 Minor's Institutes (3d ed.), pp. 467–470, 531–534, and in 1 *Id.*, 6. Upon Jefferson's favorite idea of gradual emancipation, which would have been good statesmanship and good economy for the South, see Madison's Writings, III, 133 *et seq.*, and IV, 274. There is an article by A. D. White on "Jefferson and Slavery" in the Atlantic Monthly, Vol. IX, 1862, p. 29.

wards a lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania. His connection with the University of Virginia and with South Carolina College, where he was the immediate predecessor of Francis Lieber, will be described in other connections.

Cooper is mentioned in Jefferson's first published letter to his friend, Joseph C. Cabell, June 27, 1810, in a most graphic way: "I enclose you a letter from Judge Cooper, of Pennsylvania, a political refugee with Dr. Priestley from the fires and mobs of Birmingham. He is one of the ablest men in America, and that in several branches of science. The law opinion which he mentions I have received, and a more luminous one has not been seen. The best pieces on political economy which have been written in this country were by Cooper. He is a great chemist, and now proposes to resume his mineralogical studies on this subject; you will perceive that he wishes a correspondent in our State. I know of nobody to whom I can so advantageously commit him as to yourself." Although Cabell was unwilling, from his connection with politics, to revert to mineralogical studies once pursued in France and Switzerland, yet Jefferson continued to correspond with Cooper, who gave him much practical advice representing English university experience. The importance of this advice to Jefferson may be suggested by the fact that Cooper was the first chosen professor of natural science and law in the University of Virginia, and that his opinion was courted with reference to filling the chair of language and history.

JEFFERSON'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH COOPER.

It is interesting to observe that Jefferson's educational inquiries of Dr. Cooper begin to have a local and definite significance just before the attempted revival of Albemarle Academy, and that the correspondence proceeds upon that local basis of university education. On the 16th of January, 1814, Jefferson wrote to Cooper:

"I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for the plan of an university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others. The general idea is suggested in the Notes on Virginia, Qu. 14. This would probably absorb the functions of William and Mary College, and transfer them to a healthier and more central position: *perhaps to the neighborhood of this place.* The long and lingering decline of William and Mary, the death of its last president [Bishop Madison], its location and climate, force on us the wish for a new institution more convenient to our country generally, and better adapted to the present state of science. I have been told there will be an effort in the present session of our Legislature to effect such an establishment. I confess, however, that I have not great confidence that this will be done. Should it happen, it would offer places worthy of you, and of which you are worthy. It might produce, too, a bidder for the apparatus and library of Dr. Priestley, to which they might add mine on their own terms. This consists of about seven

or eight thousand volumes, the best chosen collection of its size probably in America, and containing a great mass of what is most rare and valuable, and especially what relates to America."[1]

A few months later, August 25, 1814, Jefferson again writes to Dr. Cooper, from Monticello, concerning the project for a university, and asks advice respecting the courses of study: "In my letter of January 16th, I mentioned to you that it had long been in contemplation to get a university established in this State, in which all the branches of science useful *to us*, and *at this day*, should be taught in their highest degree, and that this institution should be incorporated with the college and funds of William and Mary. But what are the sciences useful to us, and at this day thought useful to anybody? A glance over Bacon's *arbor scientiæ* will show the foundation for this question, and how many of his ramifications of science are now lopt off as nugatory. To be prepared for this new establishment, I have taken some pains to ascertain those branches which men of sense, as well as of science, deem worthy of cultivation. To the statements which I have obtained from other sources, I should highly value an addition of one from yourself. You know our country, its pursuits, its faculties, its relations with others, its means of establishing and maintaining an institution of general science, and the spirit of economy with which it requires that these should be administered. Will you, then, so far contribute to our views as to consider this subject, to make a statement of the branches of science which you think worthy of being taught, as I have before said, at this day and in this country? But to accommodate them to our economy, it will be necessary further to distribute them into groups, each group comprehending as many branches as one industrious professor may competently teach, and, as much as may be, a duly associated family or class of kindred sciences. The object of this is to bring the whole circle of useful science under the direction of the smallest number of professors possible, and that our means may be so frugally employed as to effect the greatest possible good. We are about to make an effort for the introduction of this institution."[2]

On the 10th of September, but little more than a fortnight after the letter to Dr. Cooper, quoted above, Jefferson addressed him again in language indicating that his plan was ripening fast:

"I regret much that I was so late in consulting you on the subject of the academy we wish to establish here. The progress of that business has obliged me to prepare an address to the president of the board of trustees—a plan for its organization. I send you a copy of it with a broad margin, that, if your answer to mine of August 25th be not on the way, you may be so good as to write your suggestions either in the margin or on a separate paper. We shall still be able to avail ourselves of them by way of amendments."

[1] Writings of Jefferson, VI, 294. [2] Writings of Jefferson, VI, 371-2.

LETTER TO PETER CARR.

The address to the president of the board of trustees of Albemarle Academy, of which a copy was submitted by Jefferson to Dr. Cooper for further suggestions, was a letter to Peter Carr, dated Monticello, September 7, 1814. It is the most important document in the early history of the University of Virginia, for it defines Jefferson's educational views as matured after more than thirty years of reflection, from the time when he first draughted a bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge. The letter[1] was originally printed in the Richmond Enquirer for the purpose of popularizing Jefferson's views. It was reprinted in 1817 in a pamphlet called "Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education for the State of Virginia," which is absolutely the oldest and most original collection of materials upon the origin of the University. It is also reprinted in the appendix to the published letters of Jefferson and Cabell. This letter to Carr not only contains the plan of organization for the academy mentioned in Jefferson's letter to Dr. Cooper, but it suggests the possibility of expanding that institution into a college, with professional schools. Jefferson's inquiries and his general plan of organization appear to have elicited three letters of comment from Dr. Cooper, written in quick succession, September 15, 21, and 22, but all arriving at Monticello in the same mail. The first of these letters Jefferson returned to Cooper, who wished to publish it in the Portfolio. "It will give our young men," said Jefferson,[2] "some idea of what constitutes an educated man." With Cooper's views that "a professorship of theology should have no place in our institution," Jefferson quite agreed, although he included it in his original plan as communicated to Peter Carr.

The following extracts and summary of the letter, which may be called the literary foundation of the University of Virginia, will not be without general interest to students of American educational history:

"On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance, to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth, or by accession from other quarters. I have long entertained the hope that this, our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation into that of William and Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place

[1] It appeared in Niles's Register, March 16, 1816.

[2] Jefferson's reply, October 7, 1814, to Dr. Cooper's comments appears to have been used by the former, together with the letter to Peter Carr and other documents, for university propaganda. See Correspondence with Joseph C. Cabell, pp. 36, 37.

in such an institution. In order to prepare what I had promised our trustees I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them, no two being alike. Yet I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the condition of the section of society for which they have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would be suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they have set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good *for us*, and, with them, to erect a structure whose arrangement shall correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive."

GENERAL VIEW OF EDUCATION.

After this sensible introduction, which contains a wholesome warning against mere imitation in educational establishments and a proper recognition of peculiar local conditions in every individual foundation, Jefferson proceeds to survey the general field of education and to mark out that particular portion to be occupied by the proposed institution in his immediate neighborhood. He considers the subject under three heads: elementary schools, general schools, and professional schools. Under the first head he observes that it is the duty of government to see that every citizen is educated according to his condition and pursuits in life. He divides the mass of citizens into the laboring and the learned classes, including under the former agricultural labor and handicrafts, and under the latter certain skilled labor and technical knowledge. Elementary schools will suffice for the laboring classes. Jefferson notes the fact that a plan was once proposed to the Legislature of Virginia to divide every county into hundreds or wards, five or six miles square, each ward to have its own schools, for the elementary education of the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. He expresses the hope that this project, once ineffectually attempted, may be resumed "in a more promising form." Passing to the second head, Jefferson remarks that pupils leaving the elementary schools will separate into two classes, for the pursuit of labor and science, respectively. Pupils destined for the latter will go to college, where higher education is afforded by general schools and is specialized in professional schools. The learned class he divides into two sections: first, those destined for professional life; and second, the wealthy, who "may aspire to share in conducting the affairs of the nation, or live with usefulness and respect in the private ranks of life." Both the learned and the wealthy will require the higher education, but the former will need to specialize and pass from the general to professional schools.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES.

Jefferson then attempts to classify the branches of useful science, which ought to be taught in the general schools. He groups them under three departments: language, mathematics, and philosophy. In the first department he arranges languages and history, ancient and modern; grammar, belles-lettres, rhetoric, and oratory, and a school for the deaf, dumb, and blind. "History," he says, "is here associated with languages, not as a kindred subject, but on a principle of economy, because both may be attained by the same course of reading, if books are selected with that view." This thought, originally advanced by Jefferson as the basis of elementary education, became in the person of George Long, the classical historian, one of the ideal corner-stones of the University of Virginia. Under the head of mathematics Jefferson classified the following sciences: pure mathematics, physico-mathematics, physics chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, and the theory of medicine.

Under philosophy he grouped ideology, ethics, the law of nature and of nations, government, and political economy. By the term ideology Jefferson meant simply the science of the human understanding. He borrowed his novel term from a French writer, Count Destutt Tracy, member of the Senate and of the Institute of France, whose treatise on the Elements of Ideology was first published in France in the year 1801, and is reported by Jefferson to have been condemned by Napoleon as "the dark and metaphysical doctrine of Ideology, which, diving into first causes, founds on this basis a legislation of the people."[1] This work, which the present generation would probably condemn on other grounds, made a profound impression upon Jefferson, who wished to establish democracy upon a philosophical basis.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

Let us observe what Jefferson said to Peter Carr concerning professional schools, the third and last topic of the discussion. To these schools would come those students who propose to make learning their profession, and who wish to pursue particular sciences with more minuteness and detail than is possible in the college proper, which would give simply a liberal education. "In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained." Here Jefferson discovers the real university idea, and at the same time the idea of specialization for a definite purpose. "To these professional schools will come," he says, "the lawyer to the school of law; the ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history; the physician to those of the practice of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy, and surgery; the military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles; the agricultor to that of rural economy; the gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter, and musician, to the school of fine arts."

[1] Jefferson's letter to Colonel Duane, April 4, 1813.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Besides the university idea and the thought of these special schools, Jefferson, in his letter to Carr, clearly anticipated the modern idea of technical education. He proposed what he called a "school of technical philosophy," where certain of the higher branches should be taught in abridged form to meet practical wants. "To such a school," he said, "will come the mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pump-maker, clock-maker, mechanist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleacher, soap-maker, tanner, powder-maker, salt-maker, glass-maker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, acoustics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy, and pharmacy." In this school of technology Jefferson proposed to group the students in convenient classes for elementary and practical instruction by lectures, to be given in the evening, so as to afford an opportunity for labor in the day-time. Military exercises were to be required on certain days throughout the entire course for all grades of students. Thus the features of military schools, technological institutes, and modern agricultural colleges were associated with the higher education in a people's university, as conceived by Thomas Jefferson.

Of course Jefferson did not expect to realize all at once this educational scheme as proposed to Peter Carr. He urged as a practicable beginning the establishment of a general school or college, with four professorships, grouping, (1) language and history, belles-lettres, rhetoric, and oratory; (2) mathematics, physics, etc.; (3) chemistry and other natural sciences; (4) philosophy, which, in his view, included political science. He said these professorships "must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself." With further increase of resources, professional schools were to be added. Such were the fundamental lines of thought which gave shape to the first project for a University of Virginia in Jefferson's own neighborhood. Like the preliminary drawings of a great artist, these bold outlines have a permanent interest to the student.

JEFFERSON'S APPEAL TO CABELL IN THE LEGISLATURE.

Peter Carr sent the letter which Jefferson had written him to a member of the Legislature, together with other documents prepared by Jefferson in the interest of the Albemarle Academy. That member appears to have held them back for some unaccountable reason. On the 5th of January, 1815, Jefferson wrote as follows to his energetic friend, Joseph C. Cabell: "Could the petition which the Albemarle Academy addressed

to our Legislature have succeeded at the late session, a little aid additional to the objects of that would have enabled us *to have here immediately the best seminary of the United States.* I do not know to whom P. Carr (president of the board of trustees) committed the petition and papers; but I have seen no trace of their having been offered. Thinking it possible you may not have seen them, I send for your perusal the copies I retained for my own use. They consist: (1) Of a letter to him, sketching, at the request of the trustees, a plan for the institution; (2) one to Judge Cooper, in answer to some observations he had favored me with, on the plan; (3) a copy of the petition of the trustees; (4) a copy of the act we wished from the Legislature. They are long, but *as we always counted on you as the main pillar of their support, and we shall probably return to the charge at the next session*, the trouble of reading them will come upon you, and as well now as then. The lottery allowed by the former act, the proceeds of our two glebes, and our dividend of the literary fund, with the reorganization of the institution, are what was asked for in that petition. In addition to this, if we could obtain a loan for four or five years only of $7,000 or $8,000, *I think I have it now in my power to obtain three of the ablest characters in the world to fill the higher professorships* of what in the plan is called the second or general grade of education; three such characters as are not in a single university of Europe; and for those of language and mathematics, a part of the same grade, able professors doubtless could also be readily obtained. With these characters I should not be afraid to say that the circle of the sciences composing that second or general grade would be more profoundly taught here than in any institution in the United States, and I might go farther."

It is very interesting to observe, in this same letter to Cabell, that Jefferson says he has lately received a letter from Jean Baptiste Say, who was contemplating a removal to America, "and to this neighborhood." Undoubtedly Jefferson had him in mind as "one of the three ablest characters in the world" for a professorship in the new institution. Virginia would indeed have had one of the most distinguished representatives of economics, if Jean Baptiste Say[1] had been persuaded to come, as at one time seemed highly probable. Another of the three prospective members of the faculty was undoubtedly Thomas Cooper, who would at that time have represented chemistry, and natural science in general, better than any man of Jefferson's acquaintance in America. The third genius must have been a philosopher, for, according to the above letter, Jefferson had as yet no one in view for either language or mathematics. Possibly the "ideologist" was to be Count Destutt Tracy, for whose writings Jefferson was making vigorous propaganda at this very time. It was certainly correspondence with such men as these that made Jefferson so eager to develop

[1] On Say's project of removing to "the neighborhood of Charlottesville, on which he has cast his eye," see Jefferson's letter to M. Correa de Serra, December 27, 1814

a local academy into a larger institution, where genius could find free scope.

THE LITERARY FUND.

As early as 1810 the Legislature of Virginia had instituted the so-called literary fund. A bill, drawn up by James Barbour and presented by a committee of which Mr. Cabell was a member, was passed that year and appropriated "certain escheats, penalties, and forfeitures to the encouragement of learning." It is not at all improbable that the influence of Jefferson, through Cabell, was at the bottom of this enactment, although the credit of it was claimed by Governor Barbour in an address at a planters' convention in Richmond, in 1836.[1] In the winter of 1815–16 Charles Fenton Mercer, chairman of the committee on finance, reported to the lower house a measure favoring the increase of the literary fund by the addition of the debt then due to Virginia by the Government of the United States for expenses incurred in the war of 1812. This report, which was adopted, is the origin of Mr. Mercer's rival claim to the honor of establishing the literary fund, which claim he advanced in an address on popular education, published in 1826. Undoubtedly both Governor Barbour and Mr. Mercer deserve individual credit for their part in laying what afterward became one of the most substantial economic foundations of the University of Virginia; but we must remember that the forces of legislation are always very complex, and that the secret springs of action are not always seen. Some light is thrown upon Mr. Mercer's report by the following extract from a letter to Jefferson, written by Cabell, January 24, 1816: "Since writing the enclosed letter I have conversed with Mr. Mercer, of the House of Delegates, to whom I had lent your letter to Mr. Carr, upon being informed by him that he had it in contemplation to endeavor to get a considerable part of the debt due from the General Government to the State of Virginia appropriated to the establishment of a grand scheme of education. He appears much pleased with your view of the subject, and as he proposes to make a report to the lower house, concurs with me in the propriety of availing the country of the light you have shed upon this great interest of the community. Would you object to the publication of your letter to Mr. Carr? Indeed, sir, I may take the liberty to have your letter printed before I can get your answer.[2] I do not believe the General Assembly will make at this time so great an appropriation as the one proposed by Mr. Mercer; but I will do anything in my power to

[1] Ruffin's Farmer's Register, III, 688, quoted in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, 50.

[2] Jefferson consented, February 2, 1816, to the publication of his letter, and it appeared in the Richmond Enquirer about that time. On the 21st of February, 1816, Cabell wrote to Jefferson: "You will have seen your letter to Mr. Carr in the Enquirer. It came out on the morning of the day that the resolution passed the House of Delegates appropriating the surplus [all over and above $600,000] of our United States debt to the literary fund, and, I have reasons to believe, had a considerable effect in promoting the passage of that resolution."

promote it. And should the measure succeed, my object would be to make your plan the basis of our measures. * * * My intention is, as soon as I hear from you, to secure the passage of the bill respecting the Central College, nearly or entirely in its present shape. Then, or previously, I will, if not prevented, publish your letter to Mr. Carr, so as to prevent this game from being easily taken out of the hands of those who are entitled to it." Cabell referred to the probable rivalry of Staunton and Lexington with Charlottesville for the establishment of "a great State seminary."

Jefferson early saw the possibilities of the literary fund for the endowment of a State university. In a letter to Cabell, dated September 30, 1814, he urges legislative precautions with reference to "the funds of the literary society," an expression which the editor of the correspondence between Jefferson and Cabell is unable to explain (see note to page 30 of that volume). Jefferson meant simply the literary fund, and he meant to secure a county-dividend of the same for the benefit of Albemarle Academy, as the petition presented to the Legislature about this time clearly shows. With the development of Albemarle Academy into Central College, Jefferson's intentions took larger scope. He proposed gradually to absorb the profits of the entire fund, and also to capture the lion's share of the endowment of William and Mary College, reducing that institution to the level of half a dozen or more small colleges, all tributary to the central university. There lurked a deep meaning in that term *Central* College. It was the idea of *centralization in the higher education*, first geographically, for general convenience, then economically and intellectually, for the highest good of the whole State. It would be the best educational policy for the United States and for the individual States. The great obstacles to the first success of this bold idea were:

(1) The democratic impulse to distribute the proceeds of the literary fund for the establishment of common schools, which, Jefferson always urged, should be founded and sustained by local government and local taxation, or by *self help* in townships, wards, or school districts.

(2) The opposition of Federalists to Jefferson's project.

(3) The powerful opposition of William and Mary College, which was fighting for life.

(4) The rivalry of Washington College at Lexington, a Presbyterian institution, second only to William and Mary in historic prestige.

(5) The municipal attractions of Richmond, Staunton, and other growing places.

(6) Ecclesiastical opposition, directed against the proposed non-sectarianism of Jefferson's university,—another great idea in modern education.

(7) The policy of decentralization and local distribution of State bounties to the higher education,—the worst of all enemies to the idea of State universities.

That Jefferson and Cabell should have succeeded in triumphing over all of these foes, in securing a large part of the literary fund, and in centralizing the higher education in the vicinity of Charlottesville, is one of the greatest triumphs in American educational history, for it was the first of its kind and cost the hardest struggle.

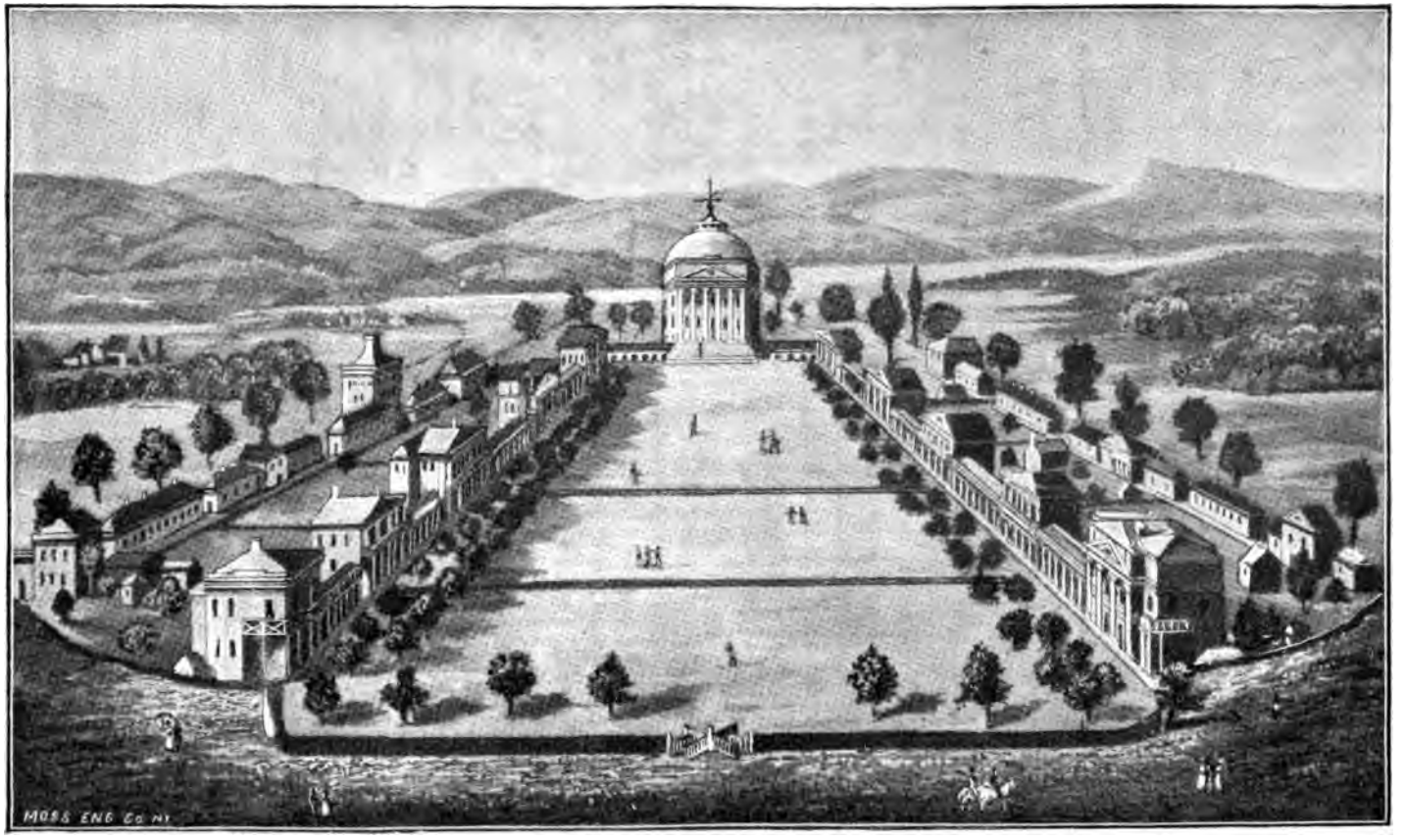
CENTRAL COLLEGE.

The methods by which the University of Virginia was evolved from the individual thought of Jefferson into a popular institution are an unwritten chapter in American educational history, but it is worth writing, because it shows how vital a connection may be established between democracy and the higher education, and that, too, under the most unfavorable conditions. There was absolutely nothing for Jefferson to build upon except an idea. It was impossible to make a State university out of old William and Mary College, which was then a church institution. There were not even common schools to render education popular. Jefferson had conceived the original idea of developing into a State university a county academy *which as yet existed only on paper.* There was no endowment whatever. Everything had to be created. Through the energy of Cabell the petition of the trustees of Albemarle Academy to receive for this institution the money which had arisen from the sale of the two glebes of the parishes of Saint Ann and Fredericksville in Albemarle County, was granted; but the application to have, for the same purpose, their county dividend of the literary fund, was rejected by the Legislature.

On the 14th of February, 1816, was passed an act changing the name of Albemarle Academy to Central College, of which the Governor of the Commonwealth was to be the patron, with power to appoint a board of six visitors and to fill vacancies. The visitors could appoint professors and other officers. Thomas Jefferson was the only one of the old academy board who was re-appointed. The new appointees were James Madison, James Monroe, Joseph C. Cabell, David Watson, and J. H. Cocke. In the new corporation were vested all the rights and privileges of the old board, which handed over the records of Albemarle Academy. The records of Central College extend from May 5, 1817, to May 11, 1818. They are interesting for the light they throw upon the gradual evolution of the University of Virginia from a local seminary. The cornerstone of Central College was laid October 6, 1817, in the presence of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, then President of the United States. Probably no institution of learning in the United States ever had so many presidential trustees.

IDEA OF AN ACADEMICAL VILLAGE.

Among the external features of the University of Virginia, as it now stands, nothing is more interesting to the visitor than the peculiar ground-plan of construction. It seems to be a modern adaptation of the mediæval idea of cloistered retreats, with colonnades and quadrangles, the latter



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE UNIVERSITY. FROM BOHN'S ALBUM.

opening toward the south. The buildings consist of pavilions, or large two-storied houses, for the professors, which, with the large library building or rotunda, are arranged at intervals around three sides of a a square, and are all connected by small one-storied brick dormitories for the students, each dormitory containing only one room, which opens upon a covered colonnade or *kreuzgang*, suggestive of a monastic cell. A reproduction of the mediæval monastery was perhaps very far from Jefferson's mind; but, whether consciously or unconsciously, he revived some of its most striking architectural effects, although in classical rather than in Gothic style.

The historical germ of the whole plan of construction may be found in the records of the first meeting of the trustees of the Central College, May 5, 1817, when "on view of a plan presented to the trustees of the Albemarle Academy for erecting a distinct pavilion or building for each separate professorship, and for arranging these around a square, each pavilion containing a school-room and two apartments for the accommodation of the professor, with other reasonable conveniences, the board determines that one of those pavilions shall now be erected, and they request the proctor, so soon as the funds are at his command, to agree with proper workmen for the building of one, of stone or brick below ground and of brick above, of substantial work, of regular architecture, well executed, and to be completed, if possible, during the ensuing summer and winter. * * * And it is further resolved, that so far as the funds may admit, the proctor be requested to proceed to the erection of dormitories for the students adjacent to the said pavilion, not exceeding ten on each side, of brick, and of regular architecture, according to the same plan proposed."

In a report made by the trustees of Central College, January 6, 1818, to the speaker of the House of Delegates, it is stated that they purchased "at a distance of a mile from Charlottesville, and for the sum of $1,518.75, two hundred acres of land, on which was an eligible site for the college, high, dry, open, furnished with good water, and nothing in its vicinity which could threaten the health of the students.

"Instead of constructing a single and large edifice, which might have exhausted their funds, and left nothing, or too little, for other essential expenses, they thought it better to erect a small and separate building or pavilion for each professor they should be able to employ, with an apartment for his lectures and others for his own accommodation, connecting these pavilions by a range of dormitories, capable each of lodging two students only—a provision equally friendly to study as to morals and order.

"The plan offered the further advantages of greater security against fire and infection, of extending the buildings in equal pace with the funds, and of adding to them indefinitely hereafter, with the indefinite progress of the contributions, private or public, and it gave to the whole, in form and effect, the character of *an academical village*."

Such was Jefferson's idea of the external form of the future University of Virginia. In this report, of which he is manifestly the author, the trustees of Central College assure the Legislature of their willingness to transfer all the property and rights of Central College toward the establishment of a State university. They say that they have realized nearly $3,200 from the sale of the glebe lands, and altogether, including subscriptions, they "count with safety on forty-six or forty-seven thousand dollars." The actual subscription lists to the Central College which are printed in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, show a total of over $44,000. These lists of names represent twelve different counties and three cities, Richmond, Lynchburg, and Winchester, and show a remarkably wide-spread interest in Jefferson's project. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Cabell, Cocke, and five other gentlemen subscribed each $1,000. There were over two hundred subscriptions, ranging from $5 to $500. Such liberality and such a considerable number of names are interesting evidence of the favorable attitude of the Virginia planters at this period (1818) toward the higher education.

JEFFERSON TO JOHN ADAMS ON CENTRAL COLLEGE.

The progress and prospects of Central College, just before its transition into the University of Virginia, are well shown in a letter from Jefferson to John Adams, dated Poplar Forest,[1] September 8, 1817: "A month's absence from Monticello has added to the delay of acknowledging your last letters, and, indeed, for a month before I left it, our projected college gave me constant employment; for, being the only visitor in its immediate neighborhood, all its administrative business falls on me, and that, where building is going on, is not a little. In yours of July 15th, you express a wish to see our plan, but the present visitors have sanctioned no plan as yet. Our predecessors, the first trustees, had desired me to propose one to them, and it was on that occasion I asked and received the benefit of your ideas on the subject. Digesting these with such other schemes as I had been able to collect, I made out a prospectus, the looser and less satisfactory from the uncertain amount of the funds to which it was to be adapted. This I addressed, in the form of a letter, to their president, Peter Carr, which, going before the Legislature when a change in the constitution of the college was asked, got into the public papers, and, among others, I think you will find it in Niles' Register, in the early part of 1815.[2] This, however, is to be considered but as a *première ébauche*, for the consideration and amendment of the present visitors, and to be accommodated

[1] Mr. Jefferson's farm in Bedford County.

[2] The exact reference is Niles' Register, March 16, 1816, where Jefferson's letter to Peter Carr may be found. A letter from Jefferson on elementary education occurs in Niles, May 2, 1818. This Baltimore journal followed with great interest the progress of Jefferson's educational work. Niles, June 26, 1824, announces the courses of instruction that were soon to be opened at the University of Virginia.

to one of two conditions of things. If the institution is to depend on private donations alone, we shall be forced to accumulate on the shoulders of four professors a mass of sciences which, if the Legislature adopts it, should be distributed among ten. We shall be ready for a professor of languages in April next, for two others the following year, and a fourth the year after. How happy should we be if we could have a Ticknor[1] for our first. A critical classic is scarcely to be found in the United States. To this professor a fixed salary of $500, with liberal tuition fees from the pupils, will probably give $2,000 a year. We are now on the lookout for a professor, meaning to accept of none but of the very first order."

[1] An attempt was actually made, in 1820, to secure as professors for the University of Virginia, Mr. George Ticknor, of Boston, and Mr. Bowditch, of Salem. Apartments were promised, with a salary of $2,000 and with fees guaranteed to the additional amount of $500. Dr. Thomas Cooper, an Englishman, resident in Pennsylvania, was appointed the year before. All of these original negotiations excited considerable sectarian opposition in Virginia, because all three of the above-named gentlemen were reputed to be Unitarians. Upon this interesting point, see the Jefferson and Cabell correspondence, p. 233 *et seq.* The opposition to the Unitarian movement was not confined to the South. Cabell told Jefferson that it was through the correspondence of Bible Societies that "the discovery of the religious opinions of Ticknor and Bowditch was made."

CHAPTER V.

TRANSITION FROM THE COLLEGE TO THE UNIVERSITY.

TWO LINES OF POLICY.

Jefferson's plans for the development of university education in Virginia proceeded along two lines of policy. The first was local, originating in Albemarle Academy, and advancing by local subscriptions to the actual foundation of Central College. The second line of policy was legislative, and led from an economic base called the literary fund, to the idea of a State university. It is clearly apparent that Jefferson meant that these two lines should converge and unite. His purpose then was to have Central College adopted by the State as the University of Virginia. Cabell was in the Legislature watching his opportunity and informing Jefferson of the progress of events.

On the 24th of February, 1816, the president and directors of the literary fund were requested to prepare and report a system of public education, comprehending a university to be called "The University of Virginia," and such additional colleges, academies, and schools as should diffuse the benefits of education throughout the Commonwealth. The responsible member of this commission was the president of the board of directors, W. C. Nicholas, Governor of the State. There was nothing easier for him to do than to seek the counsel of Jefferson.

JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

Although in retirement at Monticello, Jefferson was in constant correspondence with the public men of his time, both in and out of Virginia. Early in the spring of 1816 we find Governor Nicholas asking Jefferson's advice with reference to the subject of education. The Governor was president of the board of directors of the literary fund and was naturally desirous of making a good official report. Jefferson was an acknowledged authority upon educational matters, and to him the Governor turned for counsel. Jefferson gave it liberally in a long letter, dated at Monticello, April 2, 1816. After reminding the Governor of the close resemblance between the present recommendation of the Virginia Legislature and bills for the more general diffusion of knowledge, reported in 1779, and proposing three grades of instruction,—a university, district colleges or grammar schools, and county or ward schools, Jefferson said: "The report will have to present the plan of an univer-

sity, analyzing the sciences, selecting those which are useful, grouping them into professorships, commensurate each with the time and faculties of one man, and prescribing the regimen and all other necessary details. On this subject I can offer nothing new. A letter of mine to Peter Carr, which was published during the last session of Assembly, is a digest of all the information I possess on the subject, from which the board will judge whether they can extract anything useful. * * *

"As the buildings to be erected will also enter into their report, I would strongly recommend to their consideration, instead of one immense building, to have a small one for every professorship, arranged at proper distances around a square, to admit of extension, connected by a piazza, so that they may go dry from one school to another. This village form is preferable to a single great building for many reasons, particularly on account of fire, health, economy, peace, and quiet. Such a plan had been approved in the case of the Albemarle College, which was the subject of the letter above mentioned; and should the idea be approved by the board, more may be said hereafter on the opportunity these small buildings will afford of exhibiting models in architecture of the purest forms of antiquity, furnishing to the student examples of the precepts he will be taught in that art." Here is the connecting architectural link between the Albemarle Academy and the University of Virginia, as conceived by Jefferson.

In his letter to the Governor the Sage of Monticello did not fail to revert to his early and favorite project of elementary education by means of ward schools. He reminded the Governor that ideas upon that subject had been long ago embodied in a bill for the general diffusion of knowledge in Virginia, and that time and reflection had only served to strengthen in his mind the general principle of subdividing the counties into wards, with a school in each ward. "My partiality," he said, "for that division is not founded in views of education solely, but infinitely more as the means of a better administration of our goverment, and the eternal preservation of republican principles. The example of this most admirable of all human contrivances in government is to be seen in our Eastern States; and its powerful effect in the order and economy of their internal affairs, and the momentum it gives them as a nation[1] is the single circumstance which distinguishes them so remarkably from every other national association. In a letter to Mr. Adams[2] a few years ago, I had occasion to explain to him the structure of our scheme of education as proposed in the bill for the diffusion of knowledge, and the views of this particular section of it, and

[1] The use by Jefferson of the word "nation" for New England is very remarkable. It is, however, paralleled by the frequent employment, in American local usage, of the term "country" for section, State, or county. And yet such usage is in perfect accord with the gradual development of our ideas of country and nation from local experience. The Germanic village community of united families was the prototype of united Germany and of the United States.

[2] October 28, 1813.

in another lately to Mr. Cabell,[1] on the occasion of the bill for the Albemarle College, I also took a view of the political effects of the proposed division into wards, which, being more easily copied than thrown into new form here, I take the liberty of inclosing extracts from them. Should the board of directors approve of the plan and make ward divisions the substratum of their elementary schools, their report may furnish a happy occasion of introducing them, leaving all their other uses to be adopted from time to time hereafter, as occasion shall occur."

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

On the 30th of May, 1816, Governor Nicholas issued a circular letter to various distinguished gentlemen, asking advice respecting a system of public education for the State of Virginia. As president of the board of directors of the literary fund the duty to collect information devolved upon him, but it is highly probable that Jefferson, or his friend Cabell, who was in the Legislature, made valuable suggestions to the Governor with reference to this letter and the proper persons to address. Among the latter was Jefferson's friend, Thomas Cooper, professor of chemistry in Carlisle College, Pennsylvania. The following passage from the circular letter is worthy of Jefferson himself: "The great cause of literature and science is not local in its nature, but is an object of interest to the whole human species. The commonwealth of letters embraces every region, however remote. It can not fail to excite pleasing emotions in every enlightened American to perceive that Virginia has taken this subject under its patronage, and devoted a fund to its accomplishment, which is annually increasing. To you, sir, I think it proper to address myself, knowing your attachment to literature, and feeling great confidence that you will not consider your valuable time misspent in communicating any ideas which may promote so useful an object. I can assure you that they will be received with that high sense of obligation which their importance must inspire."

DR. COOPER ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

The following extracts from the reply of Dr. Cooper are worthy of preservation, for they are characteristic of one of the most remarkable educators in the United States at this period, and of the man in whom Jefferson had perhaps more confidence than in any other in American academic circles. In the lack of illustrations of his correspondence with Jefferson, this letter of advice to the Governor of Virginia, upon the subject dearest to Jefferson's heart, is especially valuable. Cooper represents English[2] ideas of university education. After considering

[1] Letters of Jefferson and Cabell, 37.

[2] Other traces of English influence besides the counsel of Dr. Cooper may be found in Jefferson's study of English universities, as described in print. Jefferson owned Russell's Tract on the Universities of Great Britain, and lent it to Cabell, who showed it to such influential politicians as General Breckenridge and Mr. Johnson. Cabell also borrowed Jefferson's Oxford and Cambridge Guide.

briefly the subject of schools and academies, he proceeds to state his views upon the main question:

"*Universities* should be exclusively for a liberal and finished education. I doubt whether it be expedient to have more than one in the State, under State patronage. Such an university should, in my opinion, be instituted on a plan not much dissimilar to the following:

"(1) It should be considered, held up, and taken for granted, that no young man can receive a finished education sufficient to enable him to commence the pursuit of any of the liberal professions, unless he has remained at the university till the completion of his nineteenth year; if young men could be induced to stay for half a year longer it would be a very important acquisition, privately and publicly. They usually graduate so young that they enter upon life conceited sciolists.

"(2) It should be scrupulously insisted on that no youth can be admitted to the university unless he can read with facility Virgil, Horace, Xenophon, and Homer; unless he is able, as a preliminary to matriculation, to convert a page of English at sight into Latin; unless he can demonstrate any proposition at sight in the six first books of Euclid, and shews an acquaintance with cubic and quadratic equations. Without this, your university will become what all the American colleges and universities are, so far as I know them, mere grammar schools. You will have fewer students, but they will do credit to the institution, and raise its reputation; and entrance at such an university will be sought as an honor.

"(3) It can not be required, but it should be regularly and publicly expected, that the university course of education should occupy four years. The more difficult Latin and Greek classics should be read at the university,—Euripides, Sophocles, Longinus, Demosthenes, etc. *No week should pass* without at least three pages of composition in Latin prose, and one in verse, upon given subjects. All the prominent political men, all the learned men, all the scientific men of my day, have entered upon active life as good classic scholars and good mathematicians. Judging from times past before I began life, and from what I have seen and observed myself, I am *satisfied* that a young man turned into the world a good classic and mathematician is far better qualified for any other literary pursuit than those who have been educated in any other way. On this score my mind is fully made up.

"Attendant on these classical studies should be the higher parts of the mathematics, conic sections, fluxions, spherical trigonometry, etc. Also the study of the French language, with drawing, fencing, and the manual exercise.

"These should occupy chiefly the two first years. I say chiefly, because perhaps logic and a course of moral and political philosophy might be introduced the second year, though I should not incline to begin them till the third.

"The two next years might be occupied (never entirely omitting classical and mathematical studies) with—

"The elements of moral and political philosophy and jurisprudence.

"Lectures on natural philosophy—chemistry, botany, and zoölogy.

"Perhaps room might also be found for a short course of anatomy.

"Further than this it is needless to go. It will suffice to give them of these enough to show the roads that lead to the acquirement of knowledge. The basis of the system being classical and mathematical knowledge, I should not fear for a young man who was well grounded in these alone, at his first starting on the race of life, but much more may be added by a judicious course of study." See 74.2

VIEWS OF PRESIDENT DWIGHT, OF YALE COLLEGE.

Replies to the circular letter sent out by Governor Nicholas came from two college presidents, John Augustine Smith, M. D., president of William and Mary College from 1814 to 1826, and from the Rev. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College. President Smith confined his remarks to the subject of popular education, and showed no special sympathy with the university idea. He said he presumed the object of the literary fund was "to inform those who must otherwise remain in total ignorance in the humbler but more important parts of knowledge than to make a comparatively few proficients in the sublimer parts of knowledge." The management of William and Mary College was naturally opposed to the idea of a State university, which would certainly overshadow the old college at Williamsburg and destroy its prestige. The struggle of William and Mary for existence and its race for life with Jefferson's younger institution have been elsewhere narrated.[1]

An interesting side light from New England is thrown upon colleges and universities in general, at this early period, by the answer of President Dwight, of Yale College. He said:

"There are two difficulties in the way of returning such an answer to this application as in all probability is expected. One is, that the circular does not at all explain the specific views of the Virginian Legislature. The literary institutions which are mentioned in it are so extremely different in different countries as often to have very little resemblance to each other. An *university* in *European language* is, as your Excellency perfectly well knows, a seat of education in which students are conducted through all the branches of academical and professional knowledge, so as to be fitted to enter upon the practice of medicine, or to appear at the bar, or in the desk, without any additional instruction. A *college*, in the same language, is sometimes one of the several institutions which, when combined, constitute the university, and sometimes a seminary in which students barely obtain the requirements for admission to the university. *Eton College* and the *celebrated school of Westminster* are seminaries of this nature.

[1] Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 1, 1887: The College of William and Mary, pp. 58–61.

"*In American phraseology*, your Excellency must have observed, both these terms are used in a widely different manner. There are three seminaries in *New England*, which are styled universities; a fourth in *New York;* a fifth in *Pennsylvania;* a sixth in *Georgia;* and a seventh in *Kentucky*. All these differ essentially from what is meant by the term in *Europe;* and in none of them is education given to the extent specified above. That of *Cambridge*, in *Massachusetts*, approximates nearer to the *European* standard than any of the rest; but even that falls materially short.

"There are also in *New England* five *colleges;* and many others which bear the name in different parts of the United States. In *Yale College* there is, probably, more *science* taught than in any other seminary in the American Union; but probably less of *literature* than in the university at *Cambridge*. Yet it is styled a *college*. Several *American* colleges pursue nearly the same course of instruction; while others are calculated upon so low a degree of the scale that bachelors of arts, coming from them to Yale College, have been unable to enter at any higher grade than the beginning of the second or sophomore year; and that without any defectiveness of talents or diligence.

"After these observations, it will be unnecessary to insist any further on the indeterminate meaning of these names, or on the impossibility of my knowing the sense in which they are used by the Legislature of *Virginia*. But without such knowledge it must be obviously impossible for me to feel assured that any opinions which I might communicate would even reach the subject to which they were intentionally directed.

"The other difficulty, to which I have referred, lies in the extensive and complicated nature of the subject. Will your Excellency pardon me for observing, that, having lived more than thirty years in *Yale College*, and in every station included in its system, the experience forced upon me during this period has furnished me with a complete conviction that the views formed concerning such an institution by men unacquainted with this subject except by speculation, and those of the first talents, are necessarily inadequate and erroneous. If I am not deceived, a considerable number of *American* colleges have failed of success from defects in their original establishment; defects derived from the want of an experimental acquaintance with such an institution in those under whose direction their several systems began their operations.

"If my experience has not deceived me, such a scheme of a *college* in the *American* sense, and still more of a *university* in the *European* sense, as will fairly promise extensive utility to the public, must involve many important parts, all of them nearly or absolutely indispensable, and many more subordinate ones, each of which would contribute in a considerable degree to the perfection of the whole. To state in the most concise manner a scheme of this nature, and the proofs by which its expediency might be evinced, would require at least

a large pamphlet. For such work I have neither time, nor health, nor eyes.

"For the prolixity of this apology I have no other justification beside what is furnished by the high importance of the subject, and the respectability of the source from which the application is derived.

"With this letter I transmit to your Excellency a copy of the *Laws of Yale College*. In them may perhaps be found the best answer, in my power, to some of the questions which would naturally be asked in the course of such an investigation as that which the president and directors of the literary fund have commenced. *Here* these laws have had a happy efficacy.

"If I may suppose myself authorized to give an opinion concerning the subject at large, I beg leave to suggest that the best mode, within my knowledge, of conducting the requisite inquiries to a successful issue, so far as they may respect the *New England seminaries*, will be to commission a competent person to visit such of them as may be thought proper, and by inspection and conversation to learn whatever may be useful in their respective systems. Such a person would be able to state the specific purposes which the *Legislature of Virginia* have in view, and could ask the questions and obtain the explanations which may be conducive to the general design."

REPORT OF GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

Letters were received from James Monroe, then Secretary of State under Madison, and from Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, of New York. The latter sent an elaborate article upon the philosophy of education, with pedagogical plans for all grades of instruction, from domestic to scholastic, from the school to the university. Monroe recognized the importance of a general system of education for the preservation of good government, but intimated that there were men in Virginia better qualified than himself to give advice in educational matters. He accepted the appointment as one of the board of visitors of Central College, in Albemarle, but offered no suggestions to the president and directors of the literary fund. Their report was made through Governor Nicholas to the General Assembly in December, 1816, and is published in the collection of Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education, which was distributed among the citizens of the State by legislative order. If Jefferson was not the author of this entire report, his ideas pervade it from beginning to end. We have already seen that Governor Nicholas sought Jefferson's advice before that of any one else, and we shall now see that he followed it in preference to other views. The official voice is the Governor's, but the hand is Jefferson's.

We find the general subject subdivided into primary schools, academies, and a university. The whole system was based upon a proposed subdivision of counties into townships, each to support one primary school and to have charge of its own roads, its own poor, and its own

police. The Lancastrian method of teaching was recommended. Next above the common schools were to be the academies, where Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, geography, astronomy, etc., were to be taught. Jefferson's provision for "the boys of brightest genius" re-appears in the proposed connection of the schools, academies, and university. "The term university," declares this report, "comprehends the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and extends to the utmost boundaries of human knowledge." The directors of the literary fund say they have resorted to every source of information respecting the constitution of colleges in America and Europe, but they find no two absolutely alike. Jefferson had made that observation to Peter Carr. The peculiar conditions of Virginia must be studied and the university adapted to the needs of its people. The report advises against beginning on too large a scale. The purchase of land for the university is recommended "in some central and healthy part of the Commonwealth." Here surely is Jefferson's hand. The buildings are to be paid for out of the literary fund. A board of fifteen visitors is recommended, with power to appoint nine professors, chiefly in modern and scientific studies. Jefferson had always wished such a curriculum. The visitors were also to have power to appoint seven fellows "*out of the most learned and meritorious of those who have graduated at said university.*"

IDEA OF ESTABLISHING FELLOWSHIPS, 1816.

The following extract from this remarkable report on the University of Virginia deserves to be quoted in full, because it anticipates so much of what is essentially modern in American university education. "The recommendation of the establishment of fellowships is founded on a wish to encourage the ardent pursuit of science in such young men, who, though destitute of the means of obtaining an education, have been selected for their talents, and instructed and supported at the public expense. *It is to them we ought to look as the source which is to supply us with teachers and professors*, and thus by the service they will render in imparting instruction to the youth of the country, they will amply repay what that country has done for their benefit. Besides, it is a consideration of great importance that you *create a corps of literary men*, who, enabled by receiving a decent competence to devote their whole time to the pursuits of science, will enlarge its boundaries and diffuse through the community a taste and relish for the charms of literature. The effect produced by concentrating at one place many literary men, whose co-operation, as well as whose collisions, will excite a generous spirit of emulation, is incalculable."

MERCER'S BILL FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, 1817.

The above favorable report naturally led to a bill providing for the establishment of primary schools, academies, colleges, and a university. The bill, drawn up by Mr. Mercer partly upon the basis of

Jefferson's ideas, passed the House of Delegates on the 18th of February, 1817, but it was rejected by the Senate on the 20th of the same month. The measure was, however, noteworthy in some of its features. It provided for a board of public instruction, to be elected by joint ballot of the Senate and House of Delegates, and to have general educational control of Virginia. They were to establish and locate "the University of Virginia," together with a general system of colleges and academies. The bill also provided for a system of primary schools, and for the subdivision of counties into townships and wards, and of cities, boroughs, or towns into wards, when containing more than one hundred white families; if less, the corporation was to be comprehended in some township. As soon as a ward or township had provided a school-house worth $200, and a board of trustees for school management, the directors of the literary fund, to whom the school-house and lot must be conveyed, were authorized to pay over annually the sum of $200 for the teacher's salary and $10 for school books for poor children. Jefferson was always strongly opposed to such local distribution of the literary fund. He believed in the local maintenance of common schools; but the best experience of the Old World and of the New shows that localities vary so much in economic strength that county boards of equalization are sometimes a real necessity. A compromise between public bounty and local taxation is sometimes desirable.

ACADEMICAL DISTRICTS.

The bill of 1817 further provided for the division of Virginia, according to the census of free whites, into forty-eight "academical districts," containing one or more counties. Suitable and convenient academies actually existing were to be recognized as State institutions, when conveyed to the president and directors of the literary fund. While retaining their former trustees and local government, they became entitled to State aid. Where new academies were to be erected, the same line of policy was proposed as in the case of the primary schools. The academical district was obliged to furnish the necessary land, and at least three-fourths of the cost of the necessary buildings, which were estimated at $10,000. The management of the academy was to be intrusted to a board of thirteen persons residing within the district and appointed by the general board of public instruction. One-quarter of the cost of building and one-fourth of the salaries for teachers was to be paid from the literary fund. Noteworthy is the fact that the bill of 1817 authorized the acceptance of "the Anne Smith Academy, for the education of females," and permitted the establishment of similar institutions not exceeding five.

PLAN FOR NEW COLLEGES.

To the colleges then existing in the State four more were to be added, called, respectively, Pendleton, Wythe, Henry, and Jefferson, in con-

venient and healthful localities, where sufficient land had been freely offered, and at least $35,000 had been subscribed for the college and its library. Trustees were to be invested with governing authority by the board of public instruction. The title to the land and college buildings was to be conveyed to the managers of the literary fund, which in turn should grant the college one-fourth as much money as had been locally subscribed, and one-fifth of the annual salaries of teachers and professors. William and Mary, Hampden-Sidney, and Washington Colleges were to be allowed to make proposals with reference to entering this general system of State colleges and of sharing State bounty in a similar manner.

IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY.

The bill of 1817 made inadequate provision for the University of Virginia, but the idea was clearly in view. The board of public instruction was authorized to fix upon a proper site, with primary regard "to the geographical centre of the Commonwealth, and to the principal channels of intercourse through its territory," together with health, economy, and such advantages as might arise from local philanthropy. At least fifty acres of land, $100,000 for buildings, and $10,000 for a library must be secured and placed at the disposition of the literary fund for university purposes. A general subscription throughout the State was authorized through the agency of county and corporation courts. Provision was also made for reports of all trustees to the board of public instruction, and for a general educational report to the General Assembly, concerning the state of education and embracing the University of Virginia.

The provisions of this bill, although never carried out, are interesting and instructive as showing one of the first definite plans in this country for an organized system of education under the control of the State. The bill laid chief stress upon common-school education, and gave it the preference in the distribution of public money. Jefferson, while the friend of common schools, would have made them self-supporting, and have reserved State bounty for the higher education and the University.

JEFFERSON'S BILL, 1817–18.

Mr. Mercer's bill, of which an analysis has just been given, was very unsatisfactory to Jefferson. He wrote to Cabell, October 24, 1817: "I received the pamphlet you were so kind as to have directed to me, containing several papers on the establishment of a system of education. A serious perusal of the bill for that purpose convinced me that, unless something less extravagant could be devised, the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone on that plan would exhaust the whole funds, the colleges as much more, and a university would never come into question. However slow and painful the operation of writing is become from a stiffening wrist, and however deadly my aver-

sion to the writing-table, I determined to try whether I could not contrive a plan more within the compass of our funds. I send you the result brought into a single bill, lest by bringing it on by detachments some of the parts might be lost."

The following is a résumé of Jefferson's bill, which is not without suggestive value. The old lines of historic continuity are discernible in this plan, and it is clearly an advance upon the views advanced in the famous letter to Peter Carr. Jefferson proposed that the judge of the superior court, in every county, should appoint three visitors of primary schools. These visitors were to subdivide their respective counties into wards, comprehending "each about the number of militia sufficient for a company." The visitors were then to call ward meetings, and the majority vote of "the warders" was to determine the location of the school-house and how it should be built. A plurality vote was to elect a resident warden, to direct the process of building, and to care for school property. All persons liable to work on the highways were to be subject to the warden's call to work on the school-house, unless it should be built by pecuniary contributions. Ward meetings were to be held in the school-house after its completion. This place should become the centre of local government as well as of local education. The selection of teachers and the examination of schools were to be intrusted to the county board of visitors—a good device for economic and uniform management.

Jefferson then proceeded to distribute the several counties into nine collegiate districts. The president and directors of the literary fund, henceforth to be known as the board of public instruction, were to appoint a board of visitors for each collegiate district, with one member from each county in that district. These visitors were to view their district and report to the central board of public instruction the best sites for a college, and the latter board was to decide the matter. The visitors were then to be empowered to purchase the approved site, exercising, if necessary, through the county sheriff, the right of condemning private property for a public purpose. They were limited to $500 expenditure for grounds and to $7,000 for buildings. Each college was to have two professors, with salaries of $500 each, to be paid from the literary fund, with such additional fees from pupils as the visitors should determine. "In the said colleges shall be taught the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and German languages, English grammar, geography, ancient and modern, the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, the mensuration of land, the use of the globes, and the ordinary elements of navigation." The visitors were to have the appointing power and the general management of the college property. They could employ a steward and a bursar. Members of the board were to visit the college at least once a year and examine its management. The action of collegiate boards was subject to revision by the board of public instruction.

PROPOSITION FOR A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY.

To these provisions for popular and collegiate education Jefferson added a proposition for a university, "in a central and healthy part of the State." With regard to the very delicate question of the site he draughted two forms of statement, one in general terms giving the power of selection to a board of eight visitors, subject to approval by the board of public instruction; and the other in specific terms providing for the acceptance of all the lands, buildings, property, and rights of Central College, whenever its board of visitors should authorize a transfer to the board of public instruction, for the purposes of a university. In the institution should be taught "history and geography, ancient and modern; natural philosophy, agriculture, chemistry, and the theories of medicine; anatomy, zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, and geology; mathematics, pure and mixed; military and naval science; ideology, ethics, the law of nature and of nations; law, municipal and foreign; the science of civil government and political economy; languages, rhetoric, belles-lettres, and the fine arts generally; which branches of science shall be so distributed and under so many professorships, not exceeding ten, as the visitors shall think most proper." Each professor was to have apartments and a salary, not exceeding $1,000 a year, to be paid from the literary fund, with tuition fees from students. The visitors were to have the appointing power and the general control of the institution, subject to the board of public instruction.

To prepare the way for this bill, Jefferson addressed to the speaker of the House of Delegates a report of the visitors on the progress of Central College, already described in another connection. Of this instructive report two hundred and fifty copies were printed by order of the House and distributed. Jefferson wrote to Cabell, December 18, 1817: "I think you had better keep back the general plan till this report is made, as I am persuaded it will give a lift to that. Pray drop me a line when any vote is passed which furnishes an indication of the success or failure of the general plan. I have only this single anxiety in this world. It is a bantling of forty years' birth and nursing, and if I can once see it on its legs, I will sing with sincerity and pleasure my *nunc dimittas*."

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The most cherished scheme of Jefferson's life was now to be launched anew upon the current of politics. He had attempted to promote university education in connection with William and Mary College, in the time of the American Revolution, but the project had been swamped. Now he was about to launch his own independent institution, bearing the name of Central College, but soon to be called the University of Virginia. With what anxiety the old man of seventy-five years watched the fate of his carefully drawn report on Central College, and of his bill for establishing a system of public education! In a letter to Cabell,

dated January 14, 1818, minutely explaining his plan for self-supporting elementary schools, Jefferson concludes: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, *as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest.* Nor am I tenacious of the form in which it shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend and amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us, then, in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young, and the blessings of the old, who are past all other services but prayers for the prosperity of their country and blessings to those who promote it."

This letter was published by Cabell in the Richmond Enquirer, February 10, 1818. In every possible way Cabell propagated Jefferson's ideas. While the "enlightened few" heard and read with favor, there was in the Legislature, particularly in the House of Delegates, a strong opposition to Jefferson's bill. The printing of two hundred and fifty copies was only grudgingly allowed. The "back country" and western members were particularly stubborn. They wanted the capital of Virginia removed from Richmond to Staunton, and they were afraid that Central College would establish the idea of political centrality for the neighborhood of Charlottesville. "For two months," wrote Cabell, "certain persons have been training those members to oppose all that could come from you. The back-country spirit has been industriously excited." Cabell said the friends of Staunton and Lexington wished to keep down Central College. Sectional division and the clashing of local interests made him almost despair of any general plan. Jefferson's opponents admitted that his bill was a finished production in theory, but they were not willing to let it go into practice. The bill received very few votes in a House committee of the whole, and a substitute offered by Mr. Hill, of King William County, was recommended for adoption.

FIRST APPROPRIATION FROM THE LITERARY FUND, 1818.

The House of Delegates at first favored a small appropriation from the literary fund for the education of the poor, and the application of the rest of the fund to the payment of the debts of the State. From such a Philistine view of an economic resource, long set apart for educational interests, the House at last rose, through the influence of agitation, to the idea of a compromise between the highest and lowest forms of education. Hill's substitute for Jefferson's bill proposed the appointment by local courts of school commissioners in every county, city, and corporate town, "to determine what number of poor children they will educate," and what should be paid for their education. The commissioners were to select the children and send them, with the assent of parents or guardian, to some convenient school, to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The money for tuition, books, etc., was to come

out of a $45,000 reservation from the income of the literary fund, to be paid over to local school commissioners of counties, cities, and towns,[1] in proportion to the free white population. To this local State aid was to be added the income of all property held by the overseers of the poor and derived from the sale or forfeiture of glebe lands. Such was the wretched provision for primary education as a local charity, dependent upon State aid and parish spoils. The House of Delegates had apparently no conception of the importance of establishing common schools and of supporting them by local taxation. The provision amounted to a State and parish bounty upon poverty.

Upon this well-meant but inadequate popular legislation the Senate had the sovereign good sense to tack a $15,000 annual appropriation for a university, wherein all the branches of useful science were to be taught. The site of the institution was to be determined by a board of commissioners, one from each senatorial district, to be appointed by the Governor of the State. The board was to meet at the tavern in Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge, in August, 1818, and determine the following matters: (1) The site of the university; (2) a plan for its construction; (3) the branches of learning to be taught; (4) the number and description of the professorships; (5) general legislative provisions for organizing and governing the institution. This amendment passed the House of Delegates on the 21st of February, 1818. *It was the entering wedge for the Jeffersonian idea*, and it was driven in by Joseph C. Cabell, when the commissioners were appointed. He wrote to Jefferson: "We have *fifteen* districts on this side of the ridge, and I think we are safe in the hands of the executive." Mr. Preston was at this time the Governor of Virginia, and was in thorough sympathy with the university project. Cabell suggested to Jefferson that "our policy will be to invest all our funds in buildings, and get them as far advanced by August as possible." The founder of Central College needed no spurring in this direction. It had been his policy from the beginning to get his institution well under way and then make the Legislature adopt it.

[1] The results of this policy, while not the best, were better than nothing. Niles's Register for December 17, 1825, says of Virginia: "By returns from 98 counties and towns, received between the 30th of September, 1824, and 30th of September, 1825, it appears that 10,226 indigent children have been sent to school in those counties within the year."

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION AND JEFFERSON'S REPORT.

MEETING OF THE COMMISSIONERS AT ROCKFISH GAP.

Professor Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia, in a graphic article entitled "Jefferson's Pet," published originally in Harper's Magazine in May, 1872, and now forming the historical introduction to the Semi-Centennial Catalogue of the Students of the University, has given us a picturesque description of the scene of that famous meeting of the commissioners at Rockfish Gap, where the fate of the higher education in Virginia was hung in the balance.

"High up in the Blue Ridge," he says, "at an elevation from which the eye takes in at a single glance a variety of scenes unequalled on this continent for beauty and loveliness, a little river rises in a dark gorge, to fall gently from terrace to terrace, and after a brief and rapid course, abounding with falls and cascades of infinite attractiveness, to pour its waters into the James River. As the mountains here sink to a lower level, and thus afford one of the passes through which in older days immigrants passed from what is called the Piedmont region of the State to the great Valley of Virginia, the place has received the idiomatic name of Rockfish Gap. Here, at a modest country inn, unpretending in appearance, but offering an abundant and well-served table, far from the turmoil of cities and the excitement of politics, met a party of men remarkable for their ability and virtue amidst a people which had already given four Presidents to the Union, and was well known to possess as much private as public worth. In the low-ceiled, white-washed room, the whole furniture of which consisted of a dining-room table and rude 'split-bottom' chairs of home make, sat the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, and two of his predecessors, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, besides a number of judges and eminent states. men. 'Yet,' says one of Mr. Jefferson's biographers, 'it was remarked by the lookers-on that Mr. Jefferson was the principal object of regard both to the members and spectators; that he seemed to be the chief mover of the body—the soul that animated it; and some who were present, struck by these manifestations of deference, conceived a more exalted

idea of him on this simple and unpretending occasion than they had ever previously entertained.'"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The proceedings and report of the commissioners are printed in full in the Analectic Magazine, Volume XIII, published in Philadelphia, 1819, a magazine to which Dr. Cooper was a contributor. It appears that Jefferson was unanimously elected president of the board. After some discussion, a committee of six, with Mr. Jefferson as chairman, was appointed to report on all the duties assigned to the commission by the Legislature, except that relating to the site. This subject was considered by the entire board. Three places were proposed, Lexington, Staunton, and Central College. All three were acknowledged to be in healthful and fertile districts, but Jefferson is reputed to have made a point in favor of his neighborhood by exhibiting "an imposing list of octogenarians." The question, however, turned mainly upon the relative degree of centrality. And here Jefferson had made his position impregnable. He showed the board by diagrams that Central College was well named, for it was not only geographically more central than any other college in Virginia, but it was actually nearest the centre of white population.

These calculations were afterward published by Cabell in the Richmond Enquirer, December 17, 1818. There was then some bantering criticism of Jefferson's method of drawing his two transverse lines in such a way that they intersected at Charlottesville. The point of departure for his westerly line was the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, which is much nearer the southern than the northern boundary of Virginia; but Jefferson defended that point by saying, "the greatest part of what is north is water." He did not draw his line due west, because the northern boundary of Virginia tended north of northwest. He discreetly balanced his geography and followed the line of "equal division of the population." Nor did he draw a north and south line of intersection. He found the Blue Ridge a natural line of cross division, and he sought a parallel course to that for his line of equal division of population. Jefferson's ingenious method of calculation is explained in a letter to Cabell, January 1, 1819, in which he took the bold ground, "Run your lines in what direction you please, they will pass close to Charlottesville." Jefferson had no trouble in convincing the commissioners at Rockfish Gap, and, indeed, he was altogether fair in his general estimate of the geographical situation. A vote was taken, resulting in sixteen for Central College, three for Lexington,[1] and two for Staun-

[1] Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, was at this juncture of affairs in the Legislature a more dangerous rival to Central College than was old William and Mary College, which came into politics a little later, and attempted to advance on Richmond, as elsewhere described in the author's monograph on that venerable college. Washington College had developed from Liberty Hall

ton. Jefferson's committee was instructed to include this expression of opinion in the report, which was made on the 3d of August, and, after sundry amendments, unanimously adopted. The next day two copies were signed by all the members present and were transmitted, one to the Speaker of the Senate and the other to the Speaker of the House. This report was probably prepared by Jefferson before he came to the meeting at Rockfish Gap, for it is an elaborate production, indicating careful thought. In the words of introductory comment in the Analectic Review, the report "contains many novel suggestions worthy the attention of our seminaries of learning already established." A special consideration of some of Jefferson's views will not be out of place in this study of his influence upon education in Virginia.

JEFFERSON ON THE OBJECTS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Jefferson defined the objects of primary education as follows:

"(1) To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

"(2) To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

"(3) To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

"(4) To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

"(5) To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;

"(6) And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed."

For thus instructing the mass of citizens in their rights, interests, and duties, Jefferson maintained that primary schools, whether private

Academy, founded in the year 1782. It had been endowed by George Washington with one hundred shares in the funds of the James River Company, his stock in the Potomac Company having been reserved for the foundation of a national university in Washington City, as described in the Johns Hopkins University Studies, third series, No. 1, pp. 93–5. The trustees of Washington College offered all of their funds, apparatus, books, grounds, etc., together with a subscription of nearly $18,000 by the people of Lexington and vicinity, and a deed of real estate amounting to over 3,350 acres, with all his personal property and fifty-seven slaves, promised by John Robinson, to the directors of the literary fund, provided the university should be established in Lexington or vicinity. Mr. Robinson's proposed deed and gift were, however, subject "to the payment of his debts and fulfilment of his contracts," as Jefferson discreetly reminded the Legislature. Over against the Lexington offer, which was altogether generous, Central College placed its $41,248 in subscriptions, and $3,280 proceeds from the parish glebes; its grounds embracing 47 acres, "whereon the buildings of the college are begun, one pavilion and its appendix of dormitories being already far advanced, and with one other pavilion, and equal annexation of dormitories, being expected to be completed during the present season;" and "another parcel of 153 acres near the former, and including a considerable eminence very favorable for the erection of a future observatory." This latter Jeffersonian idea has been realized since the War, by private philanthropy.

or public, should teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of mensuration, and the outlines of geography and history. These suggestions were skilfully inserted into the report, in order to remind the Legislature that something remained to be done for the people of Virginia besides providing for the education of poor children.

OBJECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson then proceeded to define the objects of the higher branches of education, and it is safe to say that the relation of universities to *good citizenship* and to the *practical* interests of American life has never been better formulated by any professional educator, much less have these objects been concretely realized by any institution of learning. American colleges and universities will need to advance a long way before they reach the Jeffersonian ideal. He classifies the objects of the higher education as follows:

"(1) To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

"(2) To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

"(3) To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

"(4) To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order;

"(5) To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

"(6) And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves."

RELATION OF THE STATE TO SCIENCE.

There is so much doubt in the mind of the average American citizen as to the duty of government to foster science and education of the highest sort, that it is worth while to call attention to the views of Jefferson upon this point. If the father of American democracy could entertain such views as these, the sons of the people need have no fears that the functions of the state are abused when directed toward the maintenance of a university or the advancement of science. Jefferson said, in his report to the Virginia Legislature:

"Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think that they do not better the condition of man; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private individual effort; not

reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage or not exist at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. * * * Nor must we omit to mention the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments,—legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation."

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO MORALS AND RELIGION.

The strongest side of Jefferson's educational philosophy was its bearing upon good morals and social progress. "Education," he said, "generates habits of application, of order, and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organization. We should be far, too, from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier, or better than our forefathers were. As well might it be urged that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better; yet we know that the grafting art implants a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, ingrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth. And it can not be but that each generation, succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not *infinitely*, as some have said, but *indefinitely*, and to a term which no one can fix and foresee. * * * What but education has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness but a bigoted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization?"

Ethics occupied a prominent place in the plan for university education which Jefferson proposed to the Legislature. He recognized that under the Constitution of Virginia, which placed all religious sects upon an equal footing, it would be quite impossible to institute any sectarian theology. He proposed to place the entire responsibility for religious training upon an ethical basis, where all sects could agree.

He said: "The proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics; to which adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages,—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects." Jefferson thought that it was the duty of each sect to provide its own theological teaching in a special school,[1] to which students might go for special instruction, as they did to their various denominational churches. An ethical solution of the theological questions in American universities has been found satisfactory in most of our State institutions, which have found themselves

[1] In a letter to Dr. Cooper, November 2, 1822, Jefferson describes his plan of allowing independent schools of theology to be established in the neighborhood of the University. "In our University you know there is no professorship of divinity. A handle has been made of this to disseminate an idea that this is an institution, not merely of no religion, but against all religion. Occasion was taken at the last meeting of the visitors to bring forward an idea that might silence this calumny, which weighed on the minds of some honest friends to the institution. In our annual report to the Legislature, after stating the constitutional reasons against a public establishment of any religious instruction, we suggest the expediency of encouraging the different religious sects to establish each for itself a professorship of their own tenets, on the confines of the University, so near as that their students may attend the lectures there, and have the free use of our library and every other accommodation we can give them; preserving, however, their independence of us and of each other. This fills the chasm objected to ours, as a defect in an institution professing to give instruction in *all* useful sciences. I think the invitation will be accepted by some sects from candid intentions, and by others from jealousy and rivalship. And by bringing the sects together and mixing them with the mass of other students, we shall soften their asperities, liberalize and neutralize their prejudices, and make the general religion a religion of peace, reason, and morality."

The idea of a catholic grouping of theological seminaries around the University of Virginia was, of course, impracticable in a rural neighborhood, and it was never realized according to the Jeffersonian ideal. It is, perhaps, capable of an approximate fulfilment under modern conditions of university education in large municipal centres, where students naturally find their religious affiliations with their own form of church-life, and where connections are easily made which lead to special theological training upon the basis of a liberal education. A practical solution of the question of religious services within the university was early found at the University of Virginia by the professors electing a university chaplain from year to year and from different religious denominations—the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist. Other universities have come, each in its own way, to some such representative method of religious service. Harvard has its regular university preachers engaged from the Unitarian, Episcopalian, and Congregationalist denominations. Cornell has an eclectic system, and employs occasional preachers of recognized power and reputation. The Johns Hopkins University, in the city of Baltimore, is able approximately to realize the Jeffersonian ideal, and allow its students to seek such religious associations as family training or natural preference may incline them. It is the "elective system" applied to church-going. City churches give university students free seats; and university students have, among themselves, organized Sunday afternoon services, at which city clergymen and university professors speak by special invitation. The idea of religious freedom is working itself out in university life, as it has already in the church and in the state. The exclusion of religion is not desired by any

under much the same stress of circumstances as did Jefferson amid the sects of Virginia. Moral science, social science, history, and the languages of the Old and New Testaments afford sufficiently solid and neutral foundations for all subsequent specialization in theology.

JEFFERSON ON THE MODERN LANGUAGES AND ANGLO-SAXON.

While recommending the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in the proposed university, together with his favorite groups of mathematical, physical, scientific, political, legal, and philosophical studies, Jefferson takes special pains to urge the cultivation of the modern languages. His reasons for specifying French, Spanish, Italian, and German are interesting, but his early appreciation of the importance of Anglo-Saxon is especially striking, for this study had not yet found a place in America. He says: "French is the language of general intercourse among nations, and as a depository of human science is unsurpassed by any other language, living or dead. Spanish is highly interesting to us as the language spoken by so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continents, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long, and is that also in which is written the greater part of the early history of America. The Italian abounds with works of very superior order, valuable for their matter, and still more distinguished as models of the finest taste in style and composition. And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is, too, of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us. But in this point of view, the Anglo-Saxon[1] is of peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages because it is, in fact, that which we speak, in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It has been undergoing with time those gradual changes which all languages, ancient and modern, have experienced; and even now needs only to be printed in the modern character and orthography to be intelligible, in a con-

academic community. The introduction of religious liberty is what we need. That is the ideal which Jefferson attempted to realize amid great calumny and misinterpretation. And he, of all men, really solved the problem in the State of Virginia, by his statute for religious liberty, and prepared the way for its solution in all university education.

[1] There is an interesting article on "Thomas Jefferson as a Philologist" in the American Journal of Philology (Vol. III, No. 10, pp. 213-214), by Henry E. Shepherd, president of the College of the City of Charleston. "By reference to pp. 417–418, Vol. VII, of Jefferson's Works, it will be seen," says Professor Shepherd, "that Mr. Jefferson had remarkably clear and accurate views of the invigorating influence which dialects exert upon a language. In other words, Jefferson, writing about forty years before Max Müller, seemed distinctly to apprehend the process which, in the technical language of modern philosophy, is known as 'dialectic regeneration.' He expresses himself as follows: 'It is much to be wished that the publication of the present county dialects of England should go on. It will restore to us our language in all its shades of variation. It will incorporate into the present one all the riches of our ancient dialects; and what a store this will be may be seen by running the eye over the county glossaries, and observing the words we have lost by abandonment and

siderable degree, to the English reader. It has this value, too, above the Greek and Latin, that while it gives the radix of the mass of our language, they explain its innovations only. Obvious proofs of this have been presented to the modern reader in the disquisitions of John Horne Tooke; and Fortescue Aland has well explained the great instruction which may be derived from it to a full understanding of our ancient common law, on which, as a stock, our whole system of law is engrafted." Thus, in connection with the idea of historical study of our own English language, Jefferson came to the idea of English historical jurisprudence, which he recommended to Dr. Cooper, and the possibilities of which are just dawning upon students of the present generation.

BODILY EXERCISE AND MANUAL TRAINING.

It is interesting to note in Jefferson's report the suggestion of certain modern ideas of physical, manual, and artistic training now becoming more and more prominent in our modern systems of education. "We have proposed," he says, "no formal provision for the gymnastics of the school, although a proper object of attention for every institution of youth. These exercises with ancient nations constituted the principal part of the education of their youth. Their arms and mode of warfare rendered them severe in the extreme; ours, on the same correct principle, should be adapted to our arms and warfare; and the manual exercises, military manœuvres, and tactics generally should be the frequent exercises of the students in their hours of recreation. It is at that age of aptness, docility, and emulation of the practices of manhood that such things are soonest learned and longest remembered. The use of tools, too, in the manual arts is worthy of encouragement, by facilitating to such as choose it an admission into the neighboring workshops. To these should be added the arts which embellish life—dancing, music, and drawing; the last more especially as an important part of military education. These innocent arts furnish amusement and happiness to those who, having time on their hands, might less

disuse, which in sound and sense are inferior to nothing we have retained. When these local vocabularies are published and digested together into a single one, it is probable we shall find that there is not a word in Shakespeare which is not now in use in some of the counties in England, from whence we may obtain its true sense.' Mr. Jefferson's views in regard to the relations of Anglo-Saxon to English are probably better known to scholars than his opinions upon the points cited above. He held that Anglo-Saxon was 'Old English,' and that it could be turned into intelligible English by simply divesting it of its antique orthography. He has given us some entertaining illustrations of the mode in which this transformation might be effected. His conception of Anglo-Saxon is in one aspect essentially the same as that held by the school of Freeman, Morris, and Sweet in our own time. The process by which he arrives at his conclusions is of course different from that adopted by scientific philology. During the recent visit of Mr. Edward A. Freeman to Baltimore, I showed him Mr. Jefferson's essay on the Anglo-Saxon, which was published by the board of trustees for the University of Virginia in 1851. He examined it with great interest, and upon returning it remarked: 'Jefferson had the right view. It [Anglo-Saxon] is only Old English.' He further remarked: 'It seems so strange to see Jefferson quoting Bosworth. It is like Washington quoting Stubbs.'"

inoffensively employ it. Needing, at the same time, no regular incorporation with the institution, they may be left to accessory teachers, who will be paid by the individuals employing them, the university only providing proper apartments for their exercise." Jefferson had somewhat the same ideas of the relation of bodily accomplishments to the higher education as have long prevailed at West Point and in German universities. In the matter of physical training, American universities have advanced far beyond the Jeffersonian ideal, but there is still great room for improvement in the training of bodily powers to some useful or artistic end, as in drawing and other skilled exercise of the hand and eye.

JEFFERSON ON STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is very generally known that at the University of Virginia exists a remarkable system of student self-government, by which a high *morale* and a manly tone of self-reliance have been successfully maintained. In sharp distinction to the old-time method of tutorial supervision and professorial espionage, this system of self-government has developed the most honorable relations between faculty and students. It has established a frank and kindly spirit of co-operation between master and pupil. It has repressed all dishonorable practices of cheating in recitations and examinations, so common under the old reign of terror, and it has promoted a spirit of independence and self-respect. This condition of student society in Virginia is in no small degree the result of the teachings of Jefferson. While his ideal of student self-government was not immediately realized in that lawless period following the first introduction of his ideas, yet a wholesome harmony between liberty and law was soon and easily secured. In the light of modern tendencies towards constitutional and self-government in American colleges and universities, the following extract from Jefferson's report may prove interesting:

"The best mode of government for youth in large collections is certainly a desideratum not yet attained with us. It may be well questioned whether *fear*, after a certain age, is a motive to which we should have ordinary recourse. The human character is susceptible of other incitements to correct conduct more worthy of employ, and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition, and moral dispositions are innate correctives of the indiscretions of that lively age; and when strengthened by habitual appeal and exercise, have a happier effect on future character than the degrading motive of fear. Hardening them to disgrace, to corporal punishments, and servile humiliations can not be the best process for producing erect character. The affectionate deportment between father and son offers, in truth, the best example for that of tutor and pupil; and the experience of other countries, in this respect, may be worthy of inquiry and consideration with us."

Jefferson adds, in a foot-note, that "a police exercised by the students themselves, under proper discretion, has been tried with success

in some countries, and the rather as forming them for initiation into the duties and practices of civil life." This idea of student self-government, borrowed from academic centres in the old world, where college and university government has always been more democratic than in America, was successfully planted by Jefferson in Virginia, and it is destined to spread throughout the country. It has sprung up, apparently by spontaneous generation, in certain of our colleges, and it has long survived as a precious inheritance in certain of our public schools, based upon the best old English models.

SUMMARY OF JEFFERSON'S REPORT.

All of the foregoing special views upon the subject of education Jefferson contrived to introduce into the body of his report. Upon the five specific points actually referred to the commissioners for their opinion, the following summary statement may be made:

(1) Central College was recommended as the proper site of the university.

(2) The plan of building proposed was that of an academical village, with pavilions for the professors and ranges of dormitories for the students, the buildings to be arranged on the sides of "a lawn," and to be connected by "a passage of some kind, under cover from the weather." This Jeffersonian style of university construction has been described in connection with Albemarle Academy and Central College.

(3) The branches of learning to be taught were those heretofore recommended by Jefferson, but now arranged in ten homogeneous groups, to be assigned to ten different professorships, as follows:

I. Languages, ancient:
- Latin,
- Greek,
- Hebrew.

II. Languages, modern:
- French,
- Spanish,
- Italian,
- German,
- Anglo-Saxon.

III. Mathematics, pure:
- Algebra,
- Fluxions,
- Geometry, elementary,
- transcendental,
- Architecture, military,
- naval.

IV. Physico-mathematics:
- Mechanics,
- Statics,
- Dynamics,
- Pneumatics,
- Acoustics,
- Optics,
- Astronomy,
- Geography.

V. Physics, or natural philosophy:
- Chemistry,
- Mineralogy.

VI. Botany:
- Zoölogy.

VII. Anatomy:
- Medicine.

VIII. Government:
- Political economy,
- Law of nature and nations,
- History, being interwoven with politics and law.

IX. Law, municipal.

X. Ideology:
- General grammar,
- Ethics,
- Rhetoric,
- Belles-lettres and the fine arts.

(4) General legislative provisions were recommended for tuition of students, board, lodging, government, prizes, degrees, etc., details to be left to the board of visitors.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTABLISHMENT AND BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Jefferson's report was transmitted to the speaker of the Senate through Cabell, who was the original mover of the Rockfish Gap commission. Early in December, as appears from Cabell's letter to his friend, "the report was read and received with great attention in both the houses. A resolution to print a number of copies passed each house. The ability and value of the report, I am informed, are universally admitted. It was referred in the lower house to a select committee, and the speaker is friendly to the measure. Present prospects are very favorable to a successful issue."

OPPOSITION TO THE UNIVERSITY IDEA.

But a strong opposition to Jefferson's project was speedily developed. A bill which he had prepared was reported by the House committee by a bare majority of one, "the casting vote of the chairman." Then began the fight. The western members from the Valley of Virginia and the friends of Staunton determined to defeat the university altogether. The Lexington party sought for delay, threw discredit upon Jefferson's calculations as to the centrality of his college, and sought to re-enforce their own claims. Delay endangered the bill. Cabell wrote: "The hostile interests are daily acquiring new force by intrigue and management. The party opposed altogether to the university is growing so rapidly we have just grounds to fear a total failure of the measure. * * * The friends of William and Mary demand $5,000 per annum as the price of their concurrence, and in the event of a refusal will carry off some votes. I have advised my friends not to enter into any compacts of the kind, and sooner will I lose the bill than I will give my assent to it." Members of the Legislature from the region of William and Mary became the most determined opponents of the bill. Cabell, said the better educated part of them, had studied at this institution, and quoted Adam Smith, the Edinburgh Review, and Dugald Stewart to prove that education should be left to individual enterprise. Others, more ignorant, maintained that the literary fund was about to be diverted from its original object, the education of the poor, and applied for the benefit of the rich. Some liberal and enlightened persons thought Charlottesville too small a place for a university. "They think a town of some size necessary to attract professors, to furnish polished society for the students, to supply accommodations, to resist the physical force, and present the means of governing a large number of young men."

SERVICES OF CABELL.

Cabell determined to break down the general opposition. He went about from man to man, laboring to convert them to his views. He "passed the night in watchful reflection and the day in ceaseless activity." He published articles in the Richmond Enquirer calculated to influence public opinion. Jefferson's proofs of the central situation of the proposed university were published by Cabell and explained to everybody. He even wrote to liberally minded and influential men in the various localities whence the opposition proceeded, and persuaded them to write to their representatives in the Legislature urging a favorable vote. He actually districted the entire country east of the Blue Ridge, and moved the very ground from beneath the feet of the opposition by an appeal to local good sense. The chief trouble lay with the House of Delegates, which was made up of somewhat Philistine elements; but Cabell, by his skilful tactics, at last won over the majority to his opinion. On the 18th of January, 1819, a motion in the House to strike Central College from the bill was lost by a vote of 114 to 69, "a decisive victory," wrote Cabell. Mr. Baldwin, of Augusta, one of the leaders of the western opposition, then rose and made an eloquent plea for unanimity of action and for the suppression of local prejudice. He said he had supported Staunton as long as there was any hope of success, but now he implored the House "to sacrifice all sectional feeling."[1] Democracy united in a sudden rush of good feeling, and Jefferson's cause was overwhelmingly won. Cabell was so excited that he had to leave the House before the final vote was taken. He had been suffering two days before from hemorrhage of the lungs, "brought on by exposure to bad weather and loss of sleep;" but he was now victorious; he had fought a good fight and had kept his faith in the people. It was a foregone conclusion that Jefferson's bill would pass the Senate, where Cabell was a very influential member. On the 25th of January, 1819, the University of Virginia and Central College were legally united by a vote of twenty-two to one.

The seal of the University—"a Minerva enrobed in her peplum and characteristic habiliments as inventress and protectress of the arts"—bears the date of 1819, which should be reckoned as the year of origin, although the institution was not formally opened to students until 1825.

SERVICES OF OTHER MEN.

Cabell wrote in triumph to Jefferson, December 4, 1819: "*We have got possession of the ground, and it will never be taken from us.*" He said the enlightened part of the people everywhere were in favor of the university establishment. Such a complete conquest of public opinion was very remarkable, and it could have been gained only by the hearty cooperation of intelligent men in many local centres of influence. In the

[1] The western delegation was subsequently held together in the interest of the university by Judge Baldwin, General Breckenridge, and Mr. Johnson.

above letter Cabell pays an honest tribute of gratitude to the gentlemen in the various counties who had aided him in the Legislature and among the people. For example, he says: "We are very much indebted to Mr. Taliaferro and Colonel Green for the favorable change in the delegation north of the James River and below tide-water. At Christmas, every member from Richmond to Hampton, except one, was opposed to us. On the vote, all went with us, except one." Cabell acknowledges also the efficient services of Captain Slaughter, of Culpeper; Judge Brooke, Judge Brockenbrough, Mr. Stanard, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Hoomes, of King and Queen; Dr. Nicholson, of Middlesex; Mr. Scott, of the Council; Mr. Minor, of Spottsylvania; Judge Roane, Colonel Nicholas, William Cabell (the brother of Joseph), Chancellor Taylor, Mr. Pannill, and others. Mr. Francis W. Gilmer did valuable work for Central College through the press. The Rev. John H. Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman in Richmond, also lent important literary aid. He was the author of an article signed "Crito," the following passage of which is thought to have exercised great influence upon the public mind, through Cabell's frequent use of the facts stated:

"Ten years ago," said Mr. Rice, "I made extensive inquiries on the subject, and ascertained to my conviction that the amount of money annually carried from Virginia, for purposes of education alone, exceeded $250,000. Since that period it has been greater. Take a quarter of a million as the average of the last eight-and-twenty years, and the amount is the enormous sum of $7,000,000. But had our schools been such as the resources of Virginia would have well allowed, and her honor and interest demanded, it is by no means extravagant to suppose that the five States which bind on ours would have sent as many students to us, as under the present wretched system, we have sent to them. This, then, makes another amount of seven millions. Let our economists look to that—fourteen millions of good dollars lost to us by our parsimony! Let our wise men calculate the annual interest of our losses, and add it to this principal! They will then see what are the fruits of this precious speculation."

Such arguments, no doubt extravagant, had their weight in favorably balancing the university question in the scales of public opinion. Although Thomas Jefferson is undoubtedly "the founder of the University of Virginia," we should not forget that there were a thousand historic forces without which his ideas would have failed of realization.[1]

[1] At the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association in May, 1887, Mr. James Schouler, author of a remarkable History of the United States, read a paper upon the subject of "Historical Grouping," in which he advised a study of the minor forces and subordinate characters which enter into great events and the work of great men. Individuals are, indeed, the highest expression of human thought and social action; but there is always a background of support without which the deeds of a Washington are incomprehensible, and thus it was with Jefferson's university creation. Without the aid of Cabell, it is perfectly clear that Jefferson would have been helpless, and back of Cabell were the Virginia Legislature and the common people.

SUMMARY OF JEFFERSON'S BILL, 1819.

The act establishing the University of Virginia in definite form provided for the acceptance by the State of the property of Central College, conveyed to the president and directors of the literary fund, which was really a board of public instruction. Seven visitors were to be appointed forthwith by the Governor of the State, and they were to have authority to choose a rector from their own number, and to control the general interests of the University. The provisions for instruction were much the same as in Jefferson's report. The various branches of science were to be distributed among ten professorships. Each professor should have apartments free, and those first appointed, such salary as the visitors might determine; their successors, however, a standing salary not exceeding $1,000 a year; but all professors should have such fees from students as the visitors might allow. The visitors were to hold two stated meetings each year, in April and in October; to visit the University once a year, and to report annually to the president and directors of the literary fund. Such, in general, was the legal basis of the University of Virginia. It was generally understood that the report of the Rockfish Gap commission was to be the accepted platform of the university party. That "plan," said Jefferson in 1821, "was exactly that now carried into execution." The significance of previous inquiries into the details of that report is now, therefore, clearly apparent, for we have already seen on paper the whole substructure and the detailed plans of the University of Virginia.

JEFFERSON THE FIRST RECTOR.

The visitors appointed for the University of Virginia comprised four members of the old board representing Central College, namely: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Joseph C. Cabell, and John H. Cocke. The new appointees were James Breckenridge, Chapman Johnson, and Robert Taylor. They met March 29, 1819, and chose Thomas Jefferson to be their rector, as he had been of the former board. Henceforth, until his death in 1826, Jefferson was the directing and shaping power in the upbuilding of the University of Virginia. From his original and sovereign interest in university education, and from his residence in immediate proximity to the University, the other visitors were well content to leave to him practically the entire management of affairs. Never was an institution more completely the materialization of one man's thought than is the University of Virginia. Not only did he evolve the entire system of education there introduced, but he actually devised every feature of construction and administration. He drew plans, made estimates and contracts, busied himself about bricks and mortar, and superintended the whole process of building.

BUILDING POLICY.

The gradual rise of the University of Virginia can be best reviewed in the proceedings and annual reports of the board of visitors, and in

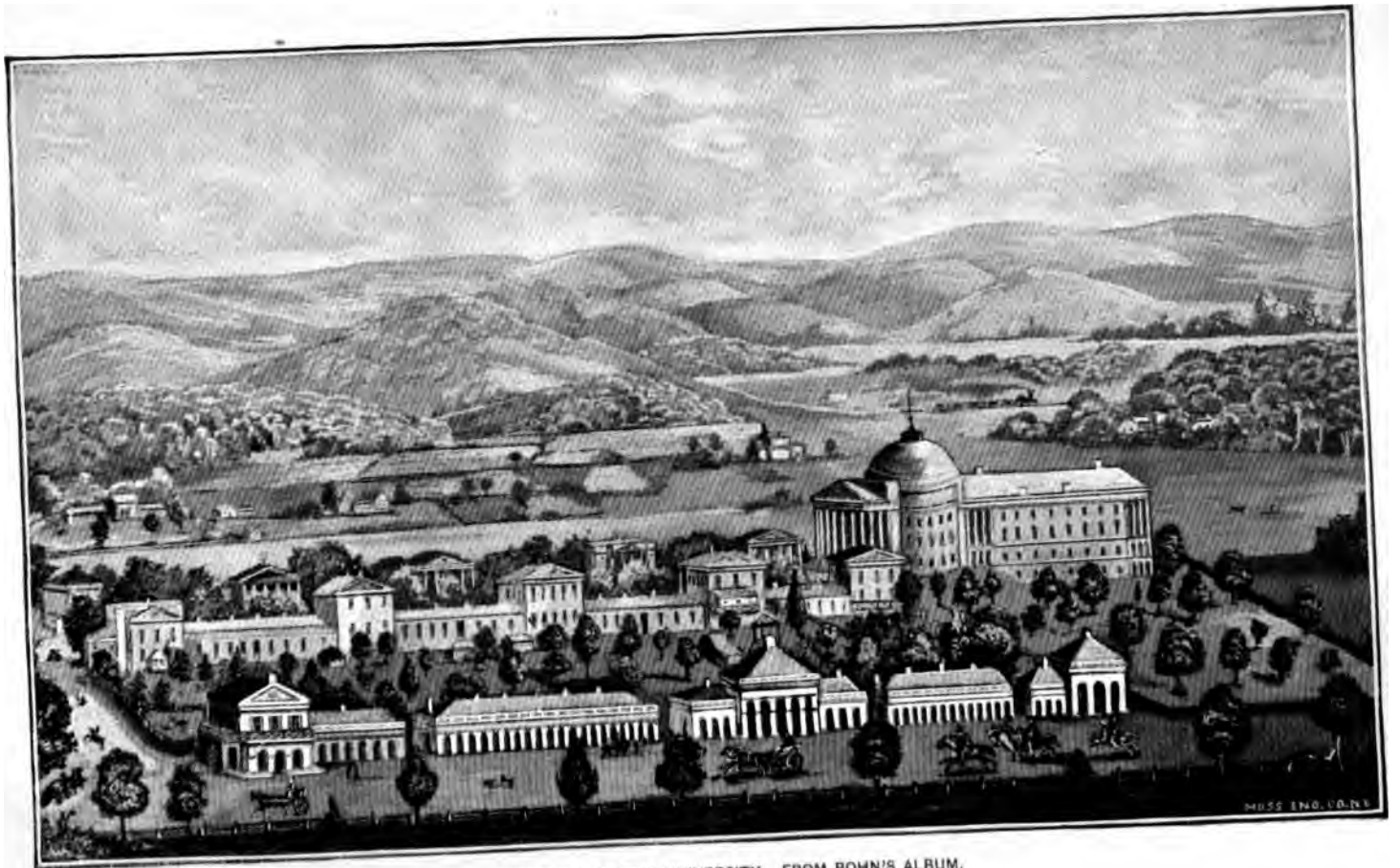
Jefferson's correspondence with Cabell and other personal friends. The original visitors of Central College were empowered by Jefferson's bill to continue their functions until the first meeting of their successors. This gave a fine opportunity "of expediting the objects of said institution." The old board met for the last time February 26, 1819, and voted to apply all available funds toward the erection of additional buildings for the accommodation of professors and students.

It was Jefferson's policy, from the beginning, to push forward the material construction of the University; to make it an accomplished fact, and thus an influence in appealing to the public imagination and to legislative support. It was perhaps a necessary policy in the early history of the University, before its pre-eminence over rivals and its superiority to all opposition was fully established. There was absolutely nothing in the neighborhood of Charlottesville to attract either professors or students. Jefferson was compelled, by the necessities of the situation, to create something visible and impressive which should compel admiration. Jefferson defined his building policy in a letter to Cabell, December 28, 1822, in which it appears that he regarded a good material basis for the University as necessary to its intellectual superstructure. Jefferson said: "The great object of our aim from the beginning has been to make the establishment the most eminent in the United States, in order to draw to it the youth of every State, but especially of the South and West. We have proposed, therefore, to call to it characters of the first order of science from Europe, as well as our own country, and not only by the salaries and the comforts of their situation, but by the distinguished scale of its structure and preparation, and the promise of future eminence which these would hold up, to induce them to commit their reputation to its future fortunes. *Had we built a barn for a college and log huts for accommodations*, should we ever have had the assurance to propose to an European professor of that character to come to it?"

Cabell also was thoroughly convinced of the soundness of the building policy of the University. Even the enemies of the institution acknowledged that Jefferson's course was wise. President Smith, of William and Mary College, and Judge Semple, of Williamsburg, said that "Virginians would never be pleased with anything on a small scale." The judge confessed to Cabell that an influential politician from Charles City had been won over to the University by a mere visit of inspection, which impressed him with "the extent and splendor of the establishment." Undoubtedly Jefferson's building policy served an excellent purpose, politically and educationally, but candid students of the history of the University must admit that he carried his architectural crotchets rather too far for the best economy of slender educational resources.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Jefferson early conceived the ingenious idea that college buildings should afford perpetual object lessons to students in the right principles



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE UNIVERSITY. FROM BOHN'S ALBUM.

of architecture. This idea, excellent in itself, was difficult for Jefferson to realize according to his classic ideals, for, unlike Pericles, he could not fully command the public treasury. It is interesting, historically, to note the beginning of Jefferson's architectural project. In the proceedings of the visitors of Central College, July 28, 1817, it is agreed "that it is expedient to import a stone-cutter from Italy, and that Mr. Jefferson be authorized and requested to take the requisite measures to effect that object." The intention was to have chiselled capitals for the columns of the pavilions, or professors' houses, and to make their porticos illustrate Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders of architecture. Two "Italian artists" were accordingly imported, and they proceeded to chisel the stone of Virginia into classic forms. At the second meeting of the visitors of the University in 1819, it was voted "that as the stone in the neighborhood of the University is found not capable of being wrought into capitals for the columns of some of the pavilions, and it may be necessary to procure elsewhere proper stone or marble, and to have such capitals executed here or elsewhere, the proctor be authorized to take such measures relative thereto," etc. The proctor was the business agent of the University and Jefferson's right-hand man. The above resolution prepared the way for having the capitals cut in Italy, from excellent marble, and imported, like the original master workman, or "our artist," with whom Jefferson settled for $1,390.56, including "his past wages, his board, and passage hither." The seventeen capitals cost by contract but a trifle over $2,000, and no one who has ever visited the University of Virginia will feel disposed to find fault with Mr. Jefferson for indulging in these inexpensive architectural luxuries, which are among the most charming features of that original creation.

PAVILIONS COMPLETED.

In the third annual report, 1821, to the president and directors of the literary fund, Jefferson stated that "the visitors, considering as the law of their duty the report of the commissioners of 1818, which was made to the Legislature, and acted on by them from time to time subsequently, have completed all the buildings proposed by that report, except one; that is to say, ten distinct houses or pavilions containing each a lecturing room, with generally four other apartments for the accommodation of a professor and his family, and with a garden and the requisite family offices; six hotels for dieting the students, with a single room in each for a refectory, and two rooms, a garden, and offices for the tenant; and an hundred and nine dormitories, sufficient each for the accommodation of two students, arranged in four distinct rows between the pavilions and hotels, and united with them by covered ways; which buildings are all in readiness for occupation, except that there is still some plastering to be done, now on hand, which will be finished early in the present season, the garden grounds and garden walls to be completed, and some columns awaiting their capitals, not yet received from

Italy." Here is the picture of an academical village, taking form and comeliness according to original designs first conceived by Jefferson for Albemarle Academy.

COST OF THE PAVILIONS.

According to Jefferson's third annual report, 1821, the ten pavilions for the professors cost something over $86,000. The one hundred and nine dormitories for the students required an outlay of about $65,000. The six "hotels," or boarding-houses, were estimated at $24,000. For back yards and gardens $1,500 were allowed. The entire expenditure proposed for buildings, lands, labor, etc., was reckoned at something over $207,000. The final cost[1] proved much more than that amount. The library building, with its dome, proved very expensive. Jefferson continued to report progress from year to year until 1825, when the University was opened to students. He early declared in favor of prudent delay in organizing instruction. He said in his fourth report, 1822: "The visitors, from the beginning, have considered it indispensable to complete all the buildings before opening the institution; because, from the moment that it shall be opened, the whole income of the University will be absorbed by the salaries of the professors and other incidental and current expenses, and nothing will remain to erect any buildings still wanting to complete the system."

JEFFERSON'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

One of the most extraordinary features of Jefferson's management of the University was his financial policy. To begin with, he had persuaded the Legislature to adopt Central College, with its modest fortune of $41,000, chiefly in unpaid subscriptions, and with its three thousand and odd dollars arising from the sale of glebe lands. In 1821, as appears from Jefferson's own report, only about $25,000 of the above subscription money had been collected. The balance was for the most part deemed good, but it appears to have come in slowly and to have suffered some losses from the removal or insolvency of certain subscribers. In 1823 Jefferson estimated the probable loss at 6 per cent. of the $43,808 up to that time subscribed. But he more than made up for any such trifling disappointment by securing money from the Legislature.

The annual appropriation originally made to the University from the income of the literary fund was only $15,000 a year. Of course it was impossible to build, organize, and equip a real university upon such meagre resources. But Jefferson and Cabell were good politicians. They took what they could get, and then asked for more. Jefferson's financial policy in dealing with the Legislature of Virginia was something like the camel's method of entering an Arab's tent, or like a woodman's method of splitting a log. To follow one's nose, or to drive a

[1] Niles's Register for March 4, 1826, estimates the total cost at about $400,000.

wedge is a very simple procedure, but it sometimes requires discretion. Jefferson had it. The entire income of the literary fund was about $60,000 a year. Of this amount $45,000 annually was appropriated for the education of poor children. This sum was not entirely exhausted by the demands of local commissioners, and Jefferson asked for the surplus. Through Cabell he tried again to establish common schools upon a self-supporting basis, and to liberate the entire fund. Failing in this excellent project, he did the next best thing. He borrowed the fund; that is, as much as he could obtain on legislative authority at one time, and pledged the annual appropriation of $15,000 for payment. The first loan amounted to $60,000. When this was exhausted, Jefferson asked the Legislature for another loan. This process was repeated until he had borrowed from the literary fund $180,000. There was, of course, but one end to all this, and that was legislative relief for the university debt. Cabell supported Jefferson's financial policy in the strongest way. As early as December 23, 1822, he wrote to Jefferson: "Let us have nothing to do with the old balances, or dead horses, or escheated lands, but ask boldly to be exonerated from our debts by the powerful sinking fund of the State. This is manly and dignified legislation; and if we fail, the blame will not be ours."

Jefferson's financial policy is illustrated in the following naïve statement to the managers of the literary fund, in his fifth annual report, 1823: "The several sums advanced from the literary fund as loans, when the balance of the last shall have been received, will amount to $180,000, bearing a present interest of $10,800. This, with the cost and necessary care and preservation of the establishment, will leave, of the annual endowment of the University, a surplus of between two and three thousand dollars only. As before mentioned, this loan of $180,000 will be extinguished by an annual payment of a constant sum of $2,500, at the end of twenty-five years—a term too distant for the education of any person already born, or to be born for some time to come, and within that period a great expense will be incurred in the mere preservation of the buildings and appurtenances. These are views which it is the duty of the visitors to present, and to leave to the wisdom and paternal consideration of the Legislature, to whose care are confided the instruction and other interests of the present, as well as of future generations proceeding from us."

THE UNIVERSITY FREED FROM DEBT.

On the 27th of January, 1824, the Legislature voted to liberate the annual appropriation to the University from the incumbrances with which it was charged. This generous action, which the State could well afford from the surplus accruing to the literary fund from the United States Government and other sources, left immediately available, after all university debts had been paid, $21,000 toward the com-

pletion of the library or central academic building, upon which nearly $20,000 had already been expended. It left the annuity of $15,000 for the year 1824 altogether clear for current expenses and the salaries of professors, for whose engagement Jefferson had that year sent to Europe Mr. Francis W. Gilmer, "a learned and trustworthy citizen."

Jefferson's financial policy was grossly misrepresented the last year of his life by a contributor to the Richmond Enquirer, February 4, 1826, who called himself an "American Citizen." He professed to have paid a visit to Jefferson at Monticello, and to have had a familiar talk with him about his method of obtaining money from the Legislature. Being asked why he had not asked for a lump sum, Jefferson is reported to have said jocosely, that *no one liked to have more than one hot potato at a time crammed down his throat.* This story naturally offended the politicians and seriously injured the pecuniary prospects of the University. Jefferson was highly indignant at the gossip, and repudiated the insinuations made by the tattling correspondent. Jefferson wrote to Cabell, February 7, 1826: "He makes me declare that I have intentionally proceeded in a course of dupery of our Legislature, teasing them, as he makes me say, for six or seven sessions for successive aids to the University, and asking a part only at a time, and intentionally concealing the ultimate cost, and gives an inexact statement of a story of Obrian. Now, our annual reports will shew that we constantly gave full and candid accounts of the money expended, and statements of what might still be wanting, founded on the proctor's estimates. No man ever heard me speak of the grants of the Legislature but with acknowledgments of their liberality, which I have always declared had gone far beyond what I could have expected in the beginning. Yet the letter-writer has given to my expressions an aspect disrespectful of the Legislature, and calculated to give them offence, which I do absolutely disavow."

But it was impossible to counteract the impression made by that ancient political anecdote, in which there was just enough truth to put Jefferson in an unfavorable light before the public.[1] And yet his defence was perfectly sound. No man ever approached a Legislature in a more frank and manly way, stating fairly and fully what he had done and what he wanted to do. He even acknowledged the mistakes he had made in importing Italian sculptors and in engaging Dr. Cooper before the University was able to pay his salary. In reading his annual reports to the president and directors of the literary fund, one can not fail to be astonished at the minuteness of detail and the completeness of statement with reference to the use made of every appropriation for the University. His method of modest and repeated applications to

[1] Contemporary public opinion concerning Jefferson's undertaking is well illustrated in the following extract from the Richmond Whig, quoted in Niles's Register, March 4, 1826: "Much of the popularity which the institution might and ought to have enjoyed has been frittered away by incessant demands for pecuniary aid, anti-republican and meretricious ornament, and injudicious selections of professors."

the Legislature was the only practicable way of building up a great State university from small beginnings at that period, when public opinion was unfavorable to higher educational enterprise. Sooner or later all the friends of public education will learn that a frank and honest appeal to the public through the Legislature, or to representatives of the people, is quite as honorable business as begging money from private individuals for institutions of learning. Both methods will endure, and both are equally legitimate; but the era of democratic support of university education has dawned in many States, and it will not decline before individual or sectarian endowments, however generous. Institutions like the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan are destined to live and to grow from more to more.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST PROFESSORS.

DR. KNOX, OF BALTIMORE.

The first professor for the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, was obtained from the University of Virginia, and the first professor for Jefferson's original institution was sought in Baltimore. On the 28th of July, 1817, the visitors of Central College agreed "that application be made to Dr. Knox,[1] of Baltimore, to accept the professorship of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, history, and geography; and that an independent salary of $500, with a perquisite of $25 from each pupil, together with chambers for his accommodation, be allowed him as a compensation for his services, he finding the necessary assistant ushers." Here was theoretical provision for an entire faculty, if Dr. Knox had been willing to exercise the appointing power, pay his own faculty, and teach all the humanities for $500 a year. We are not much surprised to learn from a letter of Jefferson's to Cabell, September 10, 1817, that "Dr. Knox has retired from business, and I have written to Cooper."

DR. THOMAS COOPER.

On the 7th of October the visitors rescinded their original appointment and resolved to offer the first professorship to Dr. Thomas Cooper, of Pennsylvania, from whom Jefferson had received an encouraging letter. Cooper was elected to the chair of chemistry, to which was added provisionally the chair of law, with a fixed salary of $1,000 a year and tuition fees of $20 from each of his students. If Dr. Cooper accepted, it was resolved to appoint a professor of mathematics. Writing to Cabell, December 18, 1817, Jefferson speaks of "a letter I have just received from Dr. Cooper, engaging himself for our physiological and law schools."

At the first meeting of the visitors of the University, March 29, 1819, Dr. Cooper, "heretofore appointed professor of chemistry and of law for the Central College," was confirmed university professor of chemistry, mineralogy, natural philosophy, and also of law, until the development of the institution and the increase of students should justify a separate appointment to the latter chair. As we have already seen in Jefferson's correspondence with Cooper, the latter was an accomplished lawyer, as well as one of the ablest men of his time in physical science.

[1] In Niles's Register, September 28, 1822, may be found a letter on "Improvement in Public Education," by Samuel Knox, 31 East Street, Baltimore.

In view of the extraordinary amount of work which the first professor was to undertake, it was voted that, in addition to his regular salary of $1,500, he should receive such an extra allowance as would make his income, including tuition fees, not less than $3,500 a year. The University agreed to take his apparatus at cost, and 2,500 specimens from his mineralogical collection. Dr. Cooper was in position to dictate his own terms, for at this juncture his services were demanded in New York by Governor Clinton, also in Philadelphia, and at the same time in New Orleans. Jefferson said enthusiastically of his first professor: "Cooper is acknowledged by every enlightened man who knows him to be the greatest man in America in the powers of his mind and in acquired information, and that without a single exception."[1]

OPPOSITION TO DR. COOPER.

This first appointment to the faculty created a decided opposition on the part of many real friends of the University. Cooper's religious views proved for him a stumbling-block. He was known to have been obnoxious to the prevailing religious sentiment of England, and partly for that reason to have sought refuge in America. Prejudice and suspicion were naturally aroused against him in orthodox and conservative Virginia. Cooper had supplied an arsenal of attack upon his philosophical and religious opinions by editing and annotating the writings of his father-in-law, Dr. Priestley. Dr. John Rice,[2] the editor of a religious magazine which was published in Richmond, and one of the original promoters of the University, led the crusade against Cooper in a critical article based upon extracts from Cooper's own writings, which, in the judgment of many, were sufficient to condemn him. The clergy of Virginia could not be oblivious to the danger of introducing among Virginia youth a propagandist of new and strange doctrines, as Cooper's views appeared to the men of his generation. So much pressure was exerted upon public opinion, and through it upon Cooper himself, that he felt constrained to offer his resignation, which, after honorable treatment by the board of visitors, was finally accepted in 1820. From an economic point of view this arrangement was altogether wise, for the University needed every dollar for building purposes, and was not ready for students until five years after this unfortunate affair.

JEFFERSON ON THE LOSS OF DR. COOPER.

The loss of Dr. Cooper, the first appointed professor of the University of Virginia, was a heavy blow to its founder, and moved him to re-

[1] Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, 169. Interesting references to Cooper occur also on pp. 164, 165, 167, 169, 172, 178, 234, 235, 397–399, 454, 458, and 469.

[2] A strong defence of Dr. Rice and of the Presbyterian party which, under his leadership, opposed the appointment of Dr. Cooper, may be found in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 234, 235, *notes*. The spirit of the age is perhaps explanation enough. The Presbyterians were among the dissenters who made a State university possible in distinction from William and Mary College, which was Episcopalian, but they were not prepared for such extremes of dissent as were represented by Dr. Cooper.

peated[1] expressions of indignation in private letters to his friends. In a letter to General Taylor, May 16, 1820, Jefferson said:

"You may have heard of the hue and cry raised from the different pulpits on our appointment of Dr. Cooper, whom they charge with Unitarianism as boldly as if they knew the fact, and as presumptuously as if it were a crime, and one for which, like Servetus, he should be burned; and perhaps you may have seen the particular attack made on him in the Evangelical Magazine. For myself, I was not disposed to regard the denunciations of these satellites of religious inquisition; but our colleagues, better judges of popular feeling, thought that they were not to be altogether neglected, and that it might be better to relieve Dr. Cooper, ourselves, and the institution from this crusade. I had received a letter from him expressing his uneasiness, not only for himself, but lest this persecution should become embarrassing to the visitors and injurious to the institution, with an offer to resign if we had the same apprehensions. The visitors, therefore, desired the committee of superintendence to place him at freedom on this subject, and to arrange with him a suitable indemnification. I wrote accordingly, in answer to his, and a meeting of trustees of the college at Columbia [S. C.] happening to take place soon after his receipt of my letter, they resolved unanimously that it should be proposed to, and urged on, their Legislature to establish a professorship of geology and mineralogy, or a professorship of law, with a salary of $1,000 a year to be given him, in addition to that of chemistry, which is $2,000 a year and to purchase his collection of minerals; and they have no doubt of the Legislature's compliance. On the subject of indemnification, he is contented with the balance of the $1,500 we had before agreed to give him, and which he says will not more than cover his actual losses of time and expense. He adds: 'It is right I should acknowledge the liberality of your board with thanks. I regret the storm that has been raised on my account, for it has separated me from many fond hopes and wishes. Whatever my religious creed may be, and perhaps I do not exactly know it myself, it is pleasure to reflect that my conduct has not brought, and is not likely to bring, discredit to my friends. Wherever I have been, it has been my good fortune to meet with or to make ardent and affectionate friends. I feel persuaded I should have met with the same lot in Virginia had it been my chance to have settled there, as I had hoped and expected, for I think my course of conduct is sufficiently habitual to count on its effects.'"

"I do sincerely lament," continues Jefferson, "that untoward circumstances have brought on us the irreparable loss of this professor, whom I have looked to as the corner-stone of our edifice. I know no one who could have aided us so much in forming the future regulations for our infant institution; and although we may perhaps obtain from Europe equivalents in science, they can never replace the advantages of his ex-

[1] An earlier and more indignant letter is that to William Short, April 13, 1820.

perience, his knowledge of the character, habits, and manners of our country, his identification with its sentiments and principles, and high reputation he has obtained in it generally."

DR. COOPER GOES TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

Jefferson's good-will followed Dr. Cooper to his new professorship in South Carolina College, at Columbia, whither, in 1820, Jefferson sent his grandson, Eppes, and another young Virginian for collegiate education, the University of Virginia being not yet open to students. Jefferson wrote to Cooper that the institution at Columbia was now "of immediate interest to me," and that he had proposed to send his grandson "to Columbia, rather than anywhere northwardly." At Columbia, S. C., Cooper taught natural science, politics, and economics. He became an exponent of free-trade doctrines, and was the academic representative and supporter of the economic views of Calhoun. He was one of the greatest and most influential teachers in the entire South. Dr. Cooper, at Columbia, and Professor Dew, at William and Mary College, were the scientific advocates of the two leading ideas in Southern politics. Cooper attacked the tariff, or protection. Dew defended slavery. A study of the writings of these two men will show the influences which shaped the political opinions of Southern statesmen. The laws of South Carolina were edited by Dr. Cooper, and his influence upon legislation in that State resembles that of Jefferson in Virginia. He was a bold and aggressive character, with warm friends and bitter enemies. He provoked considerable opposition by reason of his outspoken religious views, which were not altogether in harmony with those of the society in which he lived. The man walked rough-shod over other men's opinions, and suffered the inevitable consequences. His relation to his associates in South Carolina College is described at length, and with some feeling, in LaBorde's history of that institution, where he was succeeded in 1835 by Francis Lieber.

JEFFERSON ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF PROFESSORS.

With regard to the qualifications of professors, Jefferson was from the first determined to have the best. His acquaintance with European men of learning and distinction, his correspondence with the faculty of Geneva, and with distinguished men like Dr. Priestley, Dr. Cooper, and M. Dupont de Nemours, had inspired him with a high ideal of professorial excellence. Upon this scientific foundation he proposed that the University of Virginia should be erected. He wrote to Cabell upon this point, February 23, 1824: "You know that we have all, from the beginning, considered the high qualifications of our professors as the only means by which we could give to our institution splendor and preeminence over all its sister seminaries. The only question, therefore, we can ever ask ourselves, as to any candidate, will be, is he the most highly qualified? The college of Philadelphia has lost its character of

primacy by indulging motives of favoritism and nepotism, and by conferring the appointments as if the professorships were entrusted to them as provisions for their friends. And even that of Edinburgh, you know, is also much lowered from the same cause. We are next to observe that a man is not qualified for a professor, knowing nothing but merely his own profession. He should be otherwise well educated as to the sciences generally; able to converse understandingly with the scientific men with whom he is associated, and to assist in the councils of the faculty on any subject of science on which they may have occasion to deliberate. Without this, he will incur their contempt and bring disreputation on the institution."

IDEA OF EUROPEAN PROFESSORS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

There was at least one substantial result of Jefferson's correspondence upon university matters with men like Cooper, Pictet, Dupont de Nemours, Destutt Tracy, and other men of European training or celebrity. He determined to secure a faculty of distinguished men, who should represent the best science and academical experience of the old world. Thomas Cooper, the Englishman, educated at Oxford and representing natural science and historical jurisprudence, was practically Jefferson's first choice as early as 1817. That same year he was endeavoring to persuade Jean Baptiste Say to come to the neighborhood of Charlottesville. The following year correspondence with Cabell indicates that the latter was the first special agent selected by Jefferson to go to Europe and engage professors for Central College. As we have seen, Cabell had himself studied at European universities, and it was his European culture which first attracted the friendly notice of Jefferson, and made Cabell the representative of the university idea in the Virginia Legislature. Personal and political interests compelled Cabell to remain in this country, and Francis W. Gilmer,[1] "a learned

[1] Francis W. Gilmer had early been interested in the subject of higher education, and at one time had seriously thought of becoming a professor in William and Mary College, but was dissuaded by the advice of Mr. Jefferson. The following letter is not without interest as illustrating Gilmer's relations with the founder of the University of Virginia:

"MONTICELLO, *April* 10, 1818.

"DEAR SIR: I thank you for the letter of Mr. Ticknor, which I have thought myself justified in communicating to his friends here on account of the pleasure it would give them, and that, I am sure, will give you pleasure. I trust you did not for a moment seriously think of shutting yourself behind the door of William and Mary College. A more complete *cul de sac* could not be proposed to you. No, dear sir, you are intended to do good to our country, and you must get into the Legislature, for never did it more need the aid of all its talents, nor more peculiarly need them than at the next session. For although the prospect of our University is so far good, yet all is to go again to the Legislature, and who can tell who they will be, and what they will do? The visitors of our college meet next on the 11th of May; Correa and Cooper will then probably be here. Make you the third, and be assured of the pleasure it will give to them and to

"Yours, affectionately,

"TH. JEFFERSON.

"FRANCIS W. GILMER, Esq."

and trustworthy citizen," who had supported the University by his pen, was sent abroad by Jefferson upon the professorial errand.

We can follow Gilmer in Jefferson's correspondence with friends in England, Richard Rush and Maj. John Cartwright. A letter to the first of these scholars is so interesting and instructive as to Jefferson's ideas of university appointments—the crucial test of all academic administration—that the text is given in full:

JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO RICHARD RUSH.

"MONTICELLO, *April* 26, 1824.

"DEAR SIR: I have heretofore informed you that our Legislature had undertaken the establishment of an University in Virginia; that it was placed in my neighborhood, and under the direction of a board of seven visitors, of whom I am one, Mr. Madison another, and others equally worthy of confidence. We have been four or five years engaged in erecting our buildings, all of which are now ready to receive their tenants, one excepted, which the present season will put into a state for use. The last session of our Legislature had by new donations liberated the revenue of $15,000 a year, with which they had before endowed the institution, and we propose to open it the beginning of the next year. We require the intervening time for seeking out and engaging professors. As to these, we have determined to receive no one who is not of the first order of science in his line, and as such in every branch can not be obtained with us, we propose to seek some of them at least in the countries ahead of us in science, and preferably in Great Britain, the land of our own language, habits, and manners. But how to find out those who are of the first grade of science, of sober, correct habits and morals, harmonizing tempers, talents for communication, is the difficulty. Our first step is to send a special agent to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, to make the selection for us, and the person appointed for this office is the gentleman who will hand you this letter, Mr. Francis Walker Gilmer, the best-educated subject we have raised since the Revolution, highly qualified in all the important branches of science, professing particularly that of the law, which he has practised some years at our Supreme Court with good success and flattering prospects. His morals, his amiable temper, and discretion will do justice to any confidence you may be willing to place in him, for I commit him to you as his mentor and guide in the business he goes on. We do not certainly expect to obtain such known characters as were the Cullens, the Robertsons, and Porsons, of Great Britain, men of the first eminence, established there in reputation and office, and with emoluments not to be bettered anywhere. But we know that there is another race treading on their heels, preparing to take their places, and as well, and sometimes better, qualified to fill them. These, while unsettled, surrounded by a crowd of competitors of equal claims and perhaps superior credit and interest, may prefer a comfortable certainty here for an uncertain hope there, and a lingering

delay even of that. From this description we expect we may draw professors equal to those of the highest name. The difficulty is to distinguish them; for we are told that so overcharged are all branches of business in that country, and such the difficulty of getting the means of living, that it is deemed allowable in ethics for even the most honorable minds to give highly exaggerated recommendations and certificates to enable a friend or *protégé* to get into a livelihood, and that the moment our agent should be known to be on such a mission he would be overwhelmed by applications from numerous pretenders, all of whom, worthy or unworthy, would be supported by such recommendations and such names as would confound all discrimination. On this head our trust and hope is in you. Your knowledge of the state of things, your means of finding out a character or two at each place truly trustworthy and into whose hands you can commit our agent with entire safety for information, caution, and co-operation, induces me to request your patronage and aid in our endeavors to obtain such men, and such only, as will fulfil our views. An unlucky selection in the outset would forever blast our prospects. From our information of the character of the different universities, we expect we should go to Oxford for our classical professors, to Cambridge for those of mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural history, and to Edinburgh for a professor of anatomy, and the elements or outlines only of medicine. We have still our eye on Mr. Blaetterman for the professorship of modern languages, and Mr. Gilmer is instructed to engage him if no very material objection to him may have arisen unknown to us. We can place in Mr. Gilmer's hands but a moderate sum at present for merely text-books to begin with, and for indispensable articles of apparatus, mathematical, astronomical, physical, chemical, and anatomical. We are in the hope of a sum of $50,000 as soon as we can get a settlement passed through the public offices.[1] My experience in dealing with the bookseller Lackington, on your recommendation, has induced me to recommend him to Mr. Gilmer, and if we can engage his fidelity, we may put into his hands the larger supply of books when we are ready to call for it, and particularly what we shall propose to seek in England.

"Although I have troubled you with many particulars, I yet leave abundance for verbal explanation with Mr. Gilmer, who possesses a full knowledge of everything, and our full confidence in everything. He

[1] Jefferson hoped to get this extra sum of $50,000 from Congress in payment of the interest on the debt to the State of Virginia for expenditures during the war of 1812. The principal of the debt had been for the most part paid, but this was a claim for interest paid by the State of Virginia to the local banks which advanced the money. The whole matter is explained in a letter from Cabell to James Monroe, then President of the United States, April 2, 1824. (See Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 488–499.) About that time the Legislature of Virginia "appropriated, for the purpose of procuring the requisite library and apparatus for the University of the State, the sum of $50,000, to be paid out of the first moneys which might be received from the General Government in further discharge of the debt still due to the Commonwealth." (Compare also Jefferson's letter to Cabell, January 11, 1825.)

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takes with him plans of our establishment, which we think it may be encouraging to show to the persons to whom he will make propositions, as well to let them see the comforts provided for themselves as to show, by the extensiveness and expense of the scale, that it is no ephemeral thing to which they are invited.

"With my earnest solicitations that you will give us all your aid in an undertaking on which we rest the hopes and happiness of our country, accept the assurances of my sincere friendship, attachment, and respect."

LETTER TO MAJOR JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

The following extract is from a letter to Maj. John Cartwright, June 5, 1824, in acknowledgment of his work on the English Constitution, deducing "the English nation from its rightful root, the Anglo-Saxon." After a most remarkable tribute to early English institutions, Jefferson adverts to the University of Virginia and Gilmer's professorial mission. He expresses his "acknowledgments for your good wishes to the University we are now establishing in this State. There are some novelties in it. Of that of a professorship of the principles of government, you express your approbation. They will be founded in the rights of man. That of agriculture, I am sure, you will approve; and that also of Anglo-Saxon. As the histories and laws left us in that type and dialect must be the text-books of the reading of the learners, *they will imbibe with the language their free principles of government.* The volumes you have been so kind as to send, shall be placed in the library of the University. Having at this time in England a person sent for the purpose of selecting some professors, a Mr. Gilmer of my neighborhood, I can not but recommend him to your patronage, counsel, and guardianship against imposition, misinformation, and the deceptions of partial and false recommendations in the selection of characters. He is a gentleman of great worth and correctness, my particular friend, well educated in various branches of science, and worthy of entire confidence.

"Your age of eighty-four and mine of eighty-one years, insure us a speedy meeting. We may then commune at leisure, and more fully, on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed; and in the mean time, I pray you to accept assurances of my high veneration and esteem for your person and character."

This letter from the Sage of Monticello, looking backward with historic appreciation to the Saxon sources of the great modern stream of liberty and self-government then flowing through Virginia, and looking forward with perfect calm to higher ranges of philosophic contemplation, is one of the most noteworthy in Jefferson's later correspondence, rich as it all is in suggestive thought. To see him turning to a sage of the old world for counsel and guidance in the manning of "our University, the last of my mortal cares, and the last service I can render my country,"[1] is a nobler spectacle than the Homeric picture of

[1] Extract from a letter to Abbé Correa. Jefferson's Works, VII, 183.

old men conversing together upon the walls of Troy; and yet it is but one of ten thousand subjects for the poet of modern democracy.

GERMAN AND ENGLISH PROFESSORS.

Agreeably to the wishes of Jefferson, the first faculty of the University of Virginia was largely selected from younger professorial talent in England. His practical reasons for preferring English to Continental sources of supply are highly creditable to Jefferson's good judgment. At one time he had thought of importing bodily into this country a French faculty from the College of Geneva. Although no Anglo-maniac, Jefferson recognized that kinship of ideas, English antecedents, habits, and manners, and, above all, a good knowledge of the English language were important considerations. For German and Romance, of course, German and French professors were requisite. As intimated in Jefferson's letter to Richard Rush, Mr. Blaettermann had been recommended for the modern languages, and he was promptly engaged. He was an accomplished Anglo-Saxon scholar, and served the University for fifteen years, from 1825 until 1840, when he was dismissed.[1]

One of the finest representatives of English scholarship secured by Mr. Gilmer[2] was Mr. George Long (1800–1879), a graduate of the Uni-

[1] The Southern Literary Messenger for January, 1842, in a well-meant article upon the University of Virginia, has some unfavorable comments upon Dr. Blaettermann, who was perhaps too familiar with the manners of "Die alten Deutschen."

[2] After the present monograph was completed, the writer obtained possession of a large mass of original correspondence relating to the beginnings of the University of Virginia. Among the letters were those addressed by Francis W. Gilmer to George Long and other English scholars, and their replies. The correspondence is too extensive for reproduction here, and it has been intrusted to a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, Mr. William P. Trent, of Richmond, who will prepare a fresh contribution to the early history of the University of Virginia, with copious extracts from the Gilmer letters. A brief account of this new material may be found in the writer's bibliography of authorities relating to the subject of the present monograph. The following specimen letters are introduced in this connection as a foretaste of what is to come.

Francis W. Gilmer to George Long (London, August 21, 1824).

"I am sure the nature of this letter will be a sufficient excuse to Mr. L. for his receiving such a one from a perfect stranger.

"The State of Virginia has for six years been engaged in establishing a university on a splendid scheme. The homes are now finished, an avenue for the support of the professors, etc., appropriated, and I have come to England to engage professors in some of the branches in which Europe is still before us. I have heard your qualifications as professor of Latin and Greek highly commended, and wish to know whether such an appointment would be agreeable to you. My powers are absolute, and whatever engagement you make with me is binding on the University without further ratification.

"You will have (1) a commodious house, garden, etc., for a family residence, entirely to yourself, free of rent; (2) a salary of $1,500 per annum paid by the University, and tuition fees from $50 to $25 from each pupil, according to the number of professors he attends; (3) your tenure of office is such at you can be removed only by the

versity of Oxford. He was an excellent type of Oxford classical culture and became the founder of the school of ancient languages, for the cultivation of which the University of Virginia has remained distinguished, from the three years' service of Long (1825–1828) and the

concurrence of five out of seven, all the first men in our country, with Mr. Jefferson at the head.

"Mr. Key suggested that your being obliged to be in Cambridge next July might be an obstacle. That may be removed by a stipulation that in that year, 1825, you shall have liberty to come to England, for which reasonable time shall be allowed, so as to make your visit to Cambridge certain.

"You will be required not to teach a mere grammar school, but to instruct young men somewhat advanced in reading the Latin and Greek classics. Hebrew is also included, but there will not be occasion for it, I think, and you could easily learn enough for what may be required. You should explain the history and geography of the famous ancient nations as illustrative of their liberation.

"The whole is now only waiting for my action to go into full and active operation. You will see, therefore, the necessity of making an early decision. I should like the professors to sail October or November, and shall thank you for an intimation of your wishes on the subject as soon as convenient.

"Yours, very respectfully, etc.,

"FRANCIS W. GILMER."

George Long to Francis W. Gilmer, written after his arrival in Virginia.

"UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, *Monday, January* 25, —.

"DEAR SIR: I am sorry to learn that you still continue so weak from the effects of your illness. I anticipated the pleasure of seeing you in this neighborhood during Christmas; your presence would have contributed to enliven the University up, which, being almost without inhabitants, looks like a deserted city.

"I have been settled for some weeks in one of the pavilions. I bought only a few articles in Charlottesville, as I found the prices of most things extravagantly high. Mr. Peyton has forwarded me some chairs from Richmond, and these, little that I have, will be sufficient at present. You may probably recollect that I told you I had sent my books from Liverpool, consigned to Mr. Peyton; they would be sent either to Baltimore, Norfolk, or Richmond. I shall be obliged to you if you will remind that gentleman of them, and by him to forward them to me as soon as he receives them.

"I dined with Mr. Jefferson last Monday. He was in good health, but, like all of us, very uneasy about the delay of our friends. I do not yet, being acquainted more fully with all the circumstances of the case, entertain any apprehensions about their safety, but I regret, both for the University and my own personal comfort, that they were so foolish as to embark in an old log. The people in Charlottesville, having nothing better to do, amuse themselves with inventing stories on this unfortunate subject. Almost every day, from undoubted authority, I am informed the professors have arrived; a few hours after I had received your letter a man very gravely assured me the professors were at that moment in Richmond.

"The books have arrived in safety; we have not been able to find a catalogue of them, and I believe we shall not take them out of the boxes before Mr. Jefferson receives one from you. I brought a sufficient number to employ myself on during this most anxious expectation of our friends' arrival. Besides the loss of their society at present, I am truly concerned for the interests of the University. I hear daily of many who are most eagerly looking forward to the opening of the institution; it is possible their short delay at first may cause the University some temporary loss.

"We have just had a heavy fall of snow. I am confined to my house, and see no living being but my black friend Jacob, and Mr. Grey's family where I eat.

"I remain, with the best wishes for your speedy recovery, yours, very respectfully,

"G. LONG."

longer term of Gessner Harrison down to the régimes of Gildersleeve (1856–1876), Price, and Wheeler in Greek, and Peters in Latin (since 1865).

GEORGE LONG.

Professor Long was the first of those engaged to arrive upon the University premises, and he seems to have made a favorable impression upon Jefferson. The latter wrote to Cabell, December 22, 1824: "Mr. Long, professor of ancient languages, is located in his apartments at the University. He drew, by lot, Pavilion No. 5. He appears to be a most amiable man, of fine understanding, well qualified for his department, and acquiring esteem as fast as he becomes known. Indeed, I have great hopes that the whole selection will fulfil our wishes."

Professor Long more than met the expectations of the friends of the University during the few years that he tarried in Virginia, although the English don must have surprised the authorities by marrying a Virginia widow. Jefferson had imagined that his professors would remain single and live up stairs in the pavilions, leaving the ground floor for recitation-rooms; but professors' wives soon changed all that, and the classes were driven out-doors.

Mr. Long gave a character and a standard to the classical department which it has never lost. He represented history in connection with the classics; and certainly ancient history never had a more scholarly representative upon American shores. Unfortunately for this country, but to the great gain of historical science in his own land, Mr. Long was called home in 1828, to a professorship of Greek in the new University of London. Madison, in a letter to Monroe, dated January 23, 1828, says, "I have received a letter from Mr. Brougham urging our release of Professor Long."[1] The university authorities in Virginia parted most reluctantly with Mr. Long, but recognized the superior attractiveness and advantages of his call to the English capital. They urged, however, most strongly that the professor should find a suitable successor. On the 10th of March, 1829, Madison wrote to Joseph C. Cabell: "I have just received from our minister in London and from Professor Long letters on the subject of a successor to the latter. Mr. B. is doing all he can for us, but without any encouraging prospects. Mr. Long is pretty decided that we ought not to rely on any successor from England, and is equally so that Dr. Harrison will answer our purpose better than any one attainable abroad. He appears to be quite sanguine upon this point."[2] Dr. Harrison was one of Mr. Long's own pupils, and one of the first graduates of the University of Virginia. No more fitting nomination or appointment, nor one better deserved, could possibly have been made.

It would be interesting to follow in detail the brilliant record of Professor Long after his return to England, if space permitted. He and his former colleague at the University, Mr. Key, who was made professor

[1] *Writings of Madison, III, 613.* [2] Writings of Madison, IV, 35.

of Latin in the London University, introduced into England the comparative method in classical study. Long edited a great variety of classical texts, some of which remain standard to this day. The Encyclopædia Britannica, in a striking article upon this remarkable scholar, says: "Long has exercised by his writings, and indirectly through some of his London University pupils, a wide influence on the teaching of the Greek and Latin languages in England." He was prominent in founding the Royal Geographical Society, and became a leading authority in both ancient and modern geography. Long's Classical Atlas is known to school boys in both England and America. One can not help suspecting that Long's knowledge of this country had something to do with the inception of his Geography of America and the West Indies. He became a thorough democrat in education, resigning his professorship to edit the Quarterly Journal of Education, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which he was for years a most active member. Thirteen years of his life he devoted to the Penny Cyclopædia, of which he edited twenty-nine volumes. This was his greatest work for the education of the English people. He returned to academic life, and wrote his great work on Roman history. He was the chief English authority upon Roman law and was one of the academic pioneers in this study, although he was anticipated by Dr. Thomas Cooper, who, in Pennsylvania, edited parts of the Code of Justinian long before his call to represent law in the University of Virginia. That institution may well be proud of the scholarly Englishman first chosen by Jefferson to represent sound learning within its walls.

THOMAS HEWETT KEY AND CHARLES BONNYCASTLE.

Another well-trained university man from England, who was secured for Jefferson's institution, was Thomas Hewett Key. He afterward went with Long to the University of London and became its first professor of Latin. He founded in Virginia that wonderful school of mathematics for which the institution has always remained famous. He was succeeded by Charles Bonnycastle, a third Englishman who came over with Key and founded a school of physics. Bonnycastle remained at the University of Virginia until his death, in 1840,[1] when he was succeeded

[1] The Southern Literary Messenger for January, 1842, speaking of the recent loss of three university professors, says of Professor Bonnycastle: "Mr. Bonnycastle was one of the early professors who came over from England with Mr. Gilmer in 1824. Though young, his high qualifications fitted him alike for several of the chairs in the University. He first filled that of natural philosophy, and, on the return of Mr. Key to England, succeeded to the mathematical, which he filled with pre-eminent ability up to the time of his death. He was always acknowledged to be the possessor of a great mind, which readily made him master of the most abstruse learning. The study of mathematics seemed to be to him but a process of attentive reading. As a lecturer he was clear, patient, and powerful; and in matters of science he was a complete agrarian, levelling its difficulties to the comprehension of every mind. At times, in one short aphorism, he would display a profundity of thought quite startling; and his students declared that, by way of illustration, he frequently solved difficulties which had perplexed

by Prof. J. J. Sylvester, who afterward returned to England, but who, in 1876, came out to America again, and founded a flourishing department of mathematics at the Johns Hopkins University. In 1884 he was called home to the chair of mathematics in Oxford. Among the American successors of this distinguished line of English mathematicians was Albert T. Bledsoe, famous after the civil war as the editor of the Southern Review, published in Baltimore. The present able representative of the mathematical department at the University of Virginia is Professor Charles S. Venable, now the chairman of the faculty, to whose courtesy the writer is greatly indebted for prompt and efficient co-operation in acquiring material information for this educational report.

ROBLEY DUNGLISON.

Robley Dunglison was the fourth Englishman originally appointed professor at the University of Virginia. He was the founder of the medical school, and became a distinguished contributor to medical science. His published works are still spoken of with great respect. He was Jefferson's favorite physician, and attended him in his last illness. It is to Dunglison's journal and reminiscences of Jefferson that we owe the most pleasing glimpses into Jefferson's friendly social relations with the professors of the University.

Jefferson was highly gratified with the choice of these European scholars as instructors. In a letter to William B. Giles, December 26, 1825, he said: "Our University has been most fortunate in the five professors procured from England. A finer selection could not have been made. Besides their being of a grade of science which has left little superior behind, the correctness of their moral character, their accommodating dispositions, and zeal for the prosperity of the institution leave us nothing more to wish. I verily believe that as high a degree of education can now be obtained here as in the country they left." Cabell also was delighted with the strength and promise of the new faculty. He wrote to Jefferson: "I cannot describe the satisfaction which I feel in reflecting on the present prospects of the University. Our corps of professors is full of youth and talent and energy. What will not such men accomplish with such advantages?"

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them in other branches of their studies. Mathematics was rendered by him what he repeatedly said it was, 'a pure system of logic.' Many parts of his course were supplied by himself, and he wrote a text-book for his class, which gained him great renown. * * * In society and at home he was often taciturn, and it was only at certain times that he opened his stores of information; but when he did, he never failed to charm and surprise. * * * I do not know that he ever became a citizen of the United States, though he frequently spoke of his intention to do so. He thought very favorably of our country and her institutions. Mr. Bonnycastle was a close student, and perhaps his devotion to study led to a premature death. He took very little exercise, studied in an unhealthy posture and until a late hour of the night." This glimpse of Bonnycastle, evidently by one of his former students, reveals the mathematical professor.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS.

There were two professorships which, for practical reasons, Jefferson was determined to have filled by native Americans. These chairs were (1) ethics and (2) law and politics. He had the conviction that American youth should be trained to a knowledge of their duties, laws, and system of government by American teachers. The above subjects were as sacred in the mind of Jefferson as is the Protestant or Catholic religion to its respective adherents, who wish their own teachers for their own faith.

GEORGE TUCKER AND JOHN TAYLOE LOMAX.

For the chair of ethics or moral science, Hon. George Tucker, a member of Congress from Virginia, was chosen, and he served the University ably and well for twenty years, 1825–45. Greater difficulty was experienced in filling the chair of law and politics. The first choice, after Dr. Cooper, was Francis Walker Gilmer, who had selected the English professors with such excellent judgment, but he declined the honor which was thrice urged upon him. The position was then offered in succession to Chancellor Tucker, Mr. Barbour, Judge Carr, and Judge Dade; but, for professional and other reasons, all were unwilling to accept the professorial office. It was then tendered to the Attorney-General of the United States, the Hon. William Wirt, together with the presidency of the University, an additional honor specially created in order to induce Mr. Wirt to take the chair of law and politics. Jefferson heartily approved of the choice of Mr. Wirt as professor, but he entered with his own hand upon the records, at the last meeting of the board of visitors which he ever attended, a vigorous protest against the office of a permanent president, as being inconsistent with republican ideas. After Mr. Wirt's declination, the "presidency" was never revived. The executive headship is annually committed to an appointed "chairman of the faculty," a democratic office corresponding to the pro-rectorship of a German university. The professorship of law and politics was finally accepted by Mr. Gilmer, but he died in 1826. John Tayloe Lomax, of Fredericksburg, was appointed in the spring of 1826, and he held the office with distinction for four years. He was not only an able professor, but he contributed substantially to the development of jurisprudence in Virginia. He published a digest of Virginia law and various useful texts. The law school which Lomax founded has had other able representatives, but none more able or more widely known for his learning and power as a teacher than Professor John B. Minor, who has been the head of the school for many years, and whose pupils[1] are conspicuous wherever they go.

[1] One of the most successful and distinguished of Mr. Minor's pupils is Woodrow Wilson, author of Congressional Government, sometime professor of history and politics in Bryn Mawr College, now of Wesleyan University, and lecturer on Administration at the Johns Hopkins University, where he took his doctor's degree in the year 1886.

JOHN P. EMMET.

In addition to Tucker and Lomax, Dr. John P. Emmet should be counted among the original American professors. Although born in Ireland, he was educated in this country, chiefly at West Point and in New York City. He is the nearest approach to a "literary character of the Irish nation," such as Jefferson wished in 1783 to introduce into Albemarle County. But the young Irish-American, a nephew of Robert Emmet, the great orator, was engaged to teach chemistry and natural history, in which subjects he had been well trained in connection with medical and other scientific studies. Jefferson regarded Dr. Emmet as a representative of the natural sciences.

THE UNIVERSITY OPENED TO STUDENTS.

The University of Virginia was opened to students on the 7th of March, 1825. Jefferson, in his seventh annual report to the president and directors of the literary fund, dated October 7, 1825, said there were forty students present at the beginning; "others continued to arrive from day to day at first, and from week to week since; and the whole number matriculated on the last day of September was 116. Few more can be expected during the present term, which closes on the 15th of December next; and the state of the schools on the same day was as follows:

"In the school of—	Scholars.
Ancient languages	55
Modern languages	64
Mathematics	68
Natural philosophy	33
Natural history	30
Anatomy and medicine	20
Moral philosophy	14"

Jefferson said the dormitories would accommodate about 218 students, and the neighboring town of Charlottesville perhaps 50 more. Seven of the schools were organized and in successful operation in the course of the year 1825. There was some delay in securing a professor of law, as we have already seen. The original number of professors recommended in Jefferson's report to the Legislature in 1818 was ten; but motives of economy compelled a reduction to eight.

Jefferson showed the most active interest in shaping and expanding the course of study. There are two interesting letters to Professor Emmet in Jefferson's Correspondence, dated, respectively, April 27 and May 2, 1826, concerning the importance of introducing botany into university instruction, and indicating Jefferson's views[1] with regard to the develop-

[1] Jefferson's scientific merits have been sketched in "A Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson, more especially as a Promoter of Natural and Physical Science. Pronounced by request before the New York Lyceum of Natural History on the 11th of October, 1826." Published by G. & C. Carville, New York, 1828.

ment and co-ordination of the various branches of scientific study. Jefferson proposed the establishment of a botanical garden and a seminary for forestry upon the university premises. He communicated to Emmet a detailed plan, prepared by the Abbé Correa, a distinguished European botanist, one of Jefferson's old friends, who had served Portugal as foreign minister at Washington. "Our institution being then on hand," writes Jefferson, "in which that was of course to be one of the subjects of instruction, I availed myself of his presence and friendship to obtain from him a general idea of the extent of ground we should employ, and the number and character of the plants we should introduce into it. He accordingly sketched for me a mere outline of the scale he would recommend, restrained altogether to objects of use, and indulging not at all in things of mere curiosity, and especially not yet thinking of a hot-house, or even of a green-house."

JEFFERSON'S CONNECTION WITH THE JARDIN DES PLANTES.

Jefferson was extremely practical in some of his scientific projects, and especially in the pursuit of botany. He wished to introduce plants and trees that would be useful to his countrymen. "For three-and-twenty years of the last twenty-five, my good old friend Thouin, superintendent of the Garden of Plants at Paris, has regularly sent me a box of seeds, of such exotics, as to us, as would suit our climate, and containing nothing indigenous to our country. These I regularly sent to the public and private gardens of the other States, having as yet no employment for them here."

This letter was written only about two months before Jefferson's death. Maintaining for nearly a quarter of a century his connections with Paris, the original source of Jefferson's enlarged ideas of university education, he had been scattering seeds from the *Jardin des Plantes* over the public and private gardens of America. Could there be a more pleasing historic picture of that dissemination of educational ideas which has now gone on for more than two generations from the University of Virginia, that seminary of higher learning, founded by the Sage of Monticello? Broadcast over the entire South have been scattered the seeds of culture and the germs of science. Some have fallen by the wayside; some where there was not much earth; but some have fallen upon good ground. Little is known at the North concerning the University of Virginia, but it is barely possible that some seeds of Jeffersonian influence have been wafted by the winds of destiny into the very gardens of New England culture.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA AND HARVARD COLLEGE.

GEORGE TICKNOR VISITS JEFFERSON, 1815.

It is not beyond the range of possibility that the advanced ideas of Thomas Jefferson had some quickening influence upon educational reform at Harvard College. When only twenty-three years old George Ticknor, of Boston, on a Southern tour, visited Jefferson at Monticello. One of the most charming glimpses of social life in that hospitable mansion, in its best estate, may be found in Ticknor's letter home. In his interesting Life, Letters, and Journals, it is said that Mr. Jefferson "formed quite an affection for the young Federalist from New England." A pleasant correspondence sprang up between the old Virginian and the young Bostonian, who went abroad[1] after conscientiously travelling through historic portions of his own country.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TICKNOR.

As early as 1817 Jefferson communicated to Ticknor, while the latter was yet abroad, the entire plan for the advancement of education in Virginia. In 1818 Jefferson wrote to Ticknor: "You will come home fraught with great means of promoting the science, and consequently

[1] In a letter to M. Dupont de Nemours, dated February 15, 1800, Jefferson thus recommends young Ticknor: "This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Ticknor, a young gentleman from Massachusetts, of much erudition and great merit. He has completed his course of law reading, and before entering on the practice, proposes to pass two or three years in seeing Europe, and adding to his store of knowledge what he can acquire there. Should he enter the career of politics in his own country, he will go far in obtaining its honors and powers. He is worthy of any friendly offices you may be so good as to render him, and to his acknowledgments of them will be added my own. By him I send you a copy of the Review of Montesquieu, from my own shelf, the impression being, I believe, exhausted by the late president of the College of Williamsburg having adopted it as the elementary book there. I am persuading the author to permit the original to be printed in Paris. Although your presses, I observe, are put under the leading strings of your Government, yet this is such a work as would have been licensed at any period, early or late, of the reign of Louis XVI. Surely the present Government will not expect to repress the progress of the public mind further back than that. TH. JEFFERSON."—*Maupin MS. Collection.*

MONTICELLO. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

the happiness of your country." Jefferson then describes the progress of his plans, and suggests that Ticknor take the professorship of ethics, belles-lettres, and the fine arts. "I have some belief," he continues, "that our genial climate would be more friendly to your constitution than the rigors of that of Massachusetts; but all this may yield, possibly, to the *hoc cœlum, sub quo natus educatusque essem.* I have indulged in this reverie the more credulously, because you say in your letter that 'if there were a department in the central government that was devoted to public instruction, I might have sought a place in it; but there is none; there is none even in my State government.'" Jefferson then attempts to convince Ticknor that there is no possible outlook for a bureau of education in Washington without an amendment to the Constitution, and that the University of Virginia will supersede the necessity for it.

On the 3d of October, 1820, immediately after the arrangement with Dr. Cooper had been cancelled, and fully four years before any negotiations were opened with professors in England, the board of visitors of the University of Virginia, acting, as always, under Mr. Jefferson's leadership, authorized the engagement of "Mr. Bowditch,[1] of Salem, and Mr. Ticknor, of Boston," as professors, with the promise of apartments, a salary of $2,000 per annum, and lecture-fees guaranteed to the amount of $500 extra. This was an extremely liberal offer for those times. Harvard College had already secured[2] Ticknor for the professorship of French, Spanish, and belles-lettres, at the moderate salary of $1,000, of which Ticknor afterwards regularly renounced $400 a year to aid the embarrassed finances of the institution.

JEFFERSON ON THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM.

Ticknor's interest in the development of the University of Virginia was keen and pronounced. He continued his correspondence with Jefferson, and proposed a visit to the University as soon as it should be "fairly opened." In acknowledging Ticknor's Syllabus of Lectures on Spanish Literature, Jefferson said, June 16, 1823: "I am not fully in-

[1] Nathaniel Bowditch (1773–1838) was originally a Salem sea-captain, who became eminent for his contributions to mathematics and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was deservedly recognized by Harvard College, which gave him the degree of LL. D. President Quincy, in his History of Harvard (II, 433) says Bowditch "received successively the offer of three professorships of mathematics—in Harvard University, in that of Charlottesville in Virginia, and in the United States Military Academy at West Point—all which he declined." Dr. Bowditch was a very modest and unassuming man. After retiring from sea-voyages he became president of the Salem Fire and Marine Insurance Company, and after 1823 was the Boston actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. His nearest approach to academic life was membership of the corporation of Harvard University. One of his many works was a commentary on the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place, which he translated into English.

[2] Ticknor was elected professor in June, 1816; he accepted in January, 1817, and entered upon his duties in 1819. (Quincy's History of Harvard University, II, 324.)

formed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualification only and sufficient age. Our institution will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can, without consulting its own pride or ambition; of letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind." Jefferson then urges Ticknor not to defer his visit beyond the autumn of the ensuing year, when the last building would be nearly finished. "I know that you scout, as I do, the idea of any rivalship. Our views are catholic, for the improvement of our country by science, and, indeed, it is better even for your own university to have its yoke-mate at this distance rather than to force a nearer one from the increasing necessity for it."

TICKNOR VISITS THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In December, 1824, Ticknor visited Jefferson and the University of Virginia, and wrote a most charming description of both the man and the institution to William H. Prescott, the historian. The following sketch of the new foundation has an historic value: "Yesterday we formed a party, and, with Mr. Jefferson at our head, went to the University. It is a very fine establishment, consisting of ten houses for professors, four eating-houses, a rotunda on the model of the Parthenon [Pantheon], with a magnificent room for a library, and four fine lecture-rooms, with one hundred and eight apartments for students; the whole situated in the midst of two hundred and fifty acres of land, high, healthy, and with noble prospects all around it. It has cost $250,000, and the thorough finish of every part of it and the beautiful architecture of the whole show, I think, that it has not cost too much. Each professor receives his house, which in Charlottesville, the neighboring village, would rent for $600, a salary of $1,500, and a fee of $20 from every student who attends his instructions, which are to be lectures three times a week. *Of the details of the system I shall discourse much when I see you.* It is more practical than I feared, but not so practical that I feel satisfied of its success. It is, however, an experiment worth trying, to which I earnestly desire the happiest results; and they have, to begin it, a mass of buildings more beautiful than anything architectural in New England, and more appropriate to an university than can be found, perhaps, in the world."

TICKNOR'S EFFORTS FOR REFORM IN HARVARD COLLEGE.

This is high praise from a Harvard professor, who had seen the best institutions of Europe. But the point to which this narrative is di-

rectly tending is this: George Ticknor was now beginning to introduce into Harvard College precisely those educational reforms which Jefferson had been advocating in Virginia for many years. Jefferson's advanced ideas were probably well known to Ticknor by reason of his long correspondence with Jefferson, and by reason of the early negotiations regarding a professorship in the University of Virginia. There is but one opinion as to the pioneer influence of Ticknor in the reform movement at Harvard College. The history of that movement is given in the Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, Vol. I, Chap. XVIII, on the "Efforts for Reform in Harvard College." It is perfectly clear that Ticknor, through a letter to Hon. William Prescott, a member of the corporation, set on foot, in the year 1821, the first systematic inquiries which led to important educational reforms. Ticknor's views found absolutely no support from the faculty; on the contrary, the professors voted repeatedly against his innovations. It was chiefly through Hon. William Prescott and Judge Story that Ticknor's ideas found favor with the corporation and the board of overseers, who adopted them in June, 1825. At the request of Judge Story, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Prescott, Ticknor prepared an article for the North American Review explaining and vindicating the proposed changes. This article, although invited and accepted by the editor, was finally suppressed "by the advice of friends." It appeared, however, in pamphlet[1] form in September, 1825, and went through two editions that year.

The changes ordered by the governing authorities encountered great opposition from the faculty. In the annual visitation by the overseers, in 1826, "the new arrangements were not found working successfully in any department but that of the modern languages." The corporation was forced to relax the binding force of its own legislation. In 1827, the faculty resolved that the new law "should not be applied to the departments, or by individual instructors, without the assent of the faculty," but "that if the department of modern languages choose to apply the law to the classes instructed by that department, the faculty assent." It is therefore clear that George Ticknor, the head of that department, was the acknowledged representative of a novel policy which is best described in the following extract from President Eliot's annual report for 1883–84. Speaking of the new code of 1825, President Eliot says:

THE NEW CODE OF 1825.

"These laws provide, among other new things, for the admission to the university of persons not candidates for a degree (Statutes and Laws

[1] Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard University. By George Ticknor, Smith professor, etc. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co. 1825. Speaking, on p. 40, of the desirability of an elective system, Ticknor said: "This, perhaps, is not yet possible with us, though it is actually doing in the University of Virginia; and will soon, it is to be hoped, be considered indispensable in all our advanced colleges."

of the University of Cambridge, 1826, § 11); for the division of the instruction into departments, with a professor at the head of each department responsible for its efficiency (§§ 58 and 60); for the division of classes according to proficiency (§ 61); and for the consideration, to a limited extent, of the desires of students in the arrangement of their studies (§ 63). These provisions originated in the overseers, and were adopted by the corporation and overseers against the judgment of the 'immediate government,' or faculty, and obtained but very imperfect execution; but they gave to George Ticknor, Smith professor of the French and Spanish languages and literature, the means of demonstrating, during the ensuing ten years, in the single department which he organized and controlled, the admirable working of a voluntary system."

TICKNOR'S RESIGNATION.

In 1835, when Ticknor resigned his professorship, he reviewed his fifteen years' work at Harvard in a letter from which the following significant passage is taken. He says: "Within the limits of the department I have entirely broken up the division of classes, established fully the principle and practice of progress according to proficiency, and introduced a system of voluntary study, which for several years has embraced from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty students, so that we have relied hardly at all on college discipline, as it is called, but almost entirely on the good disposition of the young men and their desire to learn. If, therefore, the department of the modern languages is right, the rest of the college is wrong; and if the rest of the college is right we ought to adopt its system, which I believe no person whatsoever has thought desirable for the last three or four years."

ORIGIN OF TICKNOR'S EDUCATIONAL IDEAS.

Now the question arises, where did George Ticknor get all these advanced ideas of university education, upon which Harvard has been growing from more to more during two generations? Not in Cambridge,[1] surely, for Ticknor was a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Cambridge faculty bitterly opposed his innovations. Not from Mr. Prescott and the board of corporation, for he first inspired them with the policy which the faculty for a long time successfully obstructed. The college environment was not favorable to the evolution of educational theories utterly at variance with the scholastic experience of nearly two cen-

[1] Germs of an elective system appear to have existed at Harvard College as early as 1824. Among the questions proposed to the immediate government of Harvard College by the committee of the board of visitors, October 16, 1824, was the following:

"Question II. How far have the students a choice as to what studies they may pursue?

"Answer II. The Juniors have an option between Hebrew and several other studies, viz, French, mathematics, Latin, and Greek; and the Seniors between the recitations in chemistry and in fluxions."

turies. It may be suggested that Ticknor came home from Goettingen and from European travel with a new educational philosophy which he was eager to put into practice. But he says: "When I came from Europe [1819], not having been educated at Cambridge, and having always looked upon it with great veneration, I had no misgivings about the wisdom of the organization and management of the college there. I went about my work, therefore, with great alacrity and confidence; not, indeed, according to a plan I proposed in writing, but according to the established order of things, which I was urged to adopt as my own, and which I did adopt very cheerfully."

Called the very next year, 1820, to a professorship in the University of Virginia, with more than double his salary at Cambridge, and in frequent correspondence with Jefferson after the year 1815, Ticknor had sufficient occasion and opportunity to become acquainted with Jefferson's educational ideas. Ticknor was a Bostonian, always on the alert for new and suggestive things. That he was deeply interested in the new institution is shown by his visit in 1824, and by his letter to William H. Prescott, the son of the man who, from the first, was Ticknor's avenue of approach to the corporation of Harvard College. The year before, in 1823, when Ticknor had proposed making this visit to Virginia, Jefferson had, by letter, distinctly emphasized the following points as characteristic of the new educational departure in Virginia:

ANALYSIS OF JEFFERSON'S VIEWS.

(1) The abolition of a prescribed curriculum for all students, and consequently the overthrow of the class system.

(2) The introduction of specialization, or, as Jefferson phrased it, "exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them [students] for the particular vocations to which they are destined."

(3) The elective system, or "uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend."

(4) The reduction of discipline to a minimum, "avoiding too much government, by requiring no useless observances, none which shall merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience, and revolt," etc.

ANALYSIS OF TICKNOR'S REFORMS.

Let us now analyze the reforms actually introduced into the modern language department at Harvard by George Ticknor, and reviewed by himself in 1835.

(1) The division by classes had been broken up in the modern language courses.

(2) Progress was recognized according to "proficiency." (This is the only standard of progress which has ever been recognized in the University of Virginia.)

(3) Voluntary study, or the elective system.

(4) Reliance on the good disposition of the students, rather than upon discipline.

This correspondence of ideas, to say the least, is very remarkable. There are other likenesses between reforms urged by Ticknor at Harvard and certain ideas of Jefferson. For example, Ticknor urged "instruction by *subjects* rather than by *books*, so that, for instance, a student should not merely read Livy and Horace, but learn Latin." The creation of well-organized departments, controlled by a single responsible head, was also one of Ticknor's favorite notions, which was carried into effect, however, only in the teaching of the modern languages. Ticknor had three or four tutors[1] under his direction. His was the only department thus responsibly organized under the law of 1825. The system corresponds exactly to Jefferson's plan for autonomous "schools," one of the most efficient systems of department administration in modern academic life. Ticknor was absolutely alone in representing these advanced ideas of university education and administration. In 1835 he wrote: "I have been an active professor these fifteen years, and for thirteen years of the time I have been contending, against a constant opposition, to procure certain changes which should make the large means of the college more effectual for the education of the community. In my own department I have succeeded entirely, but I can get these changes carried no further. As long as I hoped to advance them, I continued attached to the college; when I gave up all hope, I determined to resign."

THE QUESTION STATED.

The whole spirit of Ticknor's educational reforms was clearly foreign to his environment. His ideas were far in advance[2] of his age, and yet they were identical, in many respects, with the ideas of Jefferson. That they were consciously borrowed from him is not asserted, but the possibility of a connection between the educational projects of the two men has been already suggested. The question is here stated: Did Jefferson and Ticknor come to absolutely the same educational conclusions in independent ways, or was some influence wafted northward from Monticello, whence Jefferson for many years had been scattering seeds of thought and suggestion. A single copy of one of Jefferson's printed educational reports, like that noticed in the North American Review in 1820, would have explained the whole situation to Ticknor. Jefferson borrowed many of his own educational notions from that *Jardin des Plantes*—the schools of Paris, and the universities of the Old World. The elective system was then, and is now, the life principle of higher

[1] Francis Sales, Charles Folsom, and Charles Follen all taught in Professor Ticknor's department.

[2] President Eliot, in his report for 1883–84, said (p. 107): "Professor Ticknor, who had so effectively promoted the legislation of 1825, was a reformer fifty years in advance of his time. Professor Longfellow, succeeding Professor Ticknor, held in the main to his methods, and the reform gradually gained new ground."

education in Europe. Ticknor must have seen it in operation at Goettingen. But the point of inquiry is this: Did Ticknor devise that entire group of advanced ideas independently of the personal influence of Thomas Jefferson, who had been writing to him for ten years before those ideas were adopted at Harvard, and who called Ticknor to a professorship in Virginia five years before the reform of 1825?

It must have required considerable gathered momentum of interest to cause Ticknor to travel all the way from Boston to Virginia to see an institution of learning. The writer had to spend some months in studying the history of the University of Virginia before he could muster enough zeal to take a few hours' trip by cars from Baltimore to Charlottesville. There was not a railroad in the country when Ticknor made *his* visit to the University of Virginia. Having announced his intention to do so eighteen months before, what was Ticknor's motive in putting himself to all this trouble? There is a psychological element in the problem. One must discover a sufficient cause to induce a man to travel six hundred miles by stage-coach and the slow conveyances of that period, and to be prepared to endure with patience the annoyance of bad roads and the discomfort of bad inns. Probably Ticknor had no idea of leaving Boston to become a professor in the University of Virginia. What was he thinking of in such a long journey southward? Possibly for the reformation of Harvard College he was seeking the best American model. He was going to see Jefferson's new university "fairly opened." He found "the system" "more practical" than he had feared. He found "an experiment worth trying."

MADISON'S LETTER TO TICKNOR.

Ticknor's interest remained unabated. On the 6th of April, 1825, James Madison wrote to George Ticknor: "Our University has been opened with six or seven professors, and a limited but daily increasing number of students. I shall take a pleasure in complying with your request of such information as may explain its progress. In compiling a code of regulations, the University has had the benefit of that of Harvard, which was kindly transmitted. Of all exchanges, that of useful lights ought to be the freest, as doubling the stock on both sides, without cost on either. Our University is, as you observe, somewhat of an experimental institution. Such, however, is the nature of our federative system, itself not a little experimental, that it not only excites emulation without enmity, but admits local experiments of every sort, which, if failing, are but a partial and temporary evil; if successful, may become a common and lasting improvement."

JOSIAH QUINCY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In the life of George Ticknor, it is said (Vol. I, p. 368) that after Dr. Kirkland's resignation, in 1828, and after Josiah Quincy's succession to the presidency, a new spirit and vigor were infused into Harvard College,

and Mr. Ticknor "had no longer the same difficulties to contend with as in earlier years." The biographer of Quincy says he favored the elective system.[1] It is interesting to note that, the very next year after his election, President Quincy began to inquire about the origin and methods of the University of Virginia. In the writings of James Madison, then rector of the University, is a letter to Joseph C. Cabell, indicating that the line of inquiry which George Ticknor had first opened, by his visits to Monticello and Montpellier, and by his correspondence with Jefferson and Madison, was now leading even the president of Harvard University to a knowledge of Jefferson's original ideas, particularly with reference to theological education.[2]

The following is the extract in question:

"I have received a letter from Mr. Quincy, now president of Harvard University, expressing a wish to procure a full account of the origin, the progress, and arrangement of ours, including particularly what may have any reference to theological instruction; and requesting that he may be referred to the proper source of all the printed documents, that he may know where to apply for them. Can a set of copies be had in Richmond, and of whom? Mr. Quincy is so anxious on the subject that he was on his way to the University when the report of the fever stopped him."[3] The historian of Harvard University was doubtless properly supplied with annual reports by Joseph C. Cabell.

FRANCIS WAYLAND AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

There was another college president who, twenty-one years later, not only set out for, but actually reached the University of Virginia. That

[1] Quincy: Life of Josiah Quincy, 442. President Quincy in his History of Harvard University, II, 344-353, 369, gives some account of the changes attempted in 1825. He says George Ticknor had recommended to the overseers "that the division into classes should be abolished, and the whole course be thrown open, as in some foreign universities." The latter statement has weight, but this very elective system made both Ticknor and Quincy interested in the University of Virginia.

[2] A writer in the North American Review, January, 1820, had called attention to a rather startling fact. Speaking of the profession of divinity, the writer said: "No provision is made for instruction in this department in the University of Virginia. As this is probably the first instance in the world of a university without any such provision, our readers will perhaps be gratified with seeing the portion of the report in which this subject is mentioned: 'In conformity with the principles of our Constitution, which places all sects of religion on an equal footing; with the jealousies of the different sects, in guarding that equality from encroachment and surprise; and with the sentiments of the Legislature in favor of freedom of religion, manifested on former occasions, we have proposed no professor of divinity; and the rather, as the proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics, to which, adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects. Proceeding thus far without offence to the Constitution, we have thought it proper at this point to leave every sect to provide, as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets.'"

[3] Madison to Cabell, March 19, 1829.

visitor was Francis Wayland, D. D., LL. D., the distinguished president of Brown University. "The result of his observation," his biographers say, "so far as it related to the practicability and efficacy of the system, was highly favorable. He was particularly impressed with the earnestness and enthusiasm of the officers of instruction."[1] President Wayland had just presented a report to the corporation of Brown University recommending a reorganization of its system of instruction. The changes proposed were quite in harmony with Jefferson's ideas of higher education. Both men advocated the elective system, specialization, modern studies, degrees for merit rather than for seniority, and the payment of professors, at least in some measure, according to their academic success, as shown by the number of students.

The publication of Dr. Wayland's report in 1850 is said to have marked "an era in the history of collegiate education in America." It is, however, very reasonable to suppose that Dr. Wayland had heard something of the above ideas from Harvard or from the University of Virginia. Every one of these ideas had been published by Jefferson in educational reports more than thirty years before the date of Dr. Wayland's recommendations to the corporation of Brown University. These ideas, moreover, had been actually realized at the University of Virginia, which Dr. Wayland visited doubtless for that very reason. At the time of George Ticknor's visit, the University was on the point of architectural completion, and was not yet open to students; but its proposed educational features had been described by Jefferson in manifold ways, by correspondence and by published reports, before Ticknor returned from Europe in 1819. Ideas of the University of Virginia were doubtless in the minds of educational reformers in New England before the administrations of Wayland and Quincy, and before Ticknor succeeded in putting his proposed reforms into practice in 1825. One excellent source of information concerning the good example set in the South may be found as early as the year 1820.

EDWARD EVERETT'S REVIEW OF JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY REPORT.

The proceedings and report of the commissioners for the University of Virginia, printed in 1818, were elaborately noticed by Edward Everett in the North American Review for January, 1820. He made the report the basis of an article of twenty-three pages on "University Education". The phenomenon of a real university at the South must have commanded not only Everett's attention, but that of other thoughtful men of his and Ticknor's time. Speaking of the literary fund of Virginia, amounting, in 1818, to $1,114,159, Mr. Everett, then one of the professors in Harvard College, said: "Nothing in the United States, except a similar fund in Connecticut, which amounts, we believe, to

[1] Life and Letters of Francis Wayland. By his sons, Francis W. and H. L. Wayland. Vol. II, p. 93.

between thirteen and fourteen hundred thousand dollars, can be compared to this splendid public dotation of literature."

Mr. Everett copies into his article Mr. Jefferson's entire scheme of studies proposed for the University of Virginia. While criticising it in some points, the reviewer says: "We highly approve of the professorship of the modern languages, and could wish to see this example followed by such of our universities as have not already made provision for them. * * * We rejoice, too, at the kindly remembrance in which our almost forgotten ancestor, the Anglo-Saxon, is borne. An acquaintance with it unquestionably belongs to a thorough education in the English tongue."

After reviewing the entire scheme of study, Mr. Everett proceeds to discuss the two questions, what a university ought to be, and how it should be founded and supported. He regards it as a defect of the American, as well as of the English university system, "that no reference is had to the destination of the student, but that he is required to dip into the whole circle of science. "He pleads for a higher order of special education, or for the elevation of universities into professional schools. He then takes a bold stand for the support of the highest education by the state. He reviews the origin and history of European establishments of sound learning—universities which very generally were founded or are supported by the state. He contrasts this fact with the public indifference in America to higher education: "One knows not where to find the cause of the indifference which the American Government has at all periods testified to national education. One would have thought that, as a favorite object with Washington, and one of which he had himself in some sense laid a foundation, it would have found an early place among the measures adopted by the Government. It has perhaps been thought that national education should be left to the States. * * * But what have the States done? In the first place, have they founded any institutions for the most important and crowning part of education—the professional—from Georgia to Maine, from New York to Indiana? Not one. They have, indeed, in some cases, patronized the existing colleges. Massachusetts, a few years since, granted $160,000 to her three colleges. New York has liberally endowed Hamilton College. Something, we believe, has been done in Pennsylvania; and Virginia is now establishing schools and universities. But are two or three hundred thousand dollars appropriated to colleges scattered over the country at vast distances from each other, and granted by independent bodies, without mutual concert or system, all that the people of America think that literature is entitled to?"

After this suggestive plea for the national endowment of higher education, Mr. Everett considers briefly the prevailing method of supporting institutions of learning by private endowment. He recognizes the fact that almost all of our literary establishments have been "alms-

gifts of public-spirited men." While according to private beneficence the "warmest gratitude and praise," he takes the ground that it does not become this nation "to depend on charity for the education of our sons and the upholding of our national character." He says: "This dependence on single and private bequests of rich individuals is a relic of a state of society which never existed among us, and to which we have nothing else corresponding. In the Catholic ages, * * * when men thought their peace with heaven could be made at dying for lives spent in violation of all its laws, by founding or endowing public institutions for religion and literature, there was no need of the interference of the state for the erection of these establishments." Mr. Everett says that the situation has entirely changed. We now lack the means of "extorting bequests from departing profligates and heretics." There are few good men who can really afford to build colleges, regardless of the interests of their children or natural heirs. In any case, the public has no right to depend solely upon private philanthropy for the endowment of educational institutions. Mr. Everett maintained that "enlightening, instructing, and elevating the nation" is the most sacred of public duties. "Who can see without shame that the Federal Government of America is the only government in the civilized world that has never founded a literary institution of any description or sort?"

When we reflect that the establishment of university education by the State of Virginia was the immediate occasion of this extraordinary declaration, by a Harvard professor, in favor of the Federal endowment of the highest education, we shall realize that Jeffersonian ideas were capable of starting something more than a local ripple in academic circles at Cambridge. It is very interesting to note that in 1820 the only two men in the Harvard faculty who had been educated in Europe were Edward Everett[1] and George Ticknor. Both were friends and

[1] In a biographical sketch of Edward Everett (1794–1865) by Edward Everett Hale, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, it is stated that after resigning a Boston pastorate in 1814, Mr. Everett devoted five years to European study, in preparation for a professorship in Greek literature at Harvard College. Entering upon his duties about the same time as did Mr. Ticknor, Mr. Everett, "for five years more gave a vigorous impulse, not simply to the study of Greek, but to all the work of the college. About the same time he assumed charge of the North American Review, which now became a quarterly; and he was indefatigable in contributing on a great variety of subjects, with a spirit like Sydney Smith's in the early days of the Edinburgh Review. He vigorously defended American institutions against the sneers of English travellers, and had reason to congratulate himself on the success of a series of articles written to bring about a better mutual understanding between Englishmen and Americans. The success of his lectures in Cambridge, and the enthusiasm aroused by the rebellion in Greece, led him to deliver a series of popular lectures on Greek antiquities in Boston. They were the first lectures on purely literary or historical subjects ever delivered in America, and were the first steps toward a system of popular entertainment and education which now has very wide sweep in the United States." In 1824 Mr. Everett resigned his professorship and became a member of Congress. He had a seat in the House for ten years. In 1835 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and served in that office for four years. He was United States minister to England in

correspondents of Thomas Jefferson. The broad minds of these two able professors, liberalized, like Jefferson's, by European travel and study, were moved by his suggestions to thoughts that will widen in future generations.

JEFFERSON'S COMMENT ON THE REVIEW.

Everett's review of Jefferson's report came under the eye of the latter, although it is doubtful whether he knew the authorship of the article. On the 15th of August, 1820, Jefferson wrote to his old friend, John Adams: "I have lately had an opportunity of reading a critique on this institution in your North American Review of January last, having been not without anxiety to see what that able work would say of us; and I was relieved on finding in it much coincidence of opinion, and even where criticisms were indulged, I found they would have been obviated had the developments of our plan been fuller. But these were restrained by the character of the paper reviewed, being merely a report of outlines, not a detailed treatise, and addressed to a legislative body, not to a learned academy."

1841. He was the immediate successor of Josiah Quincy as president of Harvard College in 1846, resigning two years later. He was Secretary of State under Fillmore, and later became Senator from Massachusetts. Resigning on account of his health in 1854, he devoted the rest of his life to literary pursuits. He delivered his last great oration at Gettysburg in 1865, an effort which resulted in his death that year.

CHAPTER X.

JEFFERSON'S SCHOOL OF LAW, POLITICS, AND HISTORY.

PATRIOTIC MOTIVES OF JEFFERSON.

Patriotic motives moved Jefferson to the idea that youth who were to become American citizens needed such training in moral and political science as would fit them for the practical duties of citizenship and self-government. Nothing is clearer in Jefferson's educational philosophy than his recognition of the importance of moral and political education under our American system of government. Our American colleges and universities have hardly yet risen to the Jeffersonian ideal in either of these great branches of education. As a matter of fact, there is almost no recognized connection between morals and politics, either in our organized systems of instruction or in political life.

Jefferson had the idea of establishing a school of law and politics, based upon ethics, natural science, and the ancient and modern languages, which were to be associated respectively with ancient and modern history and literature. All the arts and sciences were to be tributary to the education of American citizens for their highest duties. Separate the patriotic idea from the institution of the University of Virginia and you have removed its roof and crown. Jefferson repeatedly expressed the idea that the University was patriotic in purpose; it was to be for the benefit of his State and native country. He looked upon the appointment of English professors "as one of the efficacious means of promoting that cordial good will which it is so much the interest of both nations to cherish." He wrote to the Hon. J. Evelyn Denison, a member of Parliament, that it was the interest of America to receive instruction through English teachers, and it was England's interest to furnish it; "for these two nations holding cordially together have nothing to fear from the united world. They will be the models for regenerating the condition of man, the sources from which representative government is to flow over the whole earth." Through Jefferson's plans for university education ran a broad and generous purpose; but he was practical enough to see that America must have her own political philosophy.

JEFFERSON'S INFLUENCE UPON POLITICAL EDUCATION.

Jefferson early interested himself in devising a proper system of political education for American youth. As far back as 1816 he recommended to the president of William and Mary College Destutt Tracy's Review of Montesquieu as "the best elementary book on the principles of government and as equally sound and corrective in political economy." He said Chipman's and Priestley's Principles of Government and the Federalist were excellent, but not comparable to the above review for fundamental principles. Tracy's work was actually adopted by Dr. Smith for the students of William and Mary College. A more formal treatise by Tracy upon political economy Jefferson caused to be translated. He revised the copy and proof with his own hands and prepared an anonymous prospectus[1] or preface to the work, sketching the history of political economy and ranking Tracy as a worthy successor of Jean Baptiste Say, Adam Smith, Dupont de Nemours, Turgot, LeFrosne, Gournay, and Quesnay who were the founders of the modern science of political economy. This preface is perhaps the first attempt of an American to treat economics from an historical point of view. The translation, published by Joseph Milligan, of Georgetown, D. C., in 1817, is probably the first systematic treatise on political economy that ever appeared in this country. The work was translated from the French manuscript, the publication of which had been forbidden in France, as was Tracy's Review of Montesquieu, which Jefferson brought out as a political textbook on the science of government for American youth.

Thus Jefferson prepared the way for the entrance of political science into American colleges. He deserves the credit of first introducing at Williamsburg, as early as 1779, this modern current; but it was strengthened by correspondence with the French economists, Count Destutt Tracy and Dupont de Nemours, and with the English refugee, Judge Cooper, who was one of the earliest economists in the United States and the first professor appointed for the University of Virginia. Into this institution the modern current was turned by Jefferson, and from thence it hurried on to the College of South Carolina, whither Cooper[2] was

[1] See Jefferson's letter to Milligan, the publisher, April 6, 1816.

[2] Professor Cooper brought out in the year 1819 an adaptation of Say's Political Economy for the use of American youth. This work continued to be used as a textbook by Francis Lieber, whose annotated copy is now in the possession of the historical department of the Johns Hopkins University. Cooper early dabbled in economics while living at Carlisle, Pa., where he appears to have edited or contributed to a publication called the Emporium. Jefferson wrote him January 16, 1814: "You have given us, in your Emporium, Bollman's medley on Political Economy. It is a work of one who sees a little of everything and the whole of nothing, and were it not for your own notes on it, a sentence of which throws more just light on the subject than all his pages, we should regret the place it occupies of more useful matter." In the same letter Jefferson acknowledges the receipt of Cooper's edition of Justinian, with notes, probably the first work on Roman law ever published in America, and advises the historical study of the common law of England, with valuable suggestions to that end.

called, and where he was succeeded by Francis Lieber, the great German tributary to American political science.

POLITICAL TEXT-BOOKS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

When the University of Virginia was founded, it became a vital question in Jefferson's mind what political philosophy should be taught to students. While he believed in general in leaving the matter of text-books entirely to the professors, yet he maintained in a letter to Cabell, February 3, 1825, "there is one branch in which we are the best judges, in which heresies may be taught of so interesting a character to our own State, and to the United States, as to make it a duty in us to lay down the principles which are to be taught. It is that of government. Mr. Gilmer being withdrawn, we know not who his successor may be. He may be a Richmond lawyer, or one of that school of quondam Federalism, now consolidation. It is our duty to guard against such principles being disseminated among our youth, and the diffusion of that poison, by a previous prescription of the texts to be followed in their discourses." Thereupon Jefferson inclosed a list of authorities which he and Madison had previously agreed upon as sufficiently sound for American pedagogical purposes. While recognizing the impropriety of using the University of Virginia as a school of party politics, the critic can really find no general fault with the political pabulum chosen for Virginia youth at that period. The works recommended were the product of their time, and were congenial to the minds of most Virginians.

The following list of authorities appears to have been agreed upon by Jefferson and Madison, after due consultation:

(1) Sidney's Discourses and Locke's Essay on Civil Government. Madison said these were "admirably calculated to impress on young minds the right of nations to establish their own governments, and to inspire a love of free ones," although, as Madison admits, they "afford no aid in guarding our republican charters against constructive violence."

(2) The Declaration of Independence, "as the fundamental act of union of these States."

(3) The Federalist, "as the most authentic exposition of the text of the Federal Constitution, as understood by the body which prepared and the authority which accepted it." Madison adds that the Federalist "has been actually admitted into two universities, if not more—those of Harvard and Rhode Island—but probably at the choice of the professors, without any injunction from superior authority."

(4) The Virginia Document of 1799. This was a political commentary on the famous Virginia resolutions of 1798,[1] which affirmed that the

[1] Upon this point see Madison's Writings, III, 481–482, and IV, 308. The Virginia Document may be found reprinted in Niles's Register, 1833. An interesting discussion of a similar set of resolutions, prepared chiefly by Jefferson, may be found in the Nation for May 5, 1887, entitled "The Kentucky Resolutions in a New Light," by Miss

Constitution was a compact between the States, urged the duty of the States to defend their reserved rights, and declared the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws, which abridged free speech and the freedom of the press.

(5) The Inaugural Speech and Farewell Address of George Washington. These later documents were suggested by Madison, in addition to Jefferson's list, "as conveying political lessons of peculiar value." Madison, however, concluded that "after all, the most effectual safeguard against heretical intrusions into the school of politics will be an able and orthodox professor,[1] whose course of instruction will be an example to his successors, and may carry with it a sanction from the visitors."

POLITICAL ORTHODOXY.

These careful provisions by the two most experienced statesmen in Virginia for the maintenance of political orthodoxy at their new University are very interesting, both from an historical and from a psychological point of view. While protesting against sectarianism[2] in education,

Sarah Nicholas Randolph, of Baltimore, who is a great-granddaughter of Mr. Jefferson, and who found original material bearing upon the Kentucky resolutions among his manuscripts now preserved in Washington.

[1] In September, 1833, Madison, at that time rector of the University of Virginia, in the eighty-third year of his age, wrote to Mr. W. A. Duer, who had prepared the outlines of a book on the constitutional jurisprudence of the United States, with the evident hope of introducing the work, when published, as a text-book into the University of Virginia. Madison said: "The choice of text and class books is left to the professors respectively. The only exception is in the school of law, in which the subject of government is included, and on that the board of visitors have prescribed, as text authorities, the Federalist, the Resolutions of Virginia in 1798, with the comment on them in 1799, and Washington's Farewell Address. The use, therefore, that will be made of any analogous publications will depend on the discretion of the professor himself. His personal opinions, I believe, favor very strict rules of expounding the Constitution of the United States." Madison's writings, IV, 308. Madison adds an interesting historical point: "You are, I presume, not ignorant that your father was the author of several papers auxiliary to the numbers in the Federalist. They appeared, I believe, in the Gazette of Mr. Childs."

[2] In a letter to Edward Everett, dated March 19, 1823, Madison said: "A university with sectarian professorships becomes, of course, a sectarian monopoly; with professorships of rival sects, it would be an arena of theological gladiators. Without any such professorships it may incur, for a time at least, the imputation of irreligious tendencies, if not designs. The last difficulty was thought more manageable than either of the others." Writings of Madison, III, 307.

Madison does not mean that the first professors in the University of Virginia were irreligious men or without church connections. As a matter of fact, most of the professors were Episcopalians. Dr. Dunglison, the original head of the school of medicine, once said in a private letter: "I was an Episcopalian, so was Mr. Tucker, Mr. Long, Mr. Key, Mr. Bonnycastle, and Dr. Emmet; Dr. Blaetterman, I think, was a Lutheran, but I do not know so much about his religion as I do about that of the rest. There certainly was not a Unitarian among us." Jefferson regarded himself as a Christian and as a Unitarian, basing his views upon the writings of Dr. Joseph Priestley, who was a Unitarian clergyman. Jefferson was baptized into the Episcopal Church and usually attended its services, joining in the responses and prayers.

they were deliberately substituting for it party control. There could be no possible objection to students discussing any or all of these historical documents; but the idea of imposing them as a permanent educational or party yoke, to the exclusion of other good means of political training, is intolerable. Madison himself saw the difficulty of chaining up a professor to one set of books, and proposed to secure an "orthodox" man and give him free rein. That is precisely the kind of man that every sectarian college has been honestly striving to discover for every department of education. It always has been, and perhaps always will be, a difficult question to determine the standard of "orthodoxy" in a progressive state of society, but there is a steady drift of opinion, in this nineteenth century, toward more tolerant forms. While recognizing with Jefferson and Madison the importance of "orthodox" political education, in the sense of loyalty to State and country, is it not better for every college and State university to teach political *science* rather than party spirit? And is not a scientific criterion of "orthodoxy" worthy of recognition in every branch of learning?

In a letter to James Madison, dated February 17, 1826, Jefferson called attention to the importance of appointing a law professor who was sound in the political faith: "In the selection of our law professor, we must be rigorously attentive to his political principles. You will recollect that before the Revolution, Coke [on] Littleton was the universal elementary book of law students, and a sounder whig never wrote, nor of profounder learning in the orthodox doctrines of the British Constitution, or in what were called English liberties. You remember also that our lawyers were then all whigs. But when his black-letter text and uncouth but cunning learning got out of fashion, and the honied Mansfieldism of Blackstone became the students' horn-book, from that moment that profession (the nursery of our Congress) began to slide into toryism, and nearly all the young brood of lawyers now are of that hue. They suppose themselves, indeed, to be whigs, because they no longer know what whiggism or republicanism means. It is in our seminary that that vestal flame is to be kept alive; it is thence it is to spread anew over our own and the sister States. If we are true and vigilant in our trust, within a dozen or twenty years a majority of our own Legislature will be from one school, and many disciples will have carried its doctrines home with them to their several States, and will have leavened thus the whole mass." Jefferson carried his patriotism rather too far when he attempted to make provision for the exclusion from the University of federalism, which he regarded as political heresy. By dictating a republican course of instruction he was guilty of narrowing political science to a party platform. But in the essential idea, however illogical from a cosmopolitan point of view, Jefferson was in a meas-

Whatever his private convictions, he could truthfully say he "never attempted to make a convert nor wished to change another's creed." See Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. III, Chap. XIV, on "Jefferson's Religious Views."

ure right. To a certain extent, American youth require American training in the duties of citizenship. There *are* lines in politics, as in religion, which must be drawn. In the former they mark what men call patriotism, national independence, loyalty to kindred, country, or race.

JEFFERSON ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

It was provided in Jefferson's educational plan that ancient history and ancient geography should be studied in connection with the ancient languages, and modern history and modern geography in connection with modern languages. The representatives of these great historical fields were George Long on the one side, and George Blaetterman on the other. From the excellence of the historical and geographical[1] work represented by Long's History of Rome and Long's Classical Atlas, we may rest assured that his teaching in these branches was of a high order. Of Blaetterman's work we have only the presumptive evidence of German training, which has favored history most decidedly since the time of the Napoleonic wars, when the restoration of Germany began in schools and universities. Jefferson's own views upon the study of history are precisely stated in a letter addressed to one of the newly-appointed professors, and dated October 25, 1825:

"I know not whether the professors to whom ancient and modern history are assigned in the University have yet decided on the course of historical reading which they will recommend to their schools. If they have, I wish this letter to be considered as not written, as their course, the result of mature consideration, will be preferable to anything I could recommend. Under this uncertainty, and the rather as you are of neither of these schools, I may hazard some general ideas, to be corrected by what they may recommend hereafter.

"In all cases I prefer original authors to compilers. For a course of ancient history, therefore, of Greece and Rome especially, I should advise the usual suite of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus, Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion, in their originals if understood, and in translations if not. For its continuation to the final destruction of the Empire we must then be content with Gibbons [*sic*], a compiler, and with Ségur for a judicious recapitulation of the whole. After this general course, there are a number of particular histories filling up the chasms, which may be read at leisure in the progress of life. Such is Arrian, Q. Curtius, Polybius, Sallust, Plutarch, Dionysius [of] Halicarnassus, Micasi, etc. The ancient universal history should be on our shelves as a book of general reference, the most learned and most faithful, perhaps, that ever was written. Its style is very plain but perspicuous.

[1] Long wrote a very valuable work on historical geography, and a treatise on the Geography of America and the West Indies. He was also one of the editors of a special work on the Geography of Great Britain (Part I, England and Wales. London, no date).

"In modern history, there are but two nations with whose course it is interesting to us to be intimately acquainted, to wit: France and England! For the former, Millot's General History of France may be sufficient to the period when 1 Davila commences. He should be followed by Péréfixe, Sully, Voltaire's Louis XIV and XV, Lacretelle's XVIIIme Siècle, Marmontel's Régence, Foulongion's French Revolution, and Madame de Staël's, making up by a succession of particular history the general one which they want.

"Of England there is as yet no general history so faithful as Rapin's. He may be followed by Ludlow, Fox, Belsham, Hume, and Brodie. Hume's, were it faithful, would be the finest piece of history which has ever been written by man. Its unfortunate bias may be partly ascribed to the accident of his having written backwards. His maiden work was the History of the Stuarts. It was a first essay to try his strength before the public. And whether as a Scotchman he had really a partiality for that family, or thought that the lower their degradation the more fame he should acquire by raising them up to some favor, the object of his work was an apology for them. He spared nothing, therefore, to wash them white and to palliate their misgovernment. For this purpose he suppressed truths, advanced falsehoods, forged authorities, and falsified records. All this is proved on him unanswerably by Brodie. But so bewitching was his style and manner, that his readers were unwilling to doubt anything, swallowed everything, and all England became tories by the magic of his art. His pen revolutionized the public sentiment of that country more completely than the standing armies could ever have done, which were so much dreaded and deprecated by the patriots of that day."

Jefferson then proceeds, in a somewhat elaborate way, to criticise Hume's history of the dynasties preceding the Stuarts, in which Hume maintained the thesis of his first work, that "it was the people who encroached on the sovereign, not the sovereign who usurped the rights of the people." Hume's third work was a complete history of England, basing its Constitution upon the physical force of the Norman conquest. Condemning this philosophy of English history, Jefferson maintained that whig historians "have always gone back to the Saxon period for the true principles of their Constitution, while the tories and Hume, their Coryphæus, date it from the Norman conquest, and hence conclude that the continual claim by the nation of the good old Saxon laws, and the struggles to recover them, were 'encroachments of the people on the crown, and not usurpations of the crown on the people.'" Jefferson said that Hume, with Brodie, was the last of English histories which the student should read. "If first read, Hume makes an English tory, from whence it is an easy step to American toryism [Federalism]. But there is a history, by Baxter, in which, abridging somewhat by leaving out some entire incidents as less interesting now than when Hume wrote, he has given the rest in the identical words of Hume, except that when he comes to a fact falsified, he states it truly, and when to a sup-

pression of truth, he supplies it, never otherwise changing a word. It is, in fact, an editic expurgation of Hume. Those who shrink from the volume of Rapin may read this first, and from this lay a first foundation in a basis of truth.

"For modern Continental history, a very general idea may be first aimed at, leaving for future and occasional reading the particular histories of such countries as may excite curiosity at the time. This may be obtained from Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Voltaire's *Esprit et Mœurs des Nations*, Millot's Modern History, Russell's Modern Europe, Hallam's Middle Ages, and Robertson's Charles V.

"You ask what book I would recommend to be first read in law. I am very glad to find from a conversation with Mr. Gilmer, that he considers Coke [on] Littleton, as methodized by Thomas, as unquestionably the best elementary work, and the one which will be the text-book of his school. It is now as agreeable reading as Blackstone, and much more profound. I pray you to consider this hasty and imperfect sketch as intended merely to prove my wish to be useful to you, and that with it you will accept the assurance of my esteem and respect."

Thus, it is evident that Jefferson regarded both law and history as formative elements in the training of patriotic citizens who should become defenders of popular rights. The stress which he laid upon the teaching of early English, or "Anglo-Saxon", forms of government is most remarkable from two points of view. First, it shows that his political principles were historic and genuinely English,[1] rather than purely philosophical and French. Second, Jefferson's "Anglo-Saxon" principles, if they had been taught in the University of Virginia and practically applied in local self-government, would have undermined that reverence for Norman principles which was the bane of Virginia and of the whole South for nearly two generations after the death of Jefferson.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Political economy appears to have been assigned to Professor Tucker during the first year of the University. Madison, acknowledging, December 26, 1826, the receipt of a copy of Dr. Cooper's published lectures on political economy, said that, before he had time to look into the work, "I had an opportunity of handing it over to Professor Tucker, of our University, now charged with that branch of instruction, who wished to see it, as I did that he should, not doubting that it well merited his perusal." By the same letter Madison acknowledges the receipt of Cooper's lectures on Civil Government and on the Constitution of the United States.[2] It is remarkable to find, at the very

[1] Jefferson's views on the Anglo-Saxon origin of the English Constitution are finely illustrated in his letter to Maj. John Cartwright, June 5, 1824.

[2] It is interesting to note that Dr. Cooper's immediate successor at Columbia, S. C., Francis Lieber, should have elaborated his class lectures into a *magnum opus* in the same field as Dr. Cooper's work. Lieber's masterpiece is called Civil Liberty and Self-Government.

opening of the school of law and politics, these published lectures coming into the hands of its friends from a man who was originally chosen to represent those very subjects. At that time Dr. Cooper was undoubtedly the ablest professor in the country in the field of politics and economics. One cannot refrain from wishing that he might have had a fair chance, among that original staff of eminent professors, to develop those very subjects which the University of Virginia, by reason of the exactions of other important studies, found no early opportunity to foster. But the eccentricities of Dr. Cooper's character and genius stood in the way of academic success, even in South Carolina.

CONCLUSION.

THE HOLY CAUSE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

No one can read from beginning to end the correspondence between Jefferson and Cabell without increasing amazement at the many obstacles, the local opposition, the rivalries, jealousies, intolerance, indifference, and popular lethargy over which these two men triumphed from 1817 to 1826, by their resolute perseverance and indomitable courage. At one time of financial emergency Cabell announced his return to the Senate in these courageous words to Jefferson: "I returned hastily over stormy rivers, and frozen roads, to rejoin the band of steadfast patriots engaged in *the holy cause of the University.*"

It would be difficult to find in our entire educational history anything more heroic than that brave fight for the University of Virginia, a struggle begun and sustained for fifty years (1776–1826) by Jefferson, who was past fourscore when he saw his hopes fulfilled. To study the history of those fifty years gives one an exalted sense of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Sage of Monticello in the execution of the greatest project of his life. What pains were bestowed upon those letters, which seem to us so easily written, and upon those numerous educational bills and reports which the student hurries through in a few minutes! The following, from a letter to Cabell, December 28, 1822, when Jefferson was in his eightieth year, shows what infinite labor those writings cost:

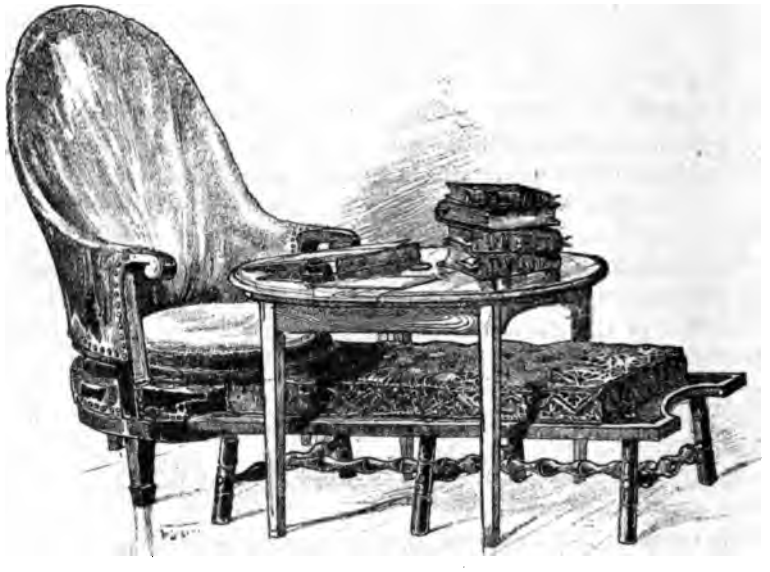
"You propose to me to write to half a dozen gentlemen on this subject. You do not know, my dear sir, how great is my physical inability to write. The joints of [my] right wrist and fingers, in consequence of an ancient dislocation, are become so stiffened that I can write but at the pace of a snail. The copying our report, and my letter lately sent to the Governor, being seven pages only, employed me laboriously a whole week. The letter I am now writing you [three printed octavo pages] has taken me two days. I have been obliged, therefore, to withdraw from letter-writing but in cases of the most indispensable

urgency. A letter of a page or two costs me a day of labor, and a painful labor."

Cabell's more active service to the University in the Virginia Legislature lasted for about twenty years. His record there is all the more remarkable, because he was a man of delicate constitution. He suffered from malaria and hemorrhages of the lungs. His declaration,

Desk on which the Declaration of Independence was written. From a Drawing by Jefferson.[1]

that he could not risk his life in a better cause than that of the University, was no unmeaning phrase, for he repeatedly exposed himself with the utmost daring in those arduous educational campaigns. Only once did he falter. In 1821, when suffering from bodily weakness, worn out



Jefferson's Chair and Writing Table.[1]

with public speaking, utterly weary of politics, and of Richmond hotels, where he had lived for thirteen winters, and longing for return to "domestic, rural, and literary leisure," Cabell wrote to Jefferson, expressing a purpose of speedily withdrawing from the Legislature. Then it was that the old hero felt his soul stir within him. He wrote a letter from the heights of Monticello, words of almost prophetic significance, moving

[1] Published by courtesy of the Century Company.

MONTICELLO, WEST FRONT.

[Published by courtesy of the Century Company.]

Cabell to remain loyal to the greatest purpose of his life. Appealing at once to his patriotism and his sense of duty, Jefferson said: "I know well your devotion to your country, and your foresight of the awful scenes coming on her, sooner or later. With this foresight, what service can we ever render her [the University] equal to this? What object of our lives can we propose so important? What interest of our own which ought not to be postponed to this? Health, time, labor, on what in the single life which nature has given us, can these be better bestowed than on this immortal boon to our country? The exertions and the mortifications are temporary; the benefit eternal. If any member of our college of visitors could justifiably withdraw from this sacred duty, it would be myself, who, '*quadragenis stipendiis jamdudum peractis*,' have neither vigor of body nor mind left to keep the field; but I will die in the last ditch. And so, I hope, you will, my friend, as well as our firm-breasted brothers and colleagues, Mr. Johnson and General Breckenridge. * * * Pray then, dear and very dear sir, do not think of deserting us, but view the sacrifices which seem to stand in your way as the lesser duties, and such as ought to be postponed to this, the greatest of all. Continue with us in these holy labors, until having seen their accomplishment, we may say with old Simeon, '*nunc dimittas, Domine.*'"[1]

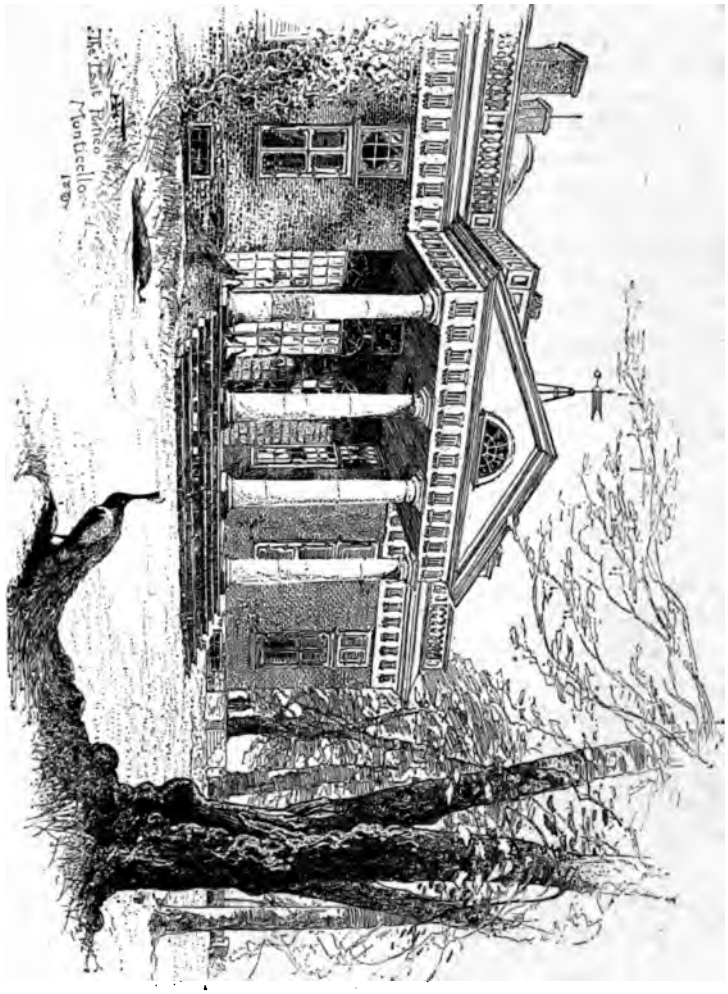
Cabell replied, "It is not in my nature to resist such an appeal." Without further words upon the subject of domestic comfort, rural pleasure, or literary ease, this noble scholar returned to politics and to the business of sustaining the University by good legislation. He continued to serve the institution as legislator, visitor, and rector until his death, in 1856. Such was the self-sacrificing and devoted spirit which entered into the life and constitution of the University of Virginia. The final recognition of the university idea and its loyal maintenance through every crisis, by the common people of Virginia, illustrates the truth of Robert Browning's verse:

> "A people is but the attempt of many
> To rise to the completer life of one."

THE FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Emerson's words, with which the writer began the present monograph, recur now with renewed force: "*An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.*" This saying has peculiar significance to one who has studied with some care the origin of the University of Virginia, and who has stood in front of Jefferson's house at Monticello and looked across that beautiful country toward the "academical village" which represents the best energies of his life. From that height Jefferson watched day by day the building of his University. It is a local tradition that often, when the work of the masons appeared to be going wrong, Jefferson would mount his horse and ride over in hot haste to

[1] Jefferson's letter to Cabell, January 31, 1821.



MONTICELLO, THE EAST PORTICO

[*Published by courtesy of the Century Company.*]

correct the error. We can well believe it; for in August, 1820, he wrote to John Adams: "Our University, four miles distant, gives me frequent exercise, and the oftener, as I direct its architecture." The buildings of the University of Virginia are Jefferson's thoughts materialized in artistic form. If those pavilions and that grand rotunda should ever be shaken down by an earthquake, the future archæologist might perhaps find the name of Jefferson upon every stone in the ruins.

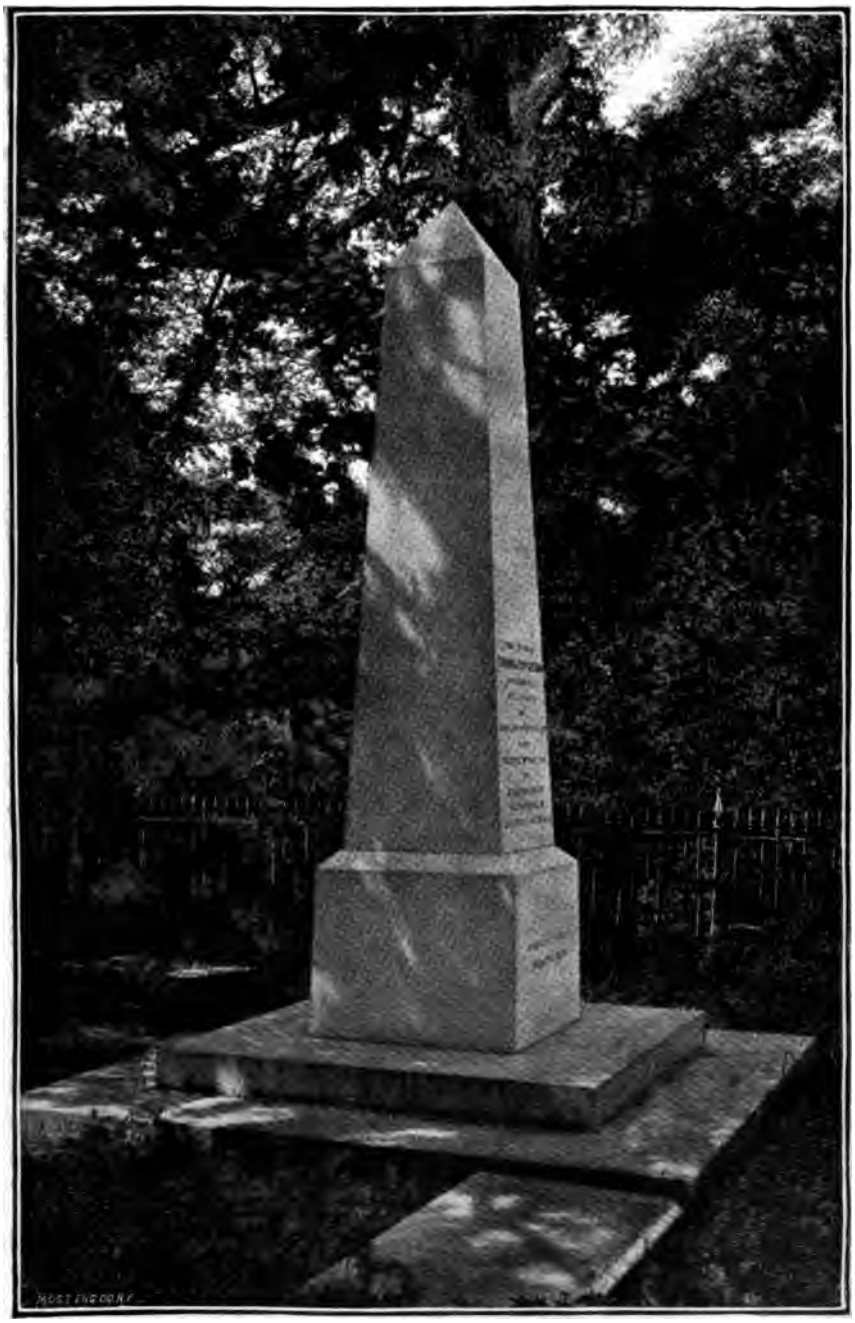
Jefferson died with the feeling that the University was not yet fully appreciated by his fellow-citizens; but he was confident that posterity would do it justice. He once wrote to Cabell: "I have long been sensible that while I was endeavoring to render our country the greatest of all services, and placing our rising generation on the level of our sister States (which they have proudly held heretofore), I was discharging the odious function of a physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it. I am so sure of the future approbation of posterity, and of the inestimable effect we shall have produced in the elevation of our country by what we have done, as that I can not repent of the part I have borne in co-operation with my colleagues." The University was the noblest work of Jefferson's life. His system of higher education marks the continuation of his personal, vitalizing influence in Virginia and in the country at large more truly than does any other of his original creations.

By order of Congress a new monument[1] has lately been erected upon the site of the old and battered shaft which stood over his grave in that little burying-ground by the road-side, to the left as one goes toward the valley from Jefferson's old home. The new monument bears the inscription copied from the old stone, which has been piously removed to the campus of the University of the State of Missouri, at Columbia: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia. Born April 2d, 1743, O. S. Died July 4th, 1826."

Here lies a man who gave the best that he had to his country, his State, his friends and neighbors, and to the University which bears not his name but that of Virginia. He sacrificed a large private fortune in expenditures for the public good, in the exercise of generous hospitality, and in meeting obligations incurred by indorsing the notes of a family

[1] Monument over the Grave of Thomas Jefferson. Letter from the Secretary of State (William M. Evarts) to Hon. D. W. Voorhees, chairman of the Committee on the Library, transmitting letter of the Attorney-General in relation to the obstacles in the way of erecting a monument over the grave of Thomas Jefferson, May 11, 1880. 8vo, pp. 4, Forty-sixth Congress, second sess., Senate, Mis. Doc., No. 88.

The Jefferson Monument. Correspondence relating thereto. 1883. Letters from James S. Rollins and Mary B. Randolph concerning "the old Jefferson monument, transplanted from Monticello, Va., to the campus of the University of the State of Missouri, at Columbia."



NEW MONUMENT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, ERECTED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS, 1882.

friend, whose bankruptcy gave Jefferson what he called his *coup de grâce.*

Although the last year of his life threatened to end in trouble and poverty, yet before his death the State of Virginia and its grateful counties, together with friends in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, came to his relief. The spontaneous offering of help by grateful citizens throughout a whole country gratified Jefferson beyond measure, and "closed with a cloudless sun a long and serene day of life."

OLD MONUMENT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, NOW ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA, MO.

[*Published by courtesy of the Century Company.*]

CHAPTER XI.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA UPON SOUTHERN LIFE AND THOUGHT.

AN INQUIRY INTO ITS CAUSES AND EXTENT.

BY WILLIAM P. TRENT, M. A.

INTRODUCTORY.

Doctor Adams has asked me to write an essay upon the above subject to serve as a supplementary chapter to his work upon Thomas Jefferson and his relations to the University of Virginia. As an alumnus of the University,[1] and as a modest student of institutional history, I am naturally interested in the good work Dr. Adams has undertaken, and I have not thought it right to allow any feelings of diffidence to prevent me from lending what help I can to his labors.

In studying the influences exerted by laws, by customs, or by institutions, it is by no means easy to hold the balance even; we are all inclined to forget that persuasion is not proof, or that denunciation has no place in history. I fear that mine is by no means a steady hand; but as a faulty experiment generally brings about others and, in time, the true one, I am inclined to proceed with my subject without further preface.

That the University of Virginia has had an appreciable influence upon the South goes without saying. The very fact that the institution is living and working to-day proves it. If further argument were needed, I should simply point to the creative genius of its founder, and to the fact that a professor in a sister university has worked for months over its early history. This last fact, by the way, shows the good effects of institutional studies in subduing that spirit of prejudice and captious criticism which too often alienates institutions that should work in harmony. It remains, then, for us to consider the causes, the extent, and the character of this influence.

[1] The University of Virginia is known throughout the South as "the University," and this is my excuse for using an expression otherwise indefensible.

Manifestly these three objects of inquiry are interdependent; it is equally manifest that we are practically confined to two fields of investigation. On the one hand, we may study the workings of the University, both in its history and on the spot, and from such study arrive at what seem to be the causes of the influence the existence of which we have taken for granted; on the other hand, we may follow its students into the world, watch their careers, and from thousands of particular facts obtain by induction such general conclusions as to the extent and character of their influence as a fair mind might be expected to make.

When a friend of an institution endeavors to prove its usefulness, he will, as a rule, employ the first method; but it is equally the rule that he only convinces neutrals, or those who were partly inclined to his view of the matter; he will hardly silence strenuous opponents. If an appeal be made to statistics, opposition will frequently be silenced, but this, too, has limitations to its success. Unless the results obtained in the shape of statistics are given in a clear and attractive manner, they will repel neutrals and half-way friends; and, unless opponents are candid and truth-loving, the most convincing figures will be as barren of result as the mere dictum of an uninformed partisan. These are the two dangers that beset all those who would fain lay before the public the results of their institutional studies.

I.—Analysis of the Workings of the University.

If this essay were to be published independently of Dr. Adams's monograph, I should have to devote some space to an examination of Jefferson's ideas with regard to higher education, in order to fairly begin any study of the workings of the University; but as Dr. Adams has already treated this subject ably and fully in the preceding pages, my labor in this respect will be considerably abridged. It suffices to say that the broadness of Mr. Jefferson's views and the suggestive quality of his genius are nowhere more strikingly displayed than in his choice of the lines along which the work of his favorite institution was to run. These lines the University has in the main adhered to. The combination of the monastic with the democratic spirit, the high standard and broad scope of study which he advised, the honor system of discipline, and the merging of party and sect into literary and scientific fellowship all survive in the University, and in their results bear testimony to the wisdom of the mind that first combined them.

LIST OF CAUSES OF THE UNIVERSITY'S INFLUENCE.

I shall now present to the reader a list of the causes or working forces which, in my opinion, have given extent and character to the influence of the University upon Southern life and thought. A brief discussion of each head will follow, and we shall then be brought to the second division of our subject, which corresponds to the second method of investigation before laid down.

These chief causes or working forces may be stated as follows:

(1) The continued refusal of the faculty and visitors to rest satisfied with the present standard of requirement in the several studies or with the number of subjects taught, and the constant tendency to improvement in both of these particulars.

(2) The substitution of the elective for the curricular system of instruction.

(3) The honor system of discipline.

(4) The even balance held between sects and parties.

(5) The high qualifications, both mental and moral, of the men chosen as instructors.

(6) The unique position of the University in the South; a position largely brought about by the existence of the above-mentioned causes, and by others to be stated hereafter.

STRIVING AFTER BETTER RESULTS.

We shall now consider the first claim made for the University.

In 1826 the faculty consisted of eight professors, occupying the following chairs: Ancient languages, modern languages (including Anglo-Saxon—see page 92), mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, anatomy and medicine, moral philosophy, and law. I am informed by the present chairman of the faculty, Col. Charles S. Venable (to whom I am indebted for kind assistance), that the examinations held during the first years of the University were as searching and thorough, in proportion to the extent of the course, as those now in vogue, and of the thoroughness of the latter I am qualified to speak by experience. In 1827 the medical department was organized and the work distributed to three professors; in 1859 there were four professors and a special demonstrator of anatomy. Although there have been few clinical advantages connected with this school, the thoroughness of its teaching has never failed to attract students, and the men who obtain its diploma are uniformly successful in any college they may subsequently attend. In 1851 an adjunct professor of law was appointed, who became a full professor in 1854. In 1856 the chair of ancient languages was superseded by two new chairs, those of Latin and of Greek and Hebrew. In 1857 the school of history and general literature was established. Since that time the faculty has been enlarged by the appointment of professors in applied mathematics, in natural history and geology, in analytical chemistry, in English, in scientific agriculture, zoölogy, and botany, and in practical astronomy. The professor of moral philosophy had long ago delivered lectures on political economy; but in 1882 this subject was handed over to the professor of history, whose school is now known as that of historical science. In 1887 the faculty consisted of nineteen full professors, to whom may be added five special instructors. All this indicates a natural and steady growth; chairs have been created to meet the needs of the

time; there has been no rush or over-eagerness to make a display of high-sounding names on the pages of the catalogue.

If inquiry be directed to the workings of these several schools, a conformity to the laws of evolution will be discovered which would, I suspect, fairly shock the professors in charge. Attention has already been called to the strictness of the early examinations. The method of class-instruction has always been by lectures, supplemented by text-book work. Of course the horrible state of secondary education throughout the South cramped and retarded the development of the early schools; but when University graduates betook themselves to this labor-craving field, an advance in method and scope of teaching became possible—an advance characterized by the same natural and steady growth to which I before alluded. For want of space I am not able to particularize upon this subject; but when I come to speak of Dr. Gessner Harrison, who succeeded Mr. George Long in the chair of ancient languages, we shall see that the philological work of Bopp was being made familiar to students in the University of Virginia at a time when not even the professors of other colleges in this country had realized the immense importance of the great German's undertaking. The chair of moral philosophy might be selected as another example of this academical evolution, if I may be allowed the phrase. Within my own memory two lectures a week have been added to this course.

EVOLUTION OF DEGREES.

If attention be turned to the degrees awarded by the University, the same spirit of adaptation to the needs of the time will be perceived, perhaps, however, in a less degree. It was early recognized by the founders of the University that an institution was needed, upon the thoroughness of whose work the utmost reliance could be placed. A glance at the state of secondary education proved this. Thoughtful men were beginning to see that it was folly to intrust their children to teachers whose want of qualification would only be discovered after they had ruined the minds of their pupils. Hence it was that Princeton was crowded with Southern students; and hence it was that Mr. Jefferson and his coadjutors determined that their new University, by giving its honors only to the highly meritorious should send forth men stamped with a seal—ready and able to assist in the regeneration of culture and learning, not only in Virginia, but throughout the entire South.

At first an attempt was made to drop the long-established academical titles, save that of M. D., and to adopt the simple title of graduate U. V., the name of the school or schools in which the student had been "declared eminent" being expressed in his "certificate," which was to be "attested" by the particular professor. This is certainly the most striking—probably the only instance of a lack of "sweetness and light" on the part of the founders of the University; but it gives one pleasure to see how quickly they recognized their mistake and how prompt

they were in correcting it. In 1828 the visitors recommended the faculty "to consider and report to the board whether some change be not proper in the regulations concerning degrees." The faculty, after consideration, reported in favor of that title which has since been regarded in the South as the highest academical honor a man can wear, the title of Master of Arts of the University of Virginia. For this degree, which was adopted in 1831, graduation was required in the schools of ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry (which seems to have taken the place of the old school of natural history), and moral philosophy. But the visitors, in adopting the degree, showed their wisdom further by recommending the faculty "to consider and report whether higher or other degrees ought not to be provided for, and whether proficiency in the modern languages, or any of them, should be essential to such degrees." This last recommendation would suffice to show us that the visitors were no ordinary men. A glance at the catalogue discloses the names of James Madison (Monroe's term expired in February, 1831, and he died just about the time this resolution was passed), of Joseph C. Cabell, of Chapman Johnson, of John H. Cocke, and of Thomas Jefferson Randolph. The faculty did not report on this, at least there is no record of their having done so; but in 1832 the visitors added "graduation in at least two of the languages taught in the school of modern languages" to the requisites for the master's degree. Since that date other changes have been made in the M. A., all tending to make it more difficult to obtain; but in 1884, owing no doubt to the increased difficulty of graduation in the several schools, graduation in the department of historical science ceased to be a requisite. This is one of the few backward steps the visitors have taken. To send out a master of arts who may be—and I think is, as a rule—comparatively ignorant both of history and of political economy, is hardly in keeping with the traditions of the University—is certainly not in keeping with the ideas entertained by Mr. Jefferson. The degrees subsequently added present points both for favorable and for unfavorable criticism. In the year 1840 the law school was permitted to give its full graduates the title of bachelor of law. This was a decidedly advantageous step. In 1848 the degree of bachelor of arts was authorized, but the requisites attached to it were such that it can scarcely be regarded as having served any definite purpose. A reference to the catalogues of the University will readily show the truth of the latter statement. The degree was generally, and with good reason, looked upon as a sop thrown to those who had failed to become masters; and it was entirely too difficult of attainment to answer the purpose which it serves in a curriculum college.[1] Changes have recently been made with this last end in view, and the success of the innovation is to be hoped for. Since 1848

[1] It must be stated here that the master's and the bachelor's degrees have no necessary connection with one another.

nine additional degrees have been authorized by the visitors, viz.: Bachelor of letters, bachelor of science, bachelor of philosophy, bachelor of scientific agriculture (shades of mediæval Oxford defend us!), civil engineer, mining engineer, doctor of letters, doctor of science, and doctor of philosophy. The three last-mentioned degrees are post-graduate, and denote a departure from established custom pregnant with interest to the future of the University. Whether the first four degrees enumerated serve any very good purpose is, I conceive, an open question. It is necessary to add that no honorary degrees are ever conferred by the University; a rule originating, I doubt not, in the determination before alluded to, of providing the South with an institution whose degrees should be sure evidence of high merit.

We have thus seen the truth of the statement that the faculty and visitors have never been content with present standards, but have always aimed at higher things. We have found points to criticise, it is true, but such as do not affect the general conclusion. Now, it is at once plain that this striving after better results, being, as it were, part of the mental and moral atmosphere of the place, could not fail to affect the minds and characters of many of the students. It is impossible to fully trace the effects of this spirit of enterprise and thorough-goingness; it will be sufficient to remark that from 1830 the cause of secondary education in the South began to revive, and that this revival was largely, if not entirely, due to the graduates of the new institution who went forth as teachers. Another result of this constant improvement in method and scope of instruction is found in the fact that there is scarcely any college in the South which has not to a greater or less extent modelled its system of teaching after that of the University;[1] and in the further fact that the University has always furnished these various colleges with a large proportion of their professors.[2] But I have already dwelt too long upon this matter; the remaining heads can, however, be more summarily dealt with.

[1] Mr. S. W. Powell, in an article entitled "Schools in Dixie," which appeared in the Independent for August 18, 1887, gives the number of these colleges as thirty-five. He also adds a statement which is perfectly true: "A scholarly Northern man, who has taught many years in the South, told me that when he met a graduate of this institution (University of Virginia) he generally could count on finding him a man of exact knowledge and opposed to all shams." I may mention here that a member of our historical seminary at the Johns Hopkins, who is also an alumnus of Vanderbilt University, told me that at the latter institution it is a common thing to hear men say, "Oh, if we can just get our standard up to that of the Virginia University we shall be all right." Such praise from a progressive university like Vanderbilt is very gratifying, and shows that rivalry grows there like a flower and not like a weed.

[2] In reviewing my work, I find it necessary to call attention to the fact that the University is leading in the South along new lines of education as well as along the old. Since Professor Mallet began to teach industrial chemistry in 1868, the University has sent out over a dozen professors of chemistry, all of whom have their own laboratories. The great success of the Miller Manual Training School has been largely due to the fact that all the principal teachers, and nearly all the subordinate ones, have been University men; and the best school of the kind in Maryland has been since its foundation in the hands of an alumnus of the University.

SUBSTITUTION OF ELECTIVE FOR CURRICULAR SYSTEM.

To enter into a discussion of the respective merits of the elective and curricular systems, though logically not out of place here, would scarcely harmonize with the promise just made. I can dwell on only one point of advantage which the elective system offers, naturally the one which in my opinion has most increased the influence of the University upon the South, viz., the fact that under the elective system poor men who desire to become proficient in one study can come to the University at a moderate expense, and in one year by hard work fit themselves as thoroughly in that special study as they can under the ordinary college system in three or four years. It is easy to see what a powerful lever this has been for raising the poorer classes throughout the South; nor is the beneficial reaction upon the wealthier classes less apparent or important. When we come to the statistical part of our work, we shall see that the above reasoning is in no sense fanciful.

HONOR SYSTEM OF DISCIPLINE.

I shall be equally brief with regard to the third cause mentioned, viz., the confidence reposed in the students in allowing them to exercise college discipline by means of the honor system. To argue at length as to the merits of this system would be superfluous. College spies are as odious as those of government, and have not as much excuse for their existence. All the best principles of paternalism have been present at the University, but the worst principles have been banished since its foundation. The history of the institution itself furnishes the best commentary upon the workings of the honor system. Only one instance is recorded of any serious insubordination, and the cure for that insubordination was found in an appeal to the honor of the guilty parties. The effects of such training are not doubtful. Self-reliance, love of truth, jealousy for the good name of all with whom one is intimately connected—these are qualities which were inculcated in every student, and which went to form that type of Southern manhood which has had so many noble exemplars.[1]

[1] With regard to the honor system as extended to examinations, it may be interesting to note that such a thing as cheating is almost unheard-of, although the fullest freedom is allowed to the students during the hours set for the examination. The few instances that occur of a student's taking unfair advantage of this confidence reposed in him furnish further proofs of the excellent results of the honor system; for it is the students who practically expel the culprit, the faculty's power of expulsion being rarely exercised. An interesting letter upon this subject, addressed to the Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, Commissioner of Education, by John T. Harris, Jr., of Harrisonburg, Va., now lies before me. I cannot do better than quote his closing sentence: "It [the principle of relying upon a student's honor during examinations] is now a part of the *life* of the institution, and there are none of her alumni who do not remember with feelings of intense satisfaction that the honors of their *alma mater* are all the more worth the wearing, because they are not only testimonials of mental attainments, but evidence as well the fact of their having been fairly and honorably obtained."

BALANCE HELD BETWEEN THE SECTS AND PARTIES.

The fourth cause of the University's influence was stated to be the even balance held between sect and sect, party and party. Somewhat before the foundation of Mr. Jefferson's ideal college a reaction had set in against the religious indifference of the preceding generation. The history of the colonial church in Virginia is not a bright one, and after the Revolution the gloom deepens. French thought seems to have played an important part in strengthening the general opposition to religion; but that opposition had long been at work in the form of indifference—a form which, though it may be called weak from a philosophical stand-point, is in its effects upon the lower classes of society most subtle and dangerous. It is a mistake to suppose that the gentry alone were irreligious; the clergy and the common people were equally so. Here and there a man like Devereux Jarratt would succeed in arousing some religious enthusiasm; but one has only to read his letters of 1794 and 1795 to see the truth of the statements made above. Indeed, he gives as his reason for writing his life that he must be doing something, for, work as he would, his clerical duties left him ample time for bitter reflection. It is not my intention to describe the manner in which the revival was conducted. By 1825 its effects were very manifest.[1] That Mr. Jefferson was foolish enough to believe that he could establish, in the face of this reaction (to say nothing of the total inutility of the project), a university to be conducted on atheistical principles, I, at least, can never be brought to believe. That such a report was long current is true; but in view of the statistics I am about to present, I cannot think that it did the University any great harm. The opinion that the new institution was to be a seminary for atheists has left its evil fruits, as everything that is false must do; but it is a comfort to think that the holders of the opinion gathered the crop. It has not even yet wholly died out; but sensible people are at last becoming a little ashamed to express it—a proof of the truth of the assertion I am about to make, that this principle of holding an even balance between the sects (and the same is true to a less degree of parties) has liberalized Southern thought to a most gratifying extent. If any of my readers are opposed to such liberalizing influences, the argument may as well be dropped here; to those who appreciate the necessity of such influences, any further discussion of the point will seem superfluous.

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[1] For an account of the condition of the early church in Virginia, see Henshaw's Memoir of Bishop Moore, Chapter IV (Philadelphia, 1843); see also Bishop Meade's Old Churches, etc., Article I; but the best source of all is the "Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, Rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, written by Himself, in a series of letters addressed to the Rev. John Coleman," etc. Baltimore: printed by Warner & Hanna, 1806. This book, in addition to its historical value, is as interesting as a novel. But for certain obvious considerations one might imagine Defoe had written it.

HIGH QUALIFICATIONS OF THE PROFESSORS.

In considering the fifth cause mentioned, viz., the high qualifications, both mental and moral, of the men chosen as instructors, I shall endeavor to avoid prolixity; but, when one is describing character, details are often invaluable, and I may have to employ them, even at the risk of some impatience on the part of my reader. It can hardly be doubted that the influence of a few fine teachers upon their scholars will be felt over almost the whole territory from which those scholars are drawn. Indeed, this will be readily admitted in the case of men of genius; such names as that of Coleridge, or, if a teacher in the professional sense of the word must be chosen, of Dr. Arnold, will at once recur to every mind. Nor must the proposition be essentially modified when we speak of men below the rank of genius; probably the influence they exert will not be so great, but even this is by no means certain. It remains then for me to show as briefly as I can that the faculty of the University of Virginia has been composed of men whose influence has been great and for the good. To avoid the invidiousness inherent in such an undertaking, is by no means an easy task; but the attempt must be made. I need hardly state that I do not intend to refer here to any professor who is still living.

Mr. Jefferson, determined that his pet institution should not start handicapped, had to look to Europe for a majority of the first faculty. "Only the two professorships of law and moral philosophy," says Prof. Schele De Vere, "Mr. Jefferson, with his usual tact and intuitive justness of perception, determined to bestow at all hazards upon natives, as the subjects here to be taught ought to be national in the highest sense of the word. He even suggested that the text-books to be used by the professor of law should be prescribed, so that 'orthodox political principles' might be taught and 'the vestal flame of republicanism' be kept alive." This last is not exactly what we should have expected from a statesman so far ahead of his age. Possibly he was not serious. Certain it is that, had his suggestion been adopted, the Andover controversy would have had its parallel in politics. The two native professors were George Tucker in the chair of moral philosophy, and John Tayloe Lomax in the chair of law. We shall speak of these before turning our attention to the distinguished foreigners whom Mr. Jefferson invited over to Virginia.

GEORGE TUCKER.

George Tucker was a native of Bermuda, but was educated at William and Mary College, and for the rest of his life was a resident of the State of Virginia. He engaged at first in the practice of the law, and such was his success, that he was chosen a member of Congress in 1819, and held his seat until called to the University in 1825. In Congress he won deserved recognition as a debater and a constitutional lawyer. He had been known as an author before Mr. Jefferson's choice placed

him at the head of the school of moral philosophy, and during his long and useful life he can almost be said to have never laid aside his pen. A reference to the list of his works given at the end of this monograph will show that Mr. Tucker's heart must have been in his labors, especially in those connected with political economy. Nor must we forget another fact connected with his work, viz., that he early recognized the necessity of teaching literature and rhetoric systematically, instead of allowing his students to pick up a knowledge of them as they could. To this end he combined instruction in these departments with his own special work in philosophy; a not illogical combination, and a most advantageous one to young men who must be presumed to have had little general education. As might have been expected, he did not include political economy in this grouping, but gave special lectures upon this subject, as Mr. Jefferson had before advised. On the whole, we are justified in concluding that the twenty years of Mr. Tucker's stay at the University were highly profitable ones, both to himself and to his students. In 1845 he retired to Philadelphia, where he lived quietly but not idly; for much of his best literary work was done during this well-earned rest. He died in 1861, in Albemarle County, Va. When we consider what a condition the country was then in, and when we remember that not twenty years before he had written a history of its progress and development, we are almost tempted to wish that he had not lived so long.

JOHN TAYLOE LOMAX.

Of John Tayloe Lomax little need be said, as he only occupied the chair of law for four years—1826 to 1830. He was a distinguished lawyer in his day, and published two works—a Digest of the Law of Real Property, and The Law of Executors and Administrators. This last work is still highly prized in Virginia, and perhaps in other States. Mr. Lomax, after severing his connection with the University, became one of the justices of the General Court. He was succeeded by John A. G. Davis, a lawyer of high ability, who published a work on criminal law. Indeed, the making of books seems to have characterized the professors in this department. Mr. Davis was followed by Judge H. St. George Tucker, who was a son of the still more distinguished St. George Tucker, and who had been a member of Congress (1815–19) and president of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. Judge Tucker was the author of several legal works of high repute.

The foreigners invited over by Mr. Jefferson were five in number: George Long, George Blaetterman, LL. D., Thomas Hewett Key, Charles Bonnycastle, and Robley Dunglison. Of these we shall speak briefly.

GEORGE LONG.

George Long filled the chair of ancient languages from 1825 to 1828. He was a master of arts and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and

on the establishment of the University of London was called home to fill the chair of Greek in that institution. Mr. Long's influence upon his fellow teachers and his students was great, notwithstanding his short stay; for he fixed the standard of requirement in his classes at a higher point than was then known in this country, and he was the instructor and life-long friend of his successor, Gessner Harrison, whose immense influence upon the University we shall soon consider at some length. To characterize the scholarship of a man so well known would be a work of supererogation on my part, if not of impertinence; but I can not forbear quoting in this connection the opinion of the man who was perhaps the best fitted of all English critics to judge such matters—Mr. Matthew Arnold. In his essay on Marcus Aurelius,[1] speaking of Mr. Long's translation of the Meditations, Mr. Arnold said: "Mr. Long's reputation as a scholar is a sufficient guarantee of the general fidelity and accuracy of his translation: on these matters, besides, I am hardly entitled to speak, and my praise is of no value. But that for which I and the rest of the unlearned may venture to praise Mr. Long is this: that he treats Marcus Aurelius's writings, as he treats all the other remains of Greek and Roman antiquity which he touches, not as a dead and dry matter of learning, but as documents with a side of modern applicability and living interest, and valuable mainly so far as this side in them can be made clear; that as in his notes on Plutarch's Roman Lives he deals with the modern epoch of Cæsar and Cicero, not as food for school-boys, but as food for men, and men engaged in the current of contemporary life and action, so in his remarks and essays on Marcus Aurelius, he treats this truly modern striver and thinker, not as a classical dictionary hero, but as a present source from which to draw 'example of life, and instruction of manners.' Why may not a son of Dr. Arnold say, what might naturally here be said by any other critic, that in this lively and fruitful way of considering the men and affairs of ancient Greece and Rome, *Mr. Long resembles Dr. Arnold?*"

GEORGE BLAETTERMAN.

I regret that I have not been able to obtain more facts of importance with regard to Dr. George Blaetterman. He was a German by birth, but was residing in London at the time Mr. Jefferson selected him to teach the modern languages. Dr. Adams has already laid sufficient stress upon Mr. Jefferson's wonderful anticipation of modern educational ideas, so I need only remind the reader that the University of Virginia was the first college in this country which taught these languages as carefully as it did the classical, and which included among them the Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Gessner Harrison bears testimony to Dr. Blaetterman's abilities in the following words: "He gave proof of extensive acquirements, and of a mind of uncommon natural vigor and penetration. In connection more especially with the lessons on German

[1] Essays in Criticism, by Matthew Arnold.

and Anglo-Saxon, he gave to his students much that was interesting and valuable in comparative philology also, a subject in which he found peculiar pleasure."[1] Dr. Blaetterman occupied his chair until 1840.

THOMAS HEWETT KEY.[2]

The first professor of mathematics was Thomas Hewett Key, a master of arts of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a few years older than Long, and spent two or three years after getting his degree in studying medicine. The climate of Virginia did not suit him, so he returned to England in 1827, and in the following year was elected professor of Latin in the University of London, thus again becoming a colleague of Mr. Long's. About 1840 he gave up the chair of Latin, and became professor of comparative grammar and head-master of the preparatory school connected with the University. He died in November, 1875. Mr. Key's reputation as a philologist has been assured by the publication of many valuable works, of which a partial list will be found at the end of this monograph.

CHARLES BONNYCASTLE.

Charles Bonnycastle was first invited to teach natural philosophy, but on the removal of Mr. Key to England the department of mathematics was assigned to him, Robert M. Patterson, of Philadelphia, afterwards sub-director of the United States Mint, succeeding him in the chair of natural philosophy. Mr. Bonnycastle was educated at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, where his father was a professor. This Mr. John Bonnycastle was a noted mathematician in his day, and the University got the benefit of much of his experience through his son, who seems to have had a decided influence upon its methods of instruction. From a letter from Chairman Venable, the present professor of mathematics, I gather that the examinations set by Mr. Bonnycastle were "years ahead of any mathematical instruction given to any college classes in the United States." He introduced the use of the ratio method of the trigonometrical functions, first used in the English universities in 1830. This is but one of the many facts which show how thoroughly the University of Virginia kept abreast with the times—in many instances almost even with the institutions of Europe—far ahead of those in this country. Mr. Bonnycastle held his chair until 1840. He was succeeded by J. J. Sylvester, who was followed by Edward Courtenay, a graduate of West Point and a mathematician of high standing. A treatise on the integral calculus, which Mr. Courtenay left at his death, was published for the benefit of his family, and was used as a text-book at the University for many years. Only within the last three or four years has a more suitable book been found for the class.

[1] Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, II, 725.

[2] I find Mr. Key's middle name spelt *Hewitt* in many places, but autograph letters prove that he himself wrote *Hewett*.

DR. ROBLEY DUNGLISON.[1]

The name of Dr. Robley Dunglison is so familiar to all who have dipped into medical literature, even to those whose attention is not directed further than to the backs of the books, that I need hardly dwell upon it here. Dr. Dunglison was born at Keswick, England, in 1798. He was educated at Erlangen, in Germany, and came to this country at Mr. Jefferson's request in 1825. He remained eight years at the University, and left a deep impression upon the minds of all who knew him. In 1833 he became a professor in the University of Maryland, and was afterwards called to Jefferson College, Philadelphia. He died in this latter city in 1869. Dr. Dunglison, in addition to his vast professional acquirements, was a man of scholarly feelings and of general culture. His contributions to medical science were valuable and extensive. Next to Mr. Long, he was probably the most widely distinguished man connected with the early faculty.[2]

It may be well to note here that the medical school was at first established to give culture and training in medical science to the general student, rather than to furnish thorough professional training to the would-be practitioner. But this idea was, in some respects, too much ahead of the times, and in some not sufficiently in keeping with the requirements of the position the new college had taken upon itself to fill, so in 1827, as we have already seen, the school was re-organized as follows: Robley Dunglison, M. D., professor of physiology, theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; John P. Emmet, M. D., professor of chemistry and materia medica; Thomas Johnson, M. D., demonstrator of anatomy and surgery.

Certainly, if the date be borne in mind, no one can complain of the narrowness of this scheme of studies.

DR. JOHN P. EMMET.

John P. Emmet, M. D., who first taught chemistry and natural history, was a nephew of the famous Irish patriot, and was born in Dublin in 1797.

[1] I have before me a copy of Dunglison's Human Physiology, 3d edition, Philadelphia, 1838. I am informed by high medical authority that this work has a most important position in the history of American medical science. The first edition was published before the author had left the University, and was designed as a text-book for his students. It was dedicated to ex-President Madison, whom Dr. Dunglison had known while the former was rector of the board of visitors. Foreign and native scientific journals were loud in their praise of it, and it is still interesting even to the general reader, who is at once struck by the author's acquaintance, not only with German contributions to science, but also with general literature.

[2] The facts presented in the preceding sketches are mainly derived from a comparison of the accounts to be found in various encyclopædias, and from an article on the University of Virginia, by Dr. Gessner Harrison, in Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, II, 725. A memoir of Dr. Dunglison was published by his son, Dr. R. J. Dunglison, in 1870. For the early years of the University the preface to Dr. Schele De Vere's catalogue, and an address delivered by the late Professor Tutwiler, of Alabama, before the alumni in 1882, may be consulted.

His father having emigrated to New York, young Emmet was sent to West Point; then he got a year of travel abroad, and finally was graduated a doctor of medicine from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. Dr. Emmet was highly qualified for the position he occupied, and was for a long time a contributor to scientific journals. His disposition was genial and winning, and we shall not be wrong in attributing to him many of those fine endowments which are not to be gained from the study of books, but which are eminently necessary to the teacher who would animate and encourage as well as instruct.

DR. GESSNER HARRISON.

We now come to the man who of all others had, as far as I am able to see, the greatest influence upon the University, and, through his students, upon Southern life and thought; I refer to Dr. Gessner Harrison.[1] Whatever may be the value of memorial literature for the historical student, it too often belongs to the "no-book" class of literature which excited—I can not say the ire—perhaps I had better say the pity of Charles Lamb; but the memorial address of Dr. John A. Broadus upon Gessner Harrison is certainly worth reading, apart from its interest to the friend or special student. The subject of the address was born in 1809, and was one of the first students entered at the new University. At the beginning of his career he intended to make a physician of himself, but he devoted much attention to the study of the ancient languages under Mr. Long. In 1828 he was one of the three graduates in Greek and also one of the three in medicine, these being the first men regularly graduated by the University. But he was not destined to be a physician. Mr. Long had been recalled to England and had been asked to name his successor. To the surprise of all he named Gessner Harrison, then barely twenty-one. The visitors, with many misgivings we may imagine, gave him the appointment for one year; the next year they made it permanent. Of course such a thing could not happen now except in the case of a second Mill. The study of Sanskrit and of comparative philology has so widened the field of investigation that no man of twenty-one would now be qualified to undertake the teaching of one of the classical languages in a college of high standing, much less of both. But the case was very different in 1828. The philosophy of language was to all intents and purposes unknown, and the ignorance of a few facts more or less as to syntax would hardly make against a teacher's general efficiency. That it was a highly responsible position can not, however, be denied; that the young man filled it nobly is equally patent to the student of his life.

We may pass over the troubles of the youthful professor, although they were serious enough, owing to the bad state of secondary educa-

[1] The best source of information with regard to Gessner Harrison seems to be a memorial address delivered before the alumni by Dr. John A. Broadus, published as a pamphlet, also in the Southern Review, Vol. XIII, p. 334 (1873), and in his Sermons and Addresses (Baltimore, 1887). I have drawn largely upon this in the following sketch.

tion and to the lawlessness of a few of the students. It is sufficient to say that in the opinion of many who from a long life and distinguished position have had opportunities for judging, Gessner Harrison achieved a remarkable triumph over his difficulties, and that without invidiousness he may be said to have done more than any one man, with the single exception of Mr. Jefferson, in raising the standard of education throughout the South. From 1828 to 1859 he labored zealously and successfully; then, worn-out and fearing that he could not make a proper provision for his large family, he resigned his professorship and opened a classical boarding school. Attracted by his reputation, pupils came from all parts of the South. But the War broke out and Gessner Harrison did not survive it. From nursing a son who had sickened with camp-fever, he contracted a modification of the disease and died on the 7th of April, 1862. A more fitting end to his career could not have been wished: he lived for others, he died for another.

A few words as to his methods of teaching, and I shall hasten on to the consideration of our sixth and last cause. He laid great stress on the necessity for a thorough knowledge of history and geography in studying the classics; and as text-books were wanting he prepared a pamphlet to meet the needs of his students. Says Dr. Broadus:

"In history he seized at the outset upon the ideas of Niebuhr, and even in the first half of his career made a great impression upon, at least, a few minds, though greatly hindered by the lack of a text-book. In the latter half he was cheered and assisted by the appearance of Arnold's Rome and of Grote's Greece, followed by manuals not ill-suited to the wants of his class. There was then in the University no professor of history in general, and many remember as an epoch in their lives the views of history and enthusiasm for its study which they derived from Dr. Harrison."

With regard to comparative philology the labors of Gessner Harrison deserve more attention than I could give them in this article, even were I qualified to pass judgment upon them; but a few words must be said on the subject. Mr. Long sent his successor copies of the earlier portions of Bopp's Comparative Grammar, the first part of which appeared in 1833. Dr. Harrison seized upon these, and began independent work in the application of the new methods to the ancient languages. Naturally his students came in for a share of the benefits derived from this study, and Dr. Broadus gives an amusing account of how the professor's enthusiasm was received by some of them. "Old Gess's humbuggery" seems quite a fit expression for the modern sophomore. This application of the German methods was long after unknown in any other American college; it was still unpracticed in the English universities, and had not met with general recognition even in Germany itself. When Dr. Gildersleeve entered the faculty of the University, he found, to use Dr. Broadus's words, "that his colleague, Dr. Harrison, had long been making free use of comparative philology at a time when in the

leading universities of Germany it was scarcely at all applied to the explanation of Latin and Greek, and that he himself could profit by the views found in Dr. Harrison's Latin Grammar."

Besides a sketch of the University in Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, Dr. Harrison published a Latin Grammar, and a Treatise on the Greek Prepositions and the Cases of Nouns with Which They are Used. Of the value of these last I am not able to speak personally; for various reasons they were not adapted to popular use, and the predominance of German works on the subjects they treated may account for their not having taken a higher stand with advanced philologians. Dr. Broadus mentions that Bishop Ellicott, the distinguished English commentator, spoke very favorably of the "Greek Prepositions."

About 1870, according to the same authority, an American student showed the Latin grammar to Curtius at Leipsic. On returning it the great scholar said: "This is a good book, an excellent book for the time at which it appeared, though of course we have got a good way beyond it by this time." "Had Curtius known," continues Dr. Broadus, "that nearly all of the etymological portion, to which alone his attention was directed, had appeared in the earlier volume which Dr. Harrison printed for his class in 1839, only six years after Bopp's first part was published, and at least six years before Curtius himself made his first publication, he would doubtless have used still stronger language."

Such was the character and work of this extraordinary man. Although more attention has been given to him than to any other of his fellow-workers, I can not think that attention disproportionate. It necessitates, however, my passing over the names of others upon whom I would willingly dwell. I should love to write of William B. Rogers, so well known for his devotion to science, and dear to Massachusetts as the first president of her Institute of Technology.[1] Then there are other names that come to mind: Socrates Maupin, William H. McGuffey, Stephen O. Southall, John Staige Davis. All these did their work nobly and faithfully, and shall they not be mentioned? But a line must be drawn somewhere, and I draw it with my humble tribute to one whose loss the University has had recently to deplore. I refer to that highly gifted man, Dr. John H. Wheeler, a graduate of Harvard and Bonn, a pupil of Professor Gildersleeve, and the successor of Dr. Price as professor of Greek in the University of Virginia. He was one of the very few of whom it may be said that outside and inside the teacher you found the whole-souled man.

UNIQUE POSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH.

The sixth and last cause mentioned is also a resultant of the five causes previously enumerated. But the unique position of the University with regard to Southern education was also due to the absence of statesmen of Mr. Jefferson's calibre, to the inability in a large measure of the other

[1] A memorial of William B. Rogers by William Cabell Rives was published at Cambridge, Mass., in 1883.

Southern States to shake off the trammels of sectarian prejudice, and to the condition of secondary education which made it practically needless that each State should have a separate university of high standing. That of Virginia for a long time sufficed for the whole South; and the wideness of the field from which it drew its students is a partial explanation of the wide-reaching character of the influence it exerted. I now pass to the statistical portion of my inquiry.

II.—Statistics.

The following tables have been prepared with great pains, and it is hoped that they are comparatively free from errors. In dealing with over nine thousand names and nearly one hundred thousand facts, some small errors may have crept into my calculations, but from the nature of the work these will be found on the side of underestimation. I have still further guarded against the possibility of any mistakes in favor of the University by giving round numbers and percentages in the first two tables, always striking off the extra units and decimals. The third table could not be treated in this way; but I think it is to all intents correct. In this connection I should state that the source from which I have mainly derived my information is the semi-centennial catalogue of the University, compiled by Prof. Schele De Vere and Capt. Joseph Van Holt Nash, and published in Baltimore in 1878. This is a very valuable work, and a treasure to the alumnus who has not forgotten his *alma mater*. Its preparation cost immense labor, but its editors have already had their reward in the thanks of all well wishers to the University. Speaking of the memory of an alumnus, reminds me of a curious psychological fact mentioned in the preface to the catalogue, that not a few letters were received written by men who claimed to have won honors at the University and to be warmly attached to it, but who were found never to have been entered on the record. I have been through this catalogue, from A to Z, and have discovered very few errors. Some mistakes with reference to the degrees conferred I was enabled to correct by means of a valuable little pamphlet issued by the university authorities in 1880, entitled "A Sketch of the History of the University," etc.

Table I.—*Statistics with regard to the whole body of students from* 1825 *to July*, 1874.

[Whole number of students estimated at 9,160.]

Profession, etc.	Per cent.	Round Nos.	Profession, etc.	Per cent.	Round Nos.
Law	21	1,935	In Confederate service	25	2,300
Medicine	22.8	2,090	Emigrated from native State	16	1,485
Theology	2.9	265	Degree men	13.7	1,260
Engineering	.8	80	One-year men	55	5,045
Editors	1	100	Two-year men	28.5	2,615
Teachers	5.6	520	Three-year men	11	1,040
Farmers	12	1,110	Four-year men	3.5	320
Merchants, bankers, etc	13	.....	Longer term men	1.5	140
Unknown	21.2	1,950			

TABLE II.—*General statistics relative to the individual States*, 1826–74.[1]

States.	Students.		Law.	Medicine.	Theology.	Engineering.	Editors.
	No.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Virginia and West Virginia	5,390	58.8	20.4	27.2	3.3	.8	1.1
North Carolina	380	4	15.4	31.2	1.8	.....	.....
South Carolina	520	5.6	16.8	14.3	3.2	.5	1.5
Florida	67	.7	23.8	14.7	.....	2.9	.....
Georgia	320	3.4	22.8	11.2	3.4	.....	1.8
Alabama	575	6.2	21	17.5	1.3	.6	1.3
Mississippi	365	3.9	21.7	16.8	.5	.8	1
Louisiana	265	2.9	18	13.1	.2	1.5	.....
Texas	135	1.4	33	14.7	.7	.....	.7
Arkansas	48	.5	41.6	14.5	.....	4.1	2
Tennessee	230	2.5	25.8	14.6	3.8	1.7	.4
Kentucky	203	2.2	24.6	13	2.8	.9	1.4
Missouri	110	1.2	21.4	30.3	3.5	.8	.8
Maryland and District of Columbia	390	4.2	28.6	11.5	4.6	1.8	.5
Other States, etc.	155	1.7	22.2	12.1	2.5	.....	1.9

States.	Teachers.	Farmers.	In Confederate service.	Emigrated.	Merchants, etc., and unknown.	Degree men.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Virginia and West Virginia	8	11.2	27	16.9	31	17
North Carolina	1	11.2	19.9	15.4	41	7
South Carolina	1.1	22.4	31.6	15.9	41	3
Florida	.....	14.7	37.3	14.7	43.8	7
Georgia	5.3	16.2	28.1	13.4	40	3.7
Alabama	2	14.2	27.6	16.9	42.8	8.6
Mississippi	1.6	13.8	22.5	16	45	6
Louisiana	1.1	17.2	30	12	49.2	6.7
Texas	2.5	8.8	17.6	8	39.8	11
Arkansas	.....	18.7	22.9	20.8	19	18
Tennessee	3.8	8.6	14.6	11.2	41.7	11
Kentucky	3.8	11.5	16.9	17.8	42.2	8
Missouri	4.4	3.5	15.1	16.9	35.7	18.7
Maryland and District of Columbia	3.6	7.2	9.7	13.1	42.8	12
Other States, etc	2.1	1.9	5.7	20.3	56.8	12

[1] The fact that the percentages in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and twelfth columns, when added together, slightly exceed 100, is due to the fact that in some cases men have been counted twice; *e. g.*, clergymen who conducted schools in addition to their clerical work.

TABLE III.—*Particular statistics relative to the individual States*, 1826–74.

States.	Judges.	Members of legislatures.	C. S. brigadier-generals and generals.	Authors and artists.	Mayors.	Attorney-generals (State).	Secretaries of state (State).
Virginia and West Virginia	116	226	16	42	14	4	1
North Carolina	3	13	1	.....	2	.....	.....
South Carolina	4	23	1	2	1	.....	.....
Florida	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	3
Georgia	5	18	6	1	1	1	1
Alabama	9	20	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	4	4	3	1	2	1	.....
Louisiana	4	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	7	8	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Tennessee	1	5	1	2	.....	.....	.....
Maryland and District of Columbia	5	10	.....	2	2	.....	.....
Other States	8	4	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Total	167	348	30	59	22	8	5

States.	Consuls and secretaries of legation.	Governors.	Lieutenant-governors.	Members of Congress.		Cabinet ministers.	
				U. S.	C. S.	U. S.	C. S.
Virginia and West Virginia	6	2	2	36	17	2	3
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	2	1	2	4	4	.....	.....
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	.....	.....	1	3	1	.....	1
Alabama	.....	2	.....	8	6	.....	1
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	1	.....	.....	3	2	.....	.....
Tennessee	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Maryland and District of Columbia	1	1	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Other States	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Total	11	6	7	62	31	2	5

EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE TABLES.

The tables in which my statistics are presented almost explain themselves. A few explanatory remarks may not, however, be amiss. I shall then proceed to give such additional facts as are worthy of note, but which could not well be put into a table, and shall conclude by drawing such inferences as are in keeping with my subject and my figures and which have not been introduced in other places. These infer-

ences, if their truth be admitted, together with the results obtained by our analysis of the workings of the University, will abundantly suffice to prove the truth of my thesis—that the influence of the University of Virginia upon Southern life and thought has been highly beneficial.

The figures presented in all three tables are true for the period of time between March, 1825, and July, 1874. The first table gives statistics for the whole body of students; but it must be carefully borne in mind, when attention is directed to particular percentages, that over 21 per cent. of the men enrolled as students have left no record behind them, and that of many who are not entered under the head of "unknown," our information is extremely slight and often misleading. It must further be borne in mind that of the 9,160 students who attended the University during these years, 8,505 (I am speaking in round numbers, of course), or over 92 per cent., were from the South; and further, that of the 1,485 men who left their native States to settle elsewhere, over half settled in the South, so that the University's field of influence has been emphatically Southern, although Maryland and Missouri have felt that influence strongly. It is especially interesting to note the fact that many of the students from the North and West were tempted to remain in the South, and that not a few of these immigrants took sides with the Confederacy—a fact which, whatever else may be thought of it, certainly testifies to the strength of the attachment which the University has always been enabled to elicit from its students.

With reference to the omissions in the work, it is but just to say that they are not due to any carelessness on the part of the compilers of the catalogue, but rather to the indifference of individual alumni or of their relatives and friends.

Under the head "In Confederate service" are included not only active soldiers, but all surgeons, chaplains, or others who took any part in the labors or perils occasioned by the War. The significance of the last five heads will be explained further on.

In Table II the same general statistics are given for each of the Southern and allied States, the language of percentage being employed only to avoid cumbrousness. For convenience the District of Columbia has been grouped with Maryland, and West Virginia with Virginia. The justness of the latter grouping will be obvious when it is remembered that for three-fourths of the time to which these figures apply, the two States were united.

In Table III particular statistics of interest have been brought together and referred to the individual States. It must be borne in mind, however, that the name of the State simply indicates the place of birth; it does not mean that the office was held within that State, for, as a matter of fact, many of those who emigrated rose to high positions in the State of their adoption.

ADDITIONAL FACTS OF INTEREST.

We now come to what may be termed the gleanings from my first harvest. The statistician, as well as the poet, should have sufficient patience and self-control to review his work.

Of the 1,935 lawyers, over 8 per cent. became judges, many of whom rose to the highest courts of their respective States. The number of commonwealth's and district attorneys is very large; but few seem to have been elected to the office of attorney-general. For this last fact I have been unable to find any satisfactory reason, unless it be that the office is not a lucrative one for a successful practitioner; but this reason applies also to the judgeships of many of our States. The proportion of degree men (bachelors of law) to the whole number of lawyers is nearly 25 to 100. The lawyers have, as might have been expected, proved very prominent in politics. Some of them have written law treatises of value, for example, Daniel on Negotiable Instruments.

With regard to the physicians, I quote some interesting facts from an address recently delivered at the University by Dr. Paul B. Barringer, a graduate of '76. "The record shows that from 1827, when the medical school was established, until 1880 there were over 3,000 matriculates and 616 graduates. Of these, 43 are now, or have been, professors and teachers in medical colleges. Notwithstanding the high standard exacted by the Army and Navy, 60 graduates of this school have been professionally in their service. From 1880 to 1885, 38 of the 180 graduates gained entrance into the Army and Navy; 16 of the 57 passed-assistant naval surgeons were University of Virginia men, while in the Army the number was 14." A comparison of these figures will show a decidedly increasing tendency to engage in the service of the Government (the proportion is about 9 to 20), a significant fact, if we are allowed the presumption that the standard of requirement for service in the Army and Navy has increased *pari passu* with that for graduation at the University. If the increase has been in favor of the Army and Navy service the fact is still more significant.

ALUMNI IN THE WAR.

In considering the part played by the University alumni in the late War, many interesting points are brought to our notice. In the first place, the number of generals and brigadiers is very large; I should have wearied of the task of counting the colonels, the majors, and the captains. Chairman Venable writes me that with regard to the ordnance department, so many University men got in by examination that a certain number of appointments had to be assigned to each State to avoid dissatisfaction. A large proportion of the engineers employed in the service were University men, as were most of the staff officers of rank. Perhaps more than three hundred alumni fell. If attention be turned to the legislative and executive departments of the Confeder-

ate Government, the statistics are equally striking. In the cabinet we find Robert Toombs and R. M. T. Hunter, Secretaries of State; George Wythe Randolph and James A. Seddon, Secretaries of War; and Thomas H. Watts, of Alabama, Attorney-General. In the Congress we count thirty-one alumni, many of whom were senators.

The number of authors, etc., is surprisingly small, although I was very liberal in including the producers of the "no book" class. I shall discuss this fact in a more appropriate place, and need only mention here the names of Edgar Allan Poe and John R. Thompson, and, for recent years, of Virginius Dabney and Thomas Nelson Page. After all, how many of our hundreds of American colleges can boast the name of even one man of great literary genius? It may not be amiss to notice here that Dr. Kane, the great Arctic explorer, was an alumnus of the University, as were also Capt. J. Melville Gilliss, astronomer and superintendent of the U. S. Naval Observatory, and Rear Admiral John Rodgers, who served with such bravery during the late War.

CLERGY AND TEACHERS.

If regard be had to the clergy, the statistics would not seem to prove that the University has served as a nursery for atheists. Three per cent. in the money market is considered a low rate; but that 3 per cent. of the alumni of a non-sectarian institution should, in the land of the dollar, turn aside into this laborious and often poorly paid field is a fact, to say the least, somewhat remarkable. Of those who entered the ministry, five have become bishops, viz, Bishops Lay, Galleher, Peterkin, Dudley, and Doggett. My information on this point is not exhaustive, however, and I am inclined to think that the number may be greater. To the various theological seminaries the University has furnished such men as John A. Broadus, R. L. Dabney, F. S. Sampson, of Virginia, Charles A. Briggs, of New York, and William H. Whitsitt, of South Carolina. Prof. Crawford H. Toy, of Harvard University, may be mentioned as one of the most distinguished of the masters of arts. A large number of the alumni have entered on missionary work; indeed, Colonel Venable says: "Wipe out the foreign missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church who are University men, and you almost destroy the enterprise."

In estimating the number of teachers I have not counted those who only taught for a year or two preparatory to entering one of the other professions. These men have unquestionably done much in helping to raise the standard of instruction throughout the South, and if they be added to the number given in the first table, we may safely say that over one thousand of the University alumni have been engaged in the good work of education. It would seem well to acknowledge individual merit here as always; but I must again disclaim any invidious intentions. My information is by no means full, nor have I too much space at my disposal. I think I shall be safe, however, in calling to mind the

noble work done in Alabama by the late Professor Tutwiler. He was one of the first graduates of the University, and was the room-mate of Gessner Harrison. I am informed by competent authority that his labors for secondary education in Alabama were as successful as they were great; and I regret that this meagre notice is all that I can give to this great pioneer of educational reform.

The work of Dr. Thomas R. Price at Randolph-Macon College, at the University of Virginia, and now at Columbia College, New York, may be cited as a further illustration of what the University has done in behalf of education. Dr. Woodrow Wilson, of Bryn Mawr, will long be known as the author of Congressional Government, but probably Princeton and the Johns Hopkins will dispute our claims to him. Among Anglo-Saxon scholars the names of Prof. James M. Garnett and of Prof. James A. Harrison stand deservedly high, and the latter is equally well known for successful literary work. To the Virginian the names of McCabe, Norwood, McGuire, Blackford, and Abbott, and to the North Carolinian that of Bingham, will at once suggest the noble efforts that are being made to-day in the cause of secondary education. It is a noteworthy fact, if the zeal of the University for obtaining the services of first-class scholars be borne in mind, that of the nineteen professors now composing its faculty, twelve are its own alumni, and that of fifty-five full professors since 1826, twenty have been alumni.

ALUMNI IN POLITICS.

Turning to politics, we find that the number of those who have served in the State legislatures is quite large, the percentage with respect to the whole number of students being about three and eight-tenths. The number of mayors is small; perhaps the dirty political work so often necessary for obtaining the office has deterred alumni from aspiring to it. The number of consuls and secretaries of legation is also small, but is easily accounted for by the same reason which may be given for the comparative absence of University men from the higher executive and diplomatic positions. The men who graduated between 1830 and 1840, and who might have stood forward prominently in national politics, were fighting against the Government at the very time when they would have been qualified by age and experience for positions in the cabinet and abroad. For some time after the War statesmen from the South were not greatly in demand.

The two alumni who sat in cabinets were both Virginians—the late William Ballard Preston, Secretary of the Navy under the Taylor administration, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior under Millard Fillmore. There have been two Speakers of the House: R. M. T. Hunter, Speaker for the Twenty-sixth Congress (1839–41), and James L. Orr, of South Carolina, Speaker for the Thirty-fifth Congress (1857–59). Mr. Orr was also the only minister plenipotentiary furnished by the University during the first fifty years of its existence. He was

made minister to Russia by President Grant in 1873, but died shortly after his arrival at St. Petersburg. Mr. Orr was also one of the commissioners sent to Washington in 1860 by South Carolina. He was a Confederate Senator, and the provisional Governor of his State.

Since the election of Mr. Cleveland the University alumni from the South have come more and more to the front. Of the ministerial appointees, Hubbard, Tree, Keiley, Winchester, Lewis, and Maury are all University men. In the consular service we find the names of Withers, Cardwell, Wingfield, Old, and others. The number of Congressmen furnished by the University is, in my opinion, a large one. Since the period covered by the tables (1825–74) the figures have been greatly increased. Colonel Venable calculates that there were thirteen alumni in the last Congress, a greater number than was furnished by any other college. Of these I may mention Tucker, Daniel, and Barbour, of Virginia; Herbert, of Alabama; and Davidson, of Florida. Of the governors we may name Swann and Ligon, of Maryland; Watts and Lewis, of Alabama; and Stevenson, of Kentucky. To these the name of F. W. M. Holliday, of Virginia, may be added.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

A few words now as to the general conclusions to be drawn from these statistics. In the first place, let me again call attention to the fact that the University's influence has been distinctly Southern. Let it next be considered what a leavening force one really educated man is. Then let it be remembered that before the advent of the modern newspaper and the railroad, a large part of the population of the South depended upon the hustings for their instruction, and that the lawyers trained by the University of Virginia furnished much of that instruction. If these facts are lost sight of, I am afraid that my statistics and any conclusions I can draw from them will be of little value.

Waiving all subtleties as to the distinction between productive and unproductive labor, we may safely assert that the influence of such a body of alumni distributed through all the channels of intellectual labor must have been enormous. Those who went to the bar carried with them, in addition to thorough professional knowledge, a sense of honor highly developed by the system of discipline to which our praise has been already given; those who went to the pulpit had chosen without constraint of any kind their life of self-sacrifice, and were ready to abide by their choice; and those who gave themselves up to the education of the young had already learned, in their own persons, the value of thorough-going work and systematic training. Many who were landed proprietors went back to their estates to introduce new methods of agriculture, to represent their counties in their respective legislatures, to set an example of upright living to those beneath them, and to affect the society of their equals in that subtle way which can be better understood than described. Not a few left their homes and carried to the

still unsettled West the brains and hands that were needed for its development. Many entered business at home, to apply to all the affairs of mercantile life those habits of perseverance and calm study of details and that strict spirit of integrity which had been fostered by their university life. A cursory glance at the catalogue will show that they succeeded. "Bank president", "president of railroad", "treasurer", and "cashier", are words frequently seen on its pages.

But I promised to explain the significance of the last five heads of the first table. We see that over one-half of the students spent only one year at the University. This means, as I showed before, that these men were enabled to get, not as much education as they needed, but enough to fit them either to practise law, or to teach some special branch, or to pursue their studies without further assistance. Of course it is not claimed that all of these five thousand men made the most of their advantages, but they had them offered, and no other college could do the like. The large number of two-year men shows an appreciation on the part of the students of the work that was being done for them. The fifteen hundred who remained three, four, and five years mean at least a thousand finely educated men; and what a force was here!

As was to be expected, the influence of the University has been largest upon Virginia; but we must, in this connection, take into account the fact that over five hundred and fifty alumni went from Virginia to settle in the other Southern States. Virginia of course received contributions from her sister States, but not in any considerable numbers.

THE UNIVERSITY AND SOUTHERN LITERATURE.

The excess of the physicians over the lawyers would afford an opportunity for interesting but rather fine-spun reasoning, if I were to forget the impatience of my readers; but I have no such intention, and shall only dwell briefly on one more point,—the paucity of authors among the alumni. I should hardly have been tempted to notice this fact, but for the consideration that it might cause doubt in some minds as to the extent I have claimed for the University's influence, especially upon Southern thought. I do not think that the University can be blamed because her sons have not been foremost in strictly literary work—for *where is* the literature of the South? The truth seems to be that the University must have instilled a love of literature into the minds of many of its students, but that counter-forces were at work which checked or diverted the faculty of literary expression for the whole South. A diversion of this faculty is seen in the oratory, bad as it too often was, of the hustings and of the court-room. The causes of the repression are far to seek. It will not suffice to lay the charge to slavery. That much enduring institution, to whatever extent it may have retarded the South's industrial development, did not degrade society, nor could it well have checked the growth of a Southern literature.[1] Old Greece had her arts and letters in spite of slave labor. We must go deeper if we expect to

[1] See Bagehot's Physics and Politics, II, § 3.

find a solution of the Southern problem. From a study of colonial literature we must endeavor to ascertain how and in what manner a change of environment affects the literary capabilities of a race. Our conclusions may be exceedingly general and imperfect, but I can see no other way worthy of a serious student; and, even after such conscientious study, our results are sure to be worthless, unless we carry with us in our investigations that true literary touchstone which so few possess. How amusing, then, are many of the grave opinions we every day hear advanced with regard to the South's backwardness in literary production! The fact is there, the true explanation of it will long be wanting. There are indications, however, that the season of our barrenness is over and that the spring is at hand. If premature praise, like a March wind, do not blight this promise, we may confidently expect that the University of Virginia will play an important part in that literary development for which we are all watching and praying—many of us as if there were something almost *criminal* in our not having had a literature before.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

And now my work is over, but I part from it with reluctance. The words "influence," "alumnus," "University," which the reader is as tired of seeing as I am of trying to find substitutes for them, will occur no more. In this respect I can not even take comfort from the example of the great reiterator, for Matthew Arnold might reiterate till doomsday and still be charming. I have also tried not to assume the attitude of a special pleader (I use the phrase, of course, in its objectionable sense), but it would be too much to hope that I have always succeeded. The labor I have given to the preparation of my statistics has been very tedious, but it has been occasionally lightened in unexpected ways. For instance, it was highly interesting to watch the careers of the "rolling stones" from the University, many of whom, after trying three or more professions, finally wound up as "forty-niners" in California. One got into Garibaldi's service; one was made chief medical inspector of the Egyptian army; one started from Virginia, was a member of the Texas Congress, then treasurer of Texas, then got a diplomatic appointment abroad, and finally settled down as a farmer in Maryland. One student from Peru became a professor of law in the University of Lima, was afterwards Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and then represented his government in China and Japan. But perhaps the entry which gave me most food for reflection was the following: "Nathaniel Holt Clanton, of Augusta, Ga.; born 1847; student, Paris, France; pressed into service of Commune, and killed on barricades, 1872."

In conclusion, it may be permitted a loving son to apply to his college mother a verse from a great old poet, whom he learned to love within her walls—

"Is she not worthy of gaining golden honor?"[1]

[1] Sophocles: Antigone, 699.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND CONDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN B. MINOR.

The organization of the University, its government, discipline, and methods of instruction were virtually left to be prescribed by Mr. Jefferson alone; and they still retain, in a great degree, the impression derived from him, and in many respects bear the stamp of his characteristic traits.

ORGANIZATION.

The supreme government of the institution, under the General Assembly, is vested in a rector and visitors, appointed by the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, for four years. They are nine in number, three being selected from the Piedmont division of the State, in which the University is situated, and two from each of the other grand divisions. The visitors elect a rector from amongst themselves, and the style of the corporation is declared to be "The Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia." They are required to meet *at the University* at least once a year, and as much oftener as circumstances require; and to submit to the General Assembly an annual report setting forth the condition and progress of the institution.

The board of visitors, thus constituted, is declared by law to be charged with the care and preservation of the property belonging to the University; with the appointment of as many professors as it shall deem proper; with the power to prescribe the duties of each professor, and the course and mode of instruction; and, with the assent of two-thirds of the whole number of the visitors, may remove any professor. It is also empowered to appoint a bursar and proctor, and to employ any other agents or servants, to regulate the government and discipline of the students, and generally, in respect to the government and management of the University, to make such regulations as it may deem expedient, not being contrary to law.

Under the general direction of this board, and subject to its regulations, the affairs of the institution are administered immediately by the faculty and its chairman. The faculty, as a body, exercises the *judicial*

functions incident to the administration of the University, in respect to students and the subordinate officers, and is empowered also to make general rules for the government of those persons, provided, of course, they shall be consistent with the regulations prescribed by the board of visitors, and with the laws of the State. The chairman is selected annually, by the board of visitors, from among the professors, and discharges most of the functions usually devolved upon a president, being for the time the chief executive of the University. To this republican feature of rotation in the office of chairman, Mr. Jefferson attached not a little importance. The system is not without its disadvantages, but its benefits decidedly preponderate. The chairman does not monopolize the administration, as a president would do, but each professor, feeling that he is a constituent element of the governing body, with his proper share of influence in shaping its destiny and fortunes, is animated at once by a sense of duty, of responsibility, and of ambition to devote his utmost powers of thought, care, and assiduous effort to augment its usefulness and prosperity.

The professors were at first paid in part by salaries ($1,000 a year each), and in part also by fees of tuition received from each student who might attend them severally, thus, as Mr. Jefferson conceived, presenting to each at once the most natural and the strongest motive to exert himself with all the strenuousness he could command to promote in all ways the efficiency, and consequently the success, of the institution. But circumstances, in the opinion of the board of visitors, and of most of the professors, were judged to require a departure from this plan, and for some years past each professor has been paid a salary of $3,000 *per annum*, which, together with an official residence, or a money equivalent therefor, constitutes his sole emolument.

SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION.

The scheme of instruction contemplates no fixed and uniform curriculum of study to be pursued by every student alike without discrimination; but each distinct branch of knowledge is assigned to a separate "school" by itself, with its own instructors; and in these several schools, which are exclusively under the control of the instructors therein (subject only to the board of visitors), a separate degree is conferred, denominating the recipient a "graduate" in that school, and in a few cases carrying with it a title, as of doctor of medicine, bachelor of law, civil engineer, mining engineer, or bachelor of scientific agriculture. The University may, therefore, be fairly regarded as a *collection of schools*, each devoted to a special subject, but under a common government.

This plan gives ample scope to the just ambition of each professor, and affords a strong stimulus to each to advance the standard of attainment in his school, in point as well of accuracy as of extent, whilst it holds him, besides, to an undivided responsibility for any neglect or default. It admits also, and contemplates, an indefinite multiplication of

"schools," so as to keep pace with the progress of knowledge and the demands of society.

Dr. Dunglison, afterwards so distinguished in the medical world as an author, was expected to teach anatomy and medicine merely as a branch of liberal education. But in 1827 the school was enlarged to a department, organized as follows: Robley Dunglison, M. D., professor of physiology, theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; John P. Emmet, M. D., professor of chemistry and materia medica; Thomas Johnson, M. D., demonstrator of anatomy and surgery.

Two other schools have since been added to this department; so that its organization at present embraces: (1) A school of the theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; (2) a school of physiology and surgery; (3) a school of chemistry and pharmacy; (4) a school of anatomy, materia medica, and therapeutics; and (5) a demonstratorship of anatomy.

In 1851 the school of law was converted into a department, by the creation of an adjunct professorship, which, in 1854, was made a full professorship; so that thenceforward in the department of law there were, and are, two schools, namely, (1) the school of common and statute law and (2) the school of constitutional and international law, equity, evidence, and the law-merchant.

In 1856 the school of ancient languages was divided into two schools, namely, (1) the school of Latin, and (2) the school of Greek and of Hebrew.

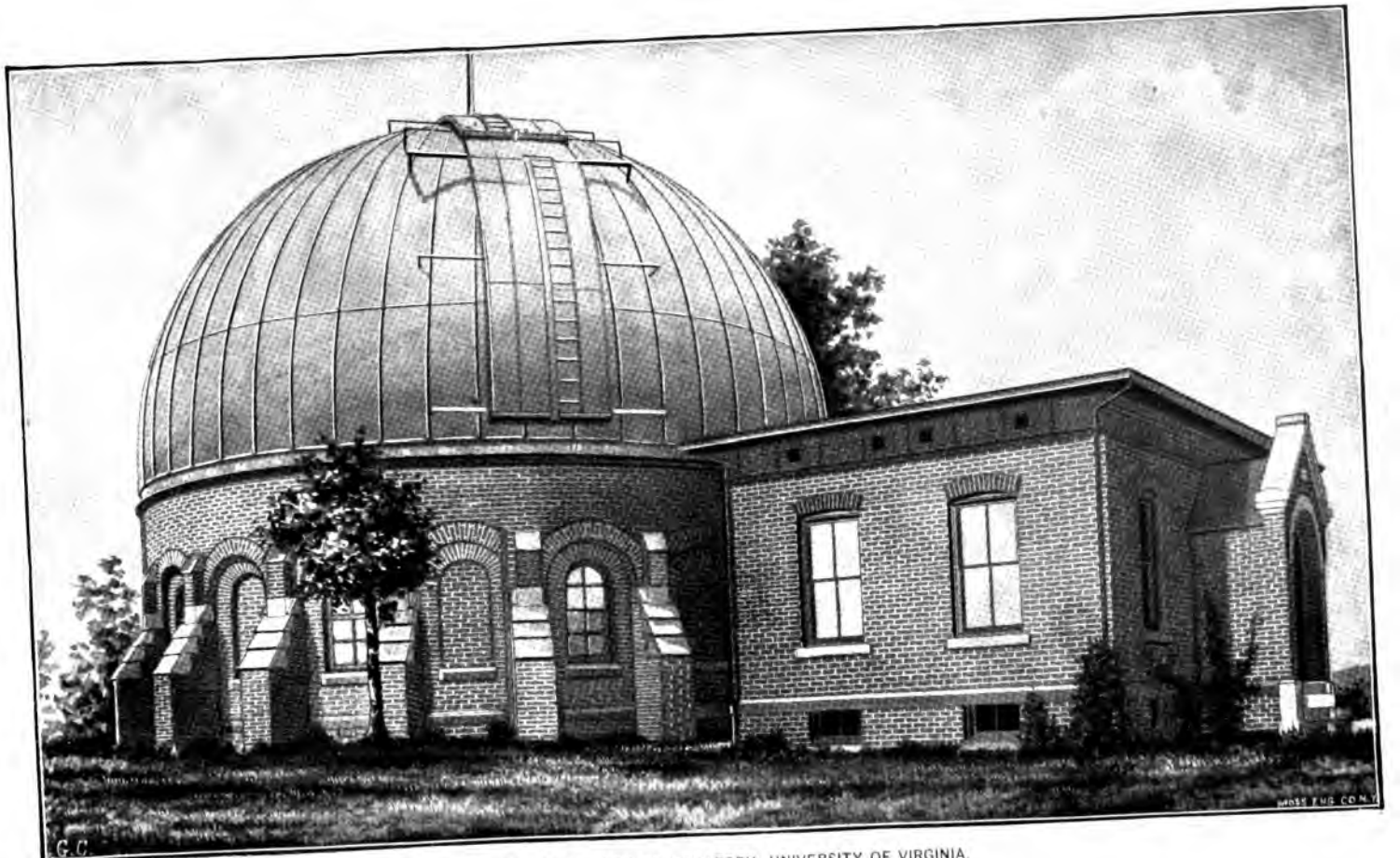
In the same year was also established the school of history and general literature, which, however, did not go into operation until the 1st of October, 1857.

In 1867 the school of applied mathematics, with reference especially to engineering, was created as an adjunct to the school of mathematics, and has since (in 1869) been constituted an independent school.

In the same year was instituted, as an adjunct to the school of chemistry, the school of technology and agricultural science, a designation soon after changed to that of analytical, industrial, and agricultural chemistry.

In 1870, by means of a munificent endowment of $100,000, derived from the liberality of Samuel Miller, Esq., of the county of Campbell, the school of scientific, experimental, and practical agriculture was created; since, with some change of subjects, denominated the school of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany.

In 1882, by the extraordinary liberality of Leander J. McCormick, Esq., a native of Virginia but a citizen of Chicago, of William H. Vanderbilt, Esq., of New York, and of a number of other friends of learning and of the University, the means were provided to maintain, and there was instituted, the school of practical astronomy, in connection with the Leander McCormick Observatory.



LEANDER McCORMICK OBSERVATORY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In 1879 Mr. W. W. Corcoran added to his previous noble benefactions to the University the gift of $50,000, wherewith to endow a school of natural history and geology, which was instituted accordingly.

In 1882 was established the school of the English language and literature, which necessitated a change in the subjects taught in the school of history and literature, and it was enacted that that school should thenceforward be known as the school of historical science.

Thus it appears that since 1867 the University, maimed and enfeebled as it seemed to have been by the Civil War and its consequences, has added six schools of great value to the thirteen previously existing, and so is enabled to supply the largest and most thorough instruction that the advanced requirements of the country and the times can demand.

At present the University consists of nineteen schools, with one or more instructors in each; of these schools, twelve are academic and seven professional; and of the twelve academic schools, six are literary and six scientific. Thus arranged, they may be enumerated as follows:

I.	Academic schools.	Lit. schools.	School of Latin,
II.			School of Greek,
III.			School of modern languages,
IV.			School of English language and literature,
V.			School of historical science,
VI.			School of moral philosophy.
VII.		Scien. schools.	School of mathematics,
VIII.			School of natural philosophy,
IX.			School of general chemistry,
X.			School of analytical and agricultural chemistry,
XI.			School of natural history and geology,
XII.			School of practical astronomy.
XIII.	Professional schools.		School of physiology and surgery, — Medical department, including also chemistry and pharmacy.
XIV.			School of anatomy and materia medica, — Medical department, including also chemistry and pharmacy.
XV.			School of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence. — Medical department, including also chemistry and pharmacy.
XVI.			School of common and statute law, — Law department, engineering department.
XVII.			School of constitutional and international law, mercantile law, evidence, and equity, — Law department, engineering department.
XVIII.			School of mathematics applied to engineering. — Law department, engineering department.
XIX.			School of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany. — Agricultural department.

Students attend as many of the schools as they think fit, paying a tuition fee for each; but in order to insure that every student shall have his time sufficiently occupied, no one can attend less than three, without leave from the faculty. In this feature is seen Mr. Jefferson's characteristic confidence in the capacity of individuals to determine, each for himself, what is best for him. He thought it safe to submit to the judgment of each student and his friends, the choice of subjects best adapted to the cast of his mind and to his views in life. The system is certainly liable to some grave objections, but it is specially adapted to a *university* as distinguished from a *college*, and the results have upon the whole proved eminently favorable. Custom recommends a general order or

succession of studies, which experience has approved; but if one, from peculiar circumstances, is led to prefer a different course, he is free to pursue it. One of the chief advantages, however, is found in the effect on the several schools, in stimulating the professors having them in charge to unceasing progress. And it may be observed that of late many institutions of the higher education in the United States have remodelled their methods in accordance with this example.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

It is only within a recent period that scholarships have existed in the University. The design in instituting them is to encourage sound and advanced learning by assisting the poor to attain to it, and by stimulating those to attempt it to whom such pecuniary aid is not indispensable and yet welcome. Such expedients have been resorted to ever since the revival of learning in the twelfth century, and led to the establishment, throughout western Europe, of great institutions of education. The colleges in the English universities were devised to this end, and were, indeed, simply endowed boarding-houses, with a provision for the "fellows," who were admitted to share their beneficence which, in process of time, by the enhancement in value of the lands bestowed upon them, has become, in modern times, extremely munificent.

At present there are in the University four classes of scholarships, namely: (1) University scholarships, (2) free scholarships, (3) Miller scholarships, and (4) alumni scholarships.

(1) *University scholarships* are supplied by the University itself. They are eleven in number, and entitle the successful candidates at a competitive examination to prosecute the studies of one session at the University without the payment of matriculation or tuition fees, and are open to new-comers from all the States at the beginning of each academic year, which at present is October 1st.

Of these eleven scholarships five are in the academic department, and two, severally, in the departments of medicine, of law, and of engineering. The examination is uniform for all, and embraces Latin, Greek, mathematics, and English. In order to secure positive attainments, the right is reserved to reject any papers that do not reach the standard required for a distinction at the final examination in junior Latin, junior Greek, and junior mathematics, and do not show a competent acquaintance with the grammatical and rhetorical structure of the English language.

(2) *Free scholarships.*—The board of visitors in 1882 founded three free scholarships, to be called, respectively, the Corcoran scholarship, the McCormick scholarship, and the Vanderbilt scholarship, in commemoration of three of the principal benefactors of the University, the appointments to be made by them respectively, or, if they decline, by the faculty. Each scholarship admits the beneficiary to the University in all the departments, professional as well as academic, free from the payment of matriculation and tuition fees.

(3) *Miller scholarships.*—The agricultural department having been founded upon the liberal benefaction of Samuel Miller, three scholarships have been instituted in that department, and named from the founder, Miller scholarships. The emolument belonging to each is $333.33⅓, and they are bestowed upon such as upon competitive examinations appear to be the most worthy.

(4) *Alumni scholarships.*—These scholarships are founded, some by the Society of Alumni, and some by individuals. The emolument attached to them is various, and the appointments to them rest with the persons who founded them, or with the executive committee of the Society of Alumni.

DURATION OF THE SESSION AND OF THE VACATION.

The session extends from the 1st day of October to the Wednesday before the 4th day of July, with no break or holiday during that period (Sundays of course excepted), save only one day at Christmas. There is no remission of college exercises even on Saturday, the school-boy's immemorial weekly holiday. The number of working days in the session is therefore about two hundred and thirty-two, which exceeds, it is believed, the number of working days in any collegiate institution in the world.

The vacation is of about three months' duration, extending from the Wednesday before the 4th of July to the 1st of October.

THE LOCAL ARRANGEMENT AND EQUIPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

According to its original design, the University buildings were disposed in four parallel ranges, which, it seems, it was contemplated should be extended indefinitely in both directions, as occasion might require, although the configuration of the ground seems hardly adapted to such a scheme. Their present length is about 600 feet each.

The eastern and western ranges look, respectively, towards the east and west, and front upon a broad street, which makes the circuit of the University. They consist of one-story dormitories for students, with an arcade running along the front, of some 12 feet in width, the outer wall of which consists of a series of arches, exhibiting a not unpleasing effect, reminding one of the cloisters of a monastery. This long range of low structures is broken by wide alleys, giving access to the two interior ranges, and is relieved further by dwellings which rear their roofs somewhat higher than the dormitories, and were originally meant to serve as hotels or boarding-houses for the accommodation of the students, to which use two of them, much enlarged, are still applied, whilst one is the residence of a professor, another of the proctor, and two others are society halls.

The two interior ranges front upon a grassy lawn, shaded by trees, and about 200 feet wide. They also consist of one-story dormitories for students, broken by the above-mentioned alleys communicating with the east and west ranges respectively, and agreeably relieved by five houses

in each range, the dwellings of as many professors, the fronts of which display considerable regard to architectural effect. In the front of the dormitories and of the professors' houses is a continuous colonnade of about 12 feet in width, taking the place of the arcade of the east and west ranges, the arches being replaced by handsome columns, which support a roof, nearly flat, over the paved walk below, the whole surmounted by an iron balustrade, and affording a communication in the upper story between the professors' houses on each side.

At the northeastern extremity of the two lawn-ranges stands the Rotunda, a structure modelled nearly after the Pantheon at Rome, about 70 feet in diameter, and about the same in height to the bottom of the dome, which rises about 20 feet above the body of the building. It is adorned with a very striking and classical marble portico in front, reached by stone steps extending the whole width of the portico, and contains on the ground and second floors four handsome elliptically shaped lecture-rooms, and on the third floor a circular library-room covering the whole area of the building, with two galleries between the floor and the dome extending quite around the capacious circle, and supported by graceful Corinthian columns. Accommodation is thus afforded for about 42,000 volumes, which is the present extent of the library. In the course of a few years, slowly as, with the slender revenues of the University, the books increase, it will be necessary to make some additional provision for their safe-keeping and accessibility.

This library hall, itself a remarkably handsome apartment, is graced by a statue in marble of Mr. Jefferson, executed by Galt, the Virginia artist. It was the gift of the General Assembly, and represents the great statesman in a costume modelled after that which he was accustomed to wear, the needful flowing drapery being supplied by a cloak flung over the shoulders. The pedestal bears the following inscription, which, it will be observed, is that prepared by himself for his tomb:

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

AUTHOR OF

THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE;

OF THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM;

AND

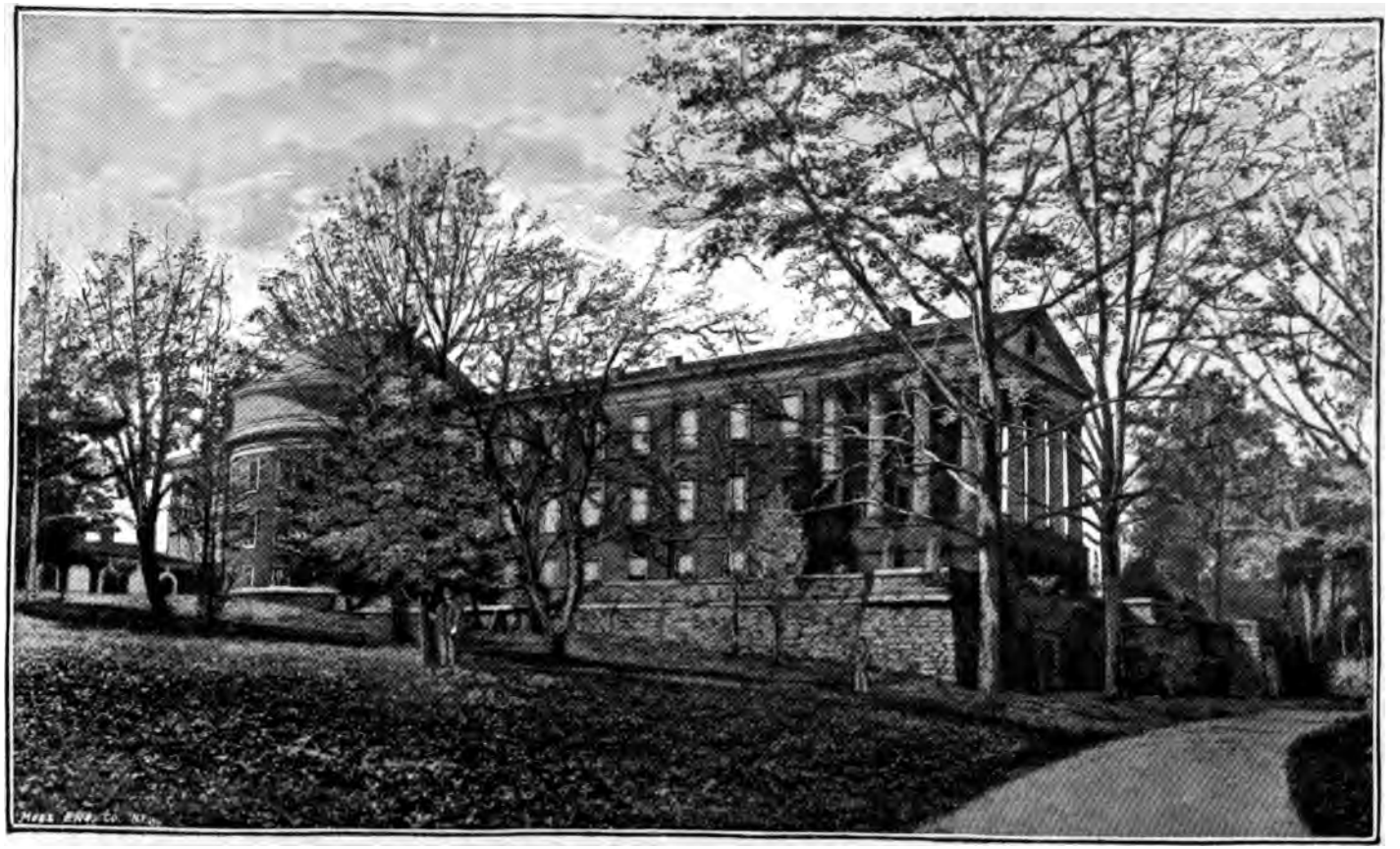
FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BORN

APRIL 2d, 1743, O. S.;

DIED

JULY 4, 1826.



ADDITION TO ROTUNDA, FACING NORTH

The columns of the hall also are adorned by a number of portraits, among which are those of General Robert E. Lee and of Mr. W. W. Corcoran, one of the chief benefactors of the institution.

The buildings thus far described constitute all belonging to the University at the beginning. But as soon as the Medical School became the Medical Department, it was indispensable to provide therefor additional lecture-rooms, an anatomical theatre, and a dissecting hall, which were accordingly erected opposite the northwestern extremity of the west range.

The need of still additional lecture-room accommodation led, in 1851–53, to the erection of a building in rear of the Rotunda, and connected with it by a porch, corresponding in architectural design with that in front, and terminating towards the northeast in a like porch. This building is about 100 feet long by 54 wide, and the connecting and terminal porches, of about 30 feet each, make the whole additional structure extend some 160 feet towards the northeast. The ground and second floors of this building, and also the fourth floor, an attic, are occupied by lecture-rooms, and rooms for the safe keeping of the costly apparatus belonging to the school of natural philosophy; the third floor, corresponding with the second in the Rotunda, and immediately connected therewith, is taken up with the extensive public hall, used upon commencement and other similar occasions, capable of seating, upon the floor and in the galleries, about twelve hundred persons.

In this hall, occupying the greater part of one extremity of it, is a copy, made by Balze, of Raphael's famous painting of "The School of Athens," which it may be hoped will be the germ of an art gallery at some future day.

In 1854–55 a comfortable house was erected by general subscription for the residence of the chaplain, and a short time afterwards (in 1855–56), also by general subscription, a hall for the use of the Temperance Association, which has for many years existed amongst the students of the University.

In 1859 the number of students resorting to the University had so much increased (being upwards of six hundred), as to make additional accommodation needful, and accordingly a row of six buildings, containing in all about fifty rooms, was constructed to the southwest of the University, distant from it about 200 yards, arranged in the arc of a circle, which having been built largely from the proceeds of a tract of land devised to the University by the will of Martin Dawson, Esq., received the designation of "Dawson's Row."

At the close of the Civil War, in 1865, the situation of the University seemed well-nigh hopeless. Its buildings required extensive repairs, its apparatus needed to be refitted, and its revenues were virtually annihilated. The institution was much endeared, however, to the General Assembly and to the people of Virginia, and as a place of liberal and

thorough education enjoyed the entire confidence of the South and of a great part of the West; and the faculty and visitors, addressing themselves energetically and hopefully to the work of rehabilitation, with the cordial co-operation of the Legislature, experienced a success so gratifying as to warrant an enlargement of the corps of professors, and a consequent addition to the buildings. Thus a small house, once occupied by President Monroe, on what from that circumstance has been denominated "Monroe Hill," at the extreme northwestern limit of "Dawson's Row," was enlarged and otherwise fitted up so as to make a comfortable dwelling for a professor, whilst a new and handsome residence for another was erected in extension of the same line, and west of West-range, together with a chemical laboratory, said to be one of the largest and best appointed in the United States.

In 1875–76, by the munificence of Lewis Brooks, Esq., a venerable and honored citizen of Rochester, N. Y., supplemented, after his decease, by the liberality of his brother and heir, of Prof. William B. Rogers, and others, a museum of natural history was erected and equipped in the completest manner, so as to afford unsurpassed facilities for illustrating the principles taught by the sciences of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, and geology. The collections are large and have been selected solely with a view to be aids in teaching. This building, which is of a style of architecture entirely variant from the previous structures of the University, is much admired. It is placed just at the entrance to the institution, and has its interior adorned with heads, executed in stone, of various animals, and with the names, also in stone, of the great naturalists of the world, in all ages, including, on the front, Aristotle, Linnæus, and Cuvier; on the rear, Pliny, Werner, and Humboldt; on the north or right side, Hall, Gray, Audubon, Agassiz, Dana, and Rogers; and on the south or left side, Lyell, De Candolle, Owen, Darwin, St. Hilaire, and Huxley.

In 1880–81, in response to the generous invitation of Leander J. McCormick, Esq., of Chicago, as already mentioned in this sketch, who proposed to contribute for the purpose the refracting telescope, complete, estimated at $50,000, the enterprise of establishing an astronomical observatory in connection with the University was set on foot, and, by the singular liberality, as before stated, of William H. Vanderbilt, of New York City, and an additional most liberal gift from Mr. McCormick, and by the contributions of many other friends of learning, not only was an endowment fund created to maintain a professor of astronomy, with his assistants, and to defray contingent expenses, but also to erect the observatory building, and to put the telescope and other needful appliances in position, the University itself providing suitable accommodations for the professor and his assistants in immediate proximity to the observatory.

These buildings, which are substantial and elegant, are situated on "Observatory Mountain," or, as it is more recently styled, "Mount Jef-

LEWIS BROOKS MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

ferson," about a mile southwest of the University, on a spot selected for such a structure by Mr. Jefferson himself, and where, indeed, he caused to be erected a small building for the purpose of an observatory, but which was never used nor even completed, and in 1859 was pulled down, and the material composing it applied to other purposes.

This description of the equipment of the University for its great work would be by no means complete without reference to the experimental farm, which occupies a considerable portion of the open arable land within the University domain. It affords to the students of agriculture opportunities for observing, in connection with the scientific exposition of the principles of the subject, most of its practical processes, conducted in the most careful and approved manner, under the supervision of the professor of agriculture, by a skilled, practical farmer; and also of noting the structure, character, and working of the best agricultural implements and appliances, and of following the progress and methods of the experiments always going on under the same intelligent and skilled direction.

Summing up the various equipments which have been mentioned under this head, they may be enumerated as follows:

(1) Provision of dwellings and necessary grounds for professors;

(2) Abundant provision of lecture-rooms;

(3) Sufficiency of lodgings and boarding-houses for students;

(4) Costly and continually enlarging apparatus for the school of natural philosophy;

(5) Costly and remarkably complete anatomical illustrations;

(6) A laboratory building containing a well-equipped chemical laboratory, capable of accommodating some seventy students in chemical analysis, a very complete chemical apparatus for general chemistry, a commodious lecture hall, and a museum of industrial chemistry, the valuable illustrative collections in which are hardly equalled in this country, and are said not to be surpassed in Europe;

(7) The Lewis Brooks Museum of natural history and geology, with singularly extensive and complete illustrative collections, costing in the aggregate, including the building, no less a sum than $86,000;

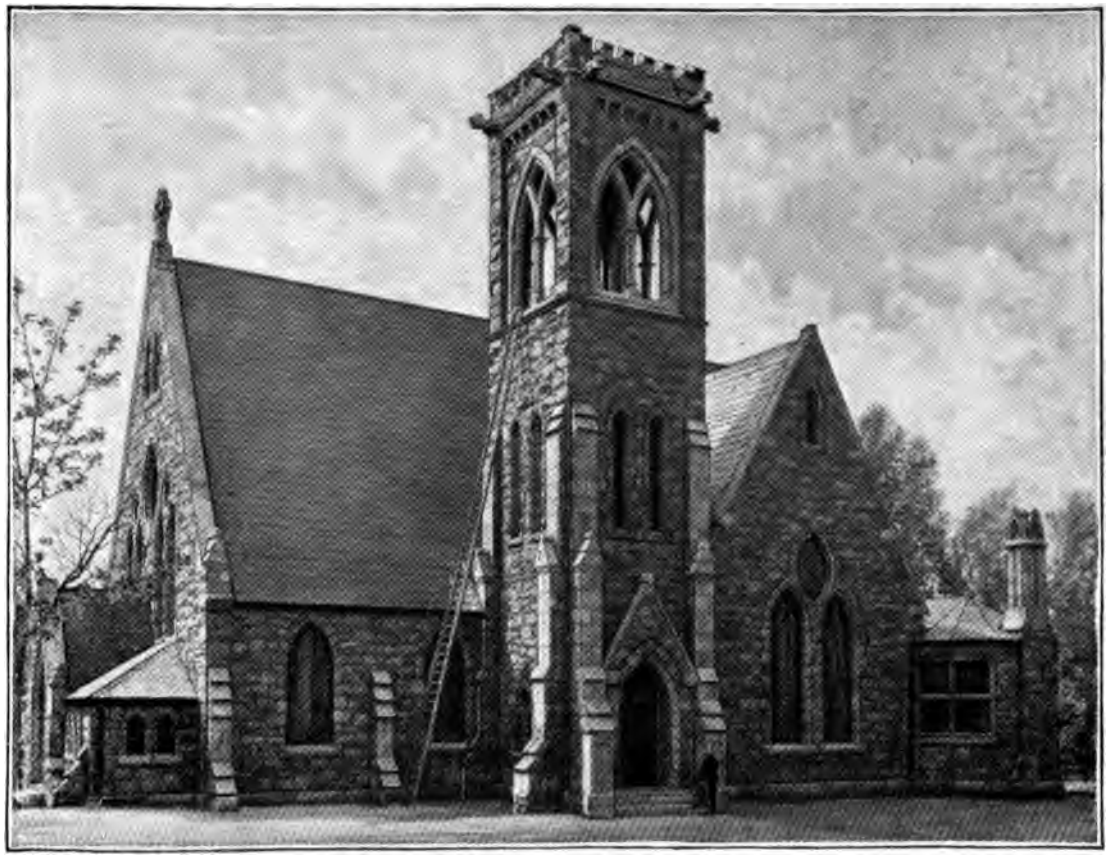
(8) The Leander McCormick Observatory, on Mount Jefferson, about a mile from the University, but still within its domain, which is fully equipped for its work, with the great refracting telescope, the greatest, with one or two exceptions, in the world, and with other suitable instruments and appliances; and, lastly,

(9) The experimental farm, under the direction of the professor of agriculture, affording to the students of that school ample illustrations of all manner of farming operations, and of the best agencies and implements for conducting them.

GIFTS MADE TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1. In 1818.—A gift, by general contribution, to "Central College," the germ of the University, of about	$40,000
2. In 1826.—A gift of his library, by the will of Mr. Jefferson, which the condition of his estate rendered abortive.	
3. In 1826.—A gift of books by Mr. Bernard Carter, of Maryland, estimated at, say	100
4. In 1831.—A gift of books and prints by Mr. Christian Bohn, of Richmond, a brother of the well-known London publisher, estimated at, say	500
5. In 1835.—A gift of land by the will of Mr. Martin Dawson, realizing, when sold, about	14,000
6. In 1836.—A gift by the will of Mr. Madison, ex President of the United States, of a part of his library, estimated at	1,000
7. In 1855–56.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a parsonage for the residence of the chaplain, about	2,500
8. In 1855–56.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a temperance hall, about	4,000
9. In 1856.—Gifts, by general contribution, to procure a copy, by Balze, of Raphael's painting of "The School of Athens," about	4,000
Total of gifts prior to the late Civil War	$66,100
10. In 1869–81.—Gifts to library and museum of industrial chemistry, estimated at more than	10,000
11. In 1869–81.—Gifts to library by Mr. A. A. Low, of Brooklyn, N. Y., $1,000; by Mr. Robert Gordon, of New York City, $500; by Mr. W. M. Meigs, of Philadelphia, $100	1,600
12. In 1869–71.—Gift of "Thompson Brown Alumni Scholarship."—Appointment by donor's representative	2,000
13. In 1870–76.—Gifts by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington City, to the chemical department and to the University library	6,000
14. In 1875–76.—A gift by Mr. Lewis Brooks, of Rochester, N. Y., for the erection and equipment of a museum of natural history and geology	68,000
15. In 1876–77.—Gifts, for the completion of the same purpose, by Mr. Brooks's brother and heir, $4,000; by Prof. William B. Rogers, of Boston, formerly professor of this University, $1,000; and by alumni of the University, $1,000	6,000
16. In 1881–82.—Gifts by Mr. Leander J. McCormick, a native of Rockbridge County and a citizen of Chicago, of a refracting telescope, estimated at $50,000; and of the cost of the observatory building, say $18,000	68,000
17. In 1883.—A gift by the late Mr. Isaac Carey, of Richmond, to found scholarships for the benefit of poor and deserving young men	7,000
18. In 1884.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a chapel ($5,000 supplied by the extraordinary liberality of a lady connected with the University)	15,000
19. In 1884.—A gift, by the will of the late Arthur W. Austin, a liberal-minded citizen of Dedham, Mass., in remainder, after certain life-interests, of about	470,000
	$719,700

Grand total of gifts, $719,700, of which $653,600 have been given since the termination of the Civil War; indeed, since 1869. As the $470,000 given by Mr. Austin will not be available for a number of years, it is not reckoned amongst the fixed endowments yielding income.



NEW UNIVERSITY CHAPEL.

PERMANENT AND FIXED ENDOWMENTS.

The permanent and fixed endowments, whence the University derives a present revenue, are as follows:

1. In 1836.—By the will of ex-President Madison, a legacy of $1,500, the annual income to be applied to the library; income, $90	$1,500
2. In 1859.—Price of land leased to J. L. Maury, $1,100; income, $66	1,100
3. In 1869.—Gift by the late Mr. Samuel Miller, of Campbell County, of $100,000, to endow a department of scientific and practical agriculture; income, $6,000	100,000
4. In 1876.—Gift by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington City, of $50,000, to endow the existing schools of moral philosophy, and of history and literature; income, $3,000	50,000
5. In 1878.—Gift by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, to endow a new chair of natural history and geology; income, $3,000	50,000
6. In 1878–81.—Gifts amounting to $75,000, by sundry liberal friends of the University, to endow the directorship of the observatory, etc.; income, $4,780	75,000
7. In 1883.—Gift by the will of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon, of Baltimore, of $5,000, in aid of the library; income, $300	5,000
Aggregate of permanent fund, principal	$282,600
Income	$17,236

Of the foregoing sum of $282,600, permanent and fixed funds, about $2,600 had accrued before the Civil War. The residue of $280,000 has been contributed since 1869. And if to this very large sum be added the $653,600 mentioned under the preceding head, it appears that since 1869 the University has received gifts and contributions amounting to $891,100! Thus wonderfully realizing, even in a period of general depression, the anticipation of Mr. Jefferson, that for the promotion of the higher education of the people, private munificence would ere long richly supplement and eclipse the contributions of the State.

THE ANNUAL INCOME OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The annual income of the University arises from sundry sources, some of which are variable, depending on the number of students. It is indeed no small hinderance to its growth and prosperity that so large a proportion of its annual receipts is derived from students, and imposes unavoidably a considerable tax on them, instead of coming from fixed investments. Some of the wealthier institutions of the country are enabled to admit pupils at lower rates of expense for tuition and other charges, and thus secure the advantage of numbers, although they may be possessed of no more educational merit. It may be hoped that ere very long the munificence of friends of learning will contribute such additional endowments as will make it possible for the University to lower its present necessary charges.

The revenues of the institution may be stated thus:

The annuity derived from the treasury of the Commonwealth, subject to the condition of admitting "white students of the State of Virginia over the age of sixteen years" without charge for tuition in the academic department.	$40,000

Matriculation and library fees ($20 each student), supposing the number of students to be 300		$6,000
Infirmary fees ($7 each student), defraying medical attendance and nursing in the infirmary		2,100
Fees of schools, say 300 students		17,000
Diploma fees		1,600
Rents, hotels	$550	
Dormitories occupied by students	4,578	
		5,128
Fines and contingent receipts		110
Income from fixed and permanent investments:		
State bonds belonging to University	6,156	
Observatory bonds	4,780	
Miller fund	6,000	
Douglas Gordon fund	300	
		17,236
Total annual income on the basis of 300 students		$89,147

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.[1]

BY PROFESSOR J. M. GARNETT.

[The discussion started in the November number [1885] of the Andover Review by the article of Professor Palmer on "The New Education" will doubtless be continued by the advocates respectively of the curriculum and the elective system of education. The present article is in no sense polemic, and the system described is not new. This elective system has been in operation in the University of Virginia for over sixty years. Its working is well known throughout the South but it is not so well understood in the North, and discussions of the elective system of education have grown out of the adoption of the system, in a somewhat different form, by Harvard University in recent years. The writer has thought that a plain and simple description, without argument, of the system pursued for so long in a sister university may not be without interest to educators who are seeking to find out the best way to attain the objects which we all have in view. The success which has attended the University of Virginia, and the prominence which its alumni have attained in all walks of life, are at least a testimony to the suitableness of the system for this particular institution.

This article was prepared, by invitation, for the International Congress of Educators, which met at New Orleans in February, 1885, during the World's Exposition, and has already appeared in the proceedings of that body published by the United States Bureau of Education. It was intended to show the inner workings of the University, and as a supplement to a Sketch of the University of Virginia, prepared by a committee of the faculty as a part of the University exhibit in the Exposition, and containing a brief history of the origin of the University, an account of its early organization, and the subsequent additions to its subjects and means of instruction, and a particularly full account of its local arrangements, endowments, and income. Such matters are, therefore, not described in this article, except in so far as the present organization of the University illustrates the working of its elective system. The University of Virginia was the first institution in the country to adopt this system, and its work has been consistently done on the lines originally laid down, the question of changing it for

[1] Reprinted from the Andover Review, April, 1886.

any other having never even been mooted, as far as the present writer is informed.]

The University of Virginia was first opened for the reception of students on March 7, 1825, so that it may now be said to have completed its period of middle life, and to have attained the comparatively venerable age of sixty years. The system with which it started, then altogether unique in this country, continues to be the system at the present day, notwithstanding the many changes and additions which have since taken place. This system was an arrangement of the subjects of instruction taught at that time into eight separate and distinct schools, as they are technically termed, namely, ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history (soon, however, limited to chemistry), moral philosophy (including mental philosophy), anatomy and medicine combined, and law. These eight schools have expanded into nineteen, in some of which, besides the professor, there are assistant instructors; and of these, twelve are academic schools, six being literary, and six scientific (though two of the latter are attended only by specialists), and seven are professional schools, three being in the medical department, two in the law, one in the engineering, and one in the agricultural.[1] Each of these schools is independent of every other as far as its course and methods of instruction are concerned. The professor himself is the sole judge of the special subjects which he shall include in his course, and of the manner in which he shall teach those subjects. Within the limits, then, of each particular chair there is the greatest freedom allowed in the selection of subjects and arrangement of the course. One of the cardinal principles of German university organization, *Freiheit des Lehrens* (freedom of teaching), was thus initiated in this country sixty years ago.

The faculty, as a whole, consisting of the professors at the head of each school, is the immediate governing body of the University, and controls the number of hours, and even the particular hours, which are devoted to instruction in each school; and, subject to the approval of the board of visitors, representing the State authority, directs what honors shall be awarded in a part, or the whole, of the course taught in each school, and what schools, in whole or in part, shall be required for

[1] These schools are now designated as follows:

ACADEMIC SCHOOLS.—*Literary department.*—Schools of Latin, Greek, modern languages, English language and literature, historical science, and moral philosophy (six). *Scientific department.*—Schools of mathematics, natural philosophy, general and industrial chemistry, analytical and agricultural chemistry, natural history and geology, and practical astronomy (six).

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.—*Medical department.*—Schools of physiology and surgery, anatomy and materia medica, medicine, obstetrics and medical jurisprudence, and chemistry and pharmacy [same as academic] (four). *Law department.*—Schools of common and statute law, and of constitutional and international law, mercantile law, evidence, and equity (two). *Engineering department.*—School of mathematics applied to engineering (one). *Agricultural department.*—School of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany (one).

the academic and professional degrees of the University. The faculty is presided over by a chairman, appointed annually by the board of visitors, although in practice the same professor is reappointed as often as he is willing to undertake the onerous duties, which no one desires to undertake, notwithstanding the additional compensation. Upon the chairman devolve all the administrative and executive duties usually discharged by the president of a literary institution, but his power is more limited, for every question that arises outside of the ordinary routine must be referred to the faculty, and be decided by that body. The faculty acts usually through committees, but no decision of a committee is final unless approved by the faculty. This feature of the University system is thought by some to be open to objections, and the more common organization, with a president at the head of the institution, is considered, in some respects, better; but the plan has been found to work well in practice; it is thought to place more responsibility upon the individual professor, and it is at least an open question whether a different organization would be better for this particular institution. Moreover, it was a pet idea of Mr. Jefferson's, derived, perhaps, from the annual election of a *rector magnificus* in the German universities, and we are told in a paper from the pen of Professor Minor, written thirty years ago, that "Mr. Jefferson attached not a little importance to this republican feature of rotation, insomuch that at the very last meeting of the board [of visitors] before his death [in 1826] Mr. Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States, having been appointed professor of law and president of the University, Mr. Jefferson, while expressing his hearty concurrence in Mr. Wirt's appointment to the chair of law, entered upon the minutes, with his own hand, so strong a protest against the creation of the office of president that, upon Mr. Wirt's declining, the proposition was never renewed."[1] But though the rotation existed in the early days of the University, no professor having then held the office more than two years in succession, this ceased forty years ago, and, as already stated, it is customary for the board of visitors to re-elect the same professor as often as he is willing to retain the office. Another feature of the organization of the faculty deserves notice, and that is, that there is no distinction whatever between the professors in the academic and in the professional departments. They all meet on an equal footing as one body, and questions relating to each department are decided by the whole body. The division of the philosophical faculty, which has recently agitated the German universities, has not yet been suggested here, even so far as relates to a separation of academic and professional schools, but each professor avails himself of whatever light may be thrown upon the subject under discussion by any one of his colleagues. This tends to prevent narrowness, to avoid considering the claims of one school or department separate from the rest, and to give force to a decision of the faculty as that of the whole body, and not of a fractional part of it.

[1] Jefferson and Cabell Correspondence, Appendix Q, p. 519.

The board of visitors has been referred to as the highest authority of the University. This board consists of nine members, appointed every four years by the Governor of the State, and confirmed by the Senate, three from the Piedmont region, in which the University is situated, and two from each of the other three grand divisions of the State, the Valley, Southwest Virginia, and the Tide-water region. In the hands of this board are lodged all powers usually exercised by boards of trustees, and especially the control of the finances of the University, although in respect to these the faculty, at the close of each session, through one of its committees, prepares for its annual report a statement of estimated receipts and expenditures for the ensuing session, with such suggestions as it may think proper in respect to expenditures for special purposes, which statement serves as a guide to the board of visitors in authorizing the disbursements. This board is required by law to make to the Legislature an annual report of the condition of the University. The University receives from the State an annual appropriation of $40,000, in return for which it is required to admit, free of charge for tuition in the academic schools, all Virginia students sixteen years of age who pass an elementary examination for admission into the respective schools which they desire to attend, or who present certificates of satisfactory attainments from some college or preparatory school. The limit of age has heretofore been eighteen years, but this was changed by the Legislature in 1884 of its own motion.

Having thus briefly sketched the organization of the University as regards its subjects of instruction and its governing bodies, let us consider it from the point of view of those for whose benefit the University is established, and see how it affects them. A student who enters the University is supposed to have arrived at such an age as to know what he wishes to study, or to have had directions from his parents to pursue certain subjects of study. This is, of course, true with respect to professional students, whose average age on entrance is over twenty-one years, and it is presumed to be true with respect to academic students. The average age of these students on entrance is about nineteen years, so that the presumption is reasonable.[1] The entering student finds at least ten academic schools open for his selection, three of which he is required to enter, unless he is of age or has his parents' authority to enter a less number. Sometimes as many as four are entered, in whole or in part; but it is seldom advisable for a student, and especially a first-year student, to enter more than three. Cases frequently occur where a student has taken up more studies than he can attend to, and therefore applies to the faculty for permission to drop some one school. If the student is a candidate for a titled degree, he will find these schools grouped in accordance with the requirements for that degree, but the order in which he shall take up the specified schools is left entirely to his own selection. The schedule of hours is to some extent a limitation upon his selection,

[1] See the table on next page.

as, of course, students can not enter the same year schools of which the lecture hours conflict. If the student is not a candidate for a titled degree, he may select any three schools he pleases; there is absolutely no restriction upon his choice but that necessarily imposed by the schedule of lecture hours. Thus another principle of German university organization was introduced into this country at the inception of the University of Virginia, sixty years ago, that is, *Freiheit des Lernens* (freedom of learning). As is well known, this is termed the *elective* system in distinction from the *curriculum* system, and it has been gradually introduced into many of our higher institutions of learning. But the mistake has been made, as it seems to me, of introducing it into many of our lower institutions of learning also. We are told by Prof. Charles F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, in an article on "Southern Colleges and Schools," in the Atlantic Monthly for October, 1884 (p. 548), that "at least *thirty-five* Southern colleges and universities have adopted this system, following the example of the University of Virginia." I am inclined, however, to agree with the president of Tulane University, who is quoted in the above article as saying (p. 551): "It is just as demoralizing for a college to invade the domain of true university work as for a preparatory school to attempt to be a college;" and again: "While I approve of the 'elective system' for real universities, I regard its application to colleges and schools as a misfortune."

Table of ages of first-year students in the University of Virginia for session 1884–85.

Ages.	Academic.		Professional.		Mixed.	
	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.
16	1	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
17	10	7	.....	2	.....	1
18	6	9	.....	3	3	3
19	11	7	8	4	2	.....
20	7	2	4	8	4	1
21	.....	1	6	9	1	1
22	2	1	9	6	2	1
23	2	.....	6	4	.....	.....
24	1	1	1	1	.....	.....
25	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....
27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
29	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
30	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
36	*1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
38	*1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Total	42	33	35	40	13	7
Average age	19¾	18½	21¼	21½	20½	19½

Average age of Virginia students in academic department, excluding the two marked with an asterisk as being resident clergymen, 19. Total number of first-year students of all kinds, 170; average age of first-year students of all kinds, 20¼. Number of students of 1884–85 according to duration of attendance: First year, 170; second, 64; third, 44; fourth, 14; fifth, 8; sixth, 1; seventh, 1; eighth, 1. Total, 303.

The elective system as it prevails in the University of Virginia, which has never known any other system, has been often misunderstood. It has been sometimes imagined that the University of Virginia confers a titled academic degree for any combination of studies that the student himself may select, provided that he fulfils the requirements of the written examinations. This is, of course, an entire mistake. There is attached to each school the degree of *graduate* in that school, conferred on completion of the entire course taught in that school, which is tested by means of rigid written examinations, on which the student is required to attain at least three-fourths of the total value of the questions. A student who has received this diploma of graduation in Latin, say, is entitled to call himself "a graduate of the University of Virginia in Latin;" and so for all other schools. In some schools, where the subjects are capable of division, the degree of *proficient* is similarly conferred on completion of certain specified partial courses in these schools, and in a few schools the attainment of two such proficiencies on distinct subjects constitutes graduation in the school. These degrees, however, are not *titled* degrees. The requirements for titled degrees are strictly specified.[1] In some of these degrees there is no option possible, but certain fixed requirements are made, which the student must fulfil if he wishes the particular degree; in others option is permitted within very narrow limits; and in only one—the recently established degree of bachelor of philosophy—does the option vary to the extent of one-half of the academic schools of the University, graduation in five schools, any three of the six literary and any two of the four scientific schools, being requisite for the attainment of this degree, which is, to my mind, more consonant with the genius of the elective system and of a university than any other one of the bachelor's degrees. It will thus be seen that the requirements of the University of Virginia are stricter with respect to subjects for the titled degrees than those of many institutions which still retain the curriculum system; which fact, combined with the high standard requisite for graduation in each school, will account for the small number of titled degrees conferred by the University. In respect to titled degrees, there is another point which deserves mention. The B. A. degree is not preliminary to the M. A. degree, as in most institutions; it is merely a degree conferred for lower attainments. A student may attain the M. A. degree without ever having received the B. A. degree, or, in certain cases, without ever having studied some of the subjects specified for the B. A. degree, as in this last a limited substitution is allowed. Again, a student may receive the B. A. degree and never attain the M. A. degree, for it is not conferred *in course*, but only after graduation in the specified schools. The two degrees have, then, no relation to each other, and, as a matter of fact, the M. A. degree was established in 1831, seventeen years before the institution of the B. A. degree, the only degree originally instituted being that of *graduate* in a

[1] For these see Annual Catalogue.

school, which may be called the basis of all degrees. Just here I may be permitted to correct a slight error into which Prof. C. F. Smith has fallen, in the article above referred to, with reference to the requirements for the M. A. degree in the University of Virginia. There is no such "student public opinion" which "holds students to a certain order of studies" (*l. c.*, p. 549) as that with which the University is credited. I presume none would be more surprised than the students themselves to hear that such "public opinion" was reported to exist. The illustration given—namely, that "a student who had taken French and Spanish as the two modern languages for his [M. A.] degree found, after he had gotten his certificates of proficiency [read, *diplomas of graduation*], that student public opinion regarded no other modern language as an equivalent for German for the M. A. degree, and he therefore took German in addition," must have been based on misinformation as to the requirements for the M. A. degree. From 1832, when graduation in the school of modern languages was first required for the M. A. degree, to 1859 the student was at liberty to take *any two* of the four modern languages taught for his M. A. degree. In 1859 the requirement of French and German as *the two* modern languages necessary for this degree was made obligatory, and has so continued ever since. It is the faculty, under approval of the board of visitors, that regulates the requirements for all degrees at the University of Virginia as at other institutions, and no "student public opinion" affects these or concerns itself in any way with the order of studies that any student chooses to pursue. As already stated, if the student is a candidate for a *titled* degree, he finds the requirements strictly specified; if not, he is at liberty to study any subjects he pleases, and the only concern of the faculty is to see that his time is fully occupied, which is sought to be effected by the requirement that he must enter at least three schools, unless special circumstances exempt him from it, and that, having entered these schools of his own choice, he attends the lectures regularly and discharges the duties incumbent upon him. If the student is a candidate for *any* titled degree, he will find, also, that no limit of time is specified for its attainment; this depends entirely upon his ability to fulfil the requirements. Of nine M. A. graduates of 1884, the time of attendance at the University varied from three years to six, the usual time being three and four years. The one B. S. had attended for two years, and the one B. A. for six years. (I should add that the last was a professor's son, who had entered quite young—only fifteen years of age—and had therefore gone very slowly through the course.) In like manner graduation in a school is not dependent upon the time of attendance. While a student who is well prepared may graduate in a particular school the first year, another may take several years to accomplish graduation; and cases have occurred where a student has attended the Senior class of the same school for three years and still failed to graduate. As there is no annual promotion

from class to class, as in a curriculum, the element of time does not enter, and a student may accomplish his course fast or slow, according to his inclination and ability. The same standard is set for all, and it must be reached regardless of time. There is also no entrance examination, except for Virginia students who desire free tuition—and this is of a very elementary character in each school—so that no student is rejected for lack of preparation. Upon the student himself rests the responsibility of undertaking the courses prescribed. In the schools of Greek and mathematics there are three classes—Junior, Intermediate, and Senior; and in those of Latin, modern languages (that is, in French and in German), and natural philosophy, there are two classes—Junior and Senior, and the student enters whichever one, after consultation with the professor, he finds himself prepared for; but only those who complete the course of the Senior class can apply for graduation in the school.

The class-work during the year, consisting of the preparation of certain portions of the text-books, the writing of exercises in the languages, and the preparation of the notes taken from the oral lectures of the professor, is by no means all of the student's work. In all the language classes certain authors are assigned to be read privately, from which reading of the Senior classes one of the pieces for translation in the graduation examination is usually taken, the other being taken from the classical writers of the language at will. The pieces for translation in the graduation examination are never taken from what has been read in the class-room. It was formerly customary to leave to the student himself the selection of his private, or extra, reading, both pieces for translation in the examination being taken from the classical writers of the language at will, but now the so-called "parallel reading" is assigned by the professor at the beginning of the session, and the student reads it from time to time during the year. In the mathematical classes extra problems are assigned for solution each week, or even each day, so that the student's original power for this kind of work is continually tested. In some other schools a course of parallel reading in connection with the subjects studied—or corresponding private work in addition to that of the class-room—is assigned, the object being to encourage the habit of private study along with the preparation of a certain portion of the text-book or a certain quantity of lecture notes from day to day. The proper preparation of this last also is tested by careful questioning at each lecture on the portion of the text-book assigned and on the subjects of the preceding lecture.

The student's presence at each lecture is ascertained by a regular roll-call, and if his absences reach as many as three during the month in any one school without valid excuse, his name is reported to the faculty, and he is admonished to be more particular in attendance. Also, the number of times that he has absented himself from lectures in each school, and a brief statement as to how he is doing, are entered upon

the monthly report regularly rendered to his parents. A student who is persistently idle and neglectful of admonition, or whose conduct is deserving of severe censure, is usually informed at the close of the session that his presence during the following session will be dispensed with; or, in flagrant cases, his parents are requested to withdraw him forthwith. It may be truthfully said that cases of this kind seldom arise, and I do not suppose that any institution in the country enjoys greater immunity from bad conduct on the part of its students than the University of Virginia. Every student is treated as a gentleman, he respects himself as such, and conducts himself accordingly, and cause for censure very seldom arises. Supposing that the student has applied himself to his studies, and maintained a good class-standing during the year, which is determined by the regularity of his attendance at lectures and by the judgment of the professor as to the student's answers in the class questioning—for there is no marking system in vogue in the University—he presents himself for the written examinations. These occur twice during the year, in February and in June, and in some schools the two examinations count as of equal value, being on different portions of the course, while in others the whole stress is laid on the final examinations. The professor endeavors in these examinations by a series of questions, some of which often require lengthy answers, to test thoroughly the student's knowledge. A list of examination questions is often very deceptive; so much depends upon the character and extent of the answer required, and even upon the judgment of the examiner. While the professor in each school sets the questions and examines the papers, two other professors along with him constitute the committee of examination for that school, and any question that may arise relative to the examination or to the student's papers is decided by the committee and not by the professor alone. The examinations for graduation last usually from six to eight hours on each subject, though sometimes, in the case of students who write slowly, they may extend to ten hours or more. They are seldom limited to a shorter period than six hours, so that a student is not required to write against time; he is given a full opportunity to state what he knows, even if he may think slowly. As already stated, he must attain three-fourths of the total value of the questions, or he fails of graduation, and in the professional schools the standard is higher, being four-fifths in the medical department, and five-sixths in the law department. Each student appends to his examination paper a pledge that he has "neither given nor received any assistance during the examination," which pledge is most rigidly observed as a point of honor by all the students. I have never known personally of but *one* violation of this pledge, and in that case a committee of his fellow-students waited upon the offender and informed him that he must leave the University, which he did forthwith. I have heard that a few similar cases have occurred in the history of the University, which were similarly treated. Here it is "stu-

dent public opinion" that regulates the matter and sets the tone of the University. A violation of the examination pledge may not even reach the ears of the faculty, but is dealt with by the students themselves. It is simply an impossibility for any faculty to regulate this, and it must be left to the honor of the students. The University of Virginia is not peculiar, however, in this respect, for the same tone and practice exist in other institutions in Virginia and the Southern States, and have extended to the preparatory schools also. They may, too, exist in institutions in the Northern and Western States, but as to this I am no so well informed.

Thus by means of class teaching and private study during the year, and rigid written examinations at the close, the University of Virginia endeavors to secure *thoroughness* of attainment on the part of its students. A diploma of graduation in any school is an evidence that the student has worked hard on the subjects taught in that school, and has come up to the standard required, whether he has spent one, two, or three years in obtaining his diploma. A *titled* degree is evidence that the student has accomplished such hard work in several specified schools, and as the M. A. degree requires graduation in more schools than any other, it has always been regarded as the highest honor of the University.

There have been established, however, recently, doctorates of letters, science, and philosophy, which require that a student who has obtained the corresponding bachelor's degree, or, in the case of the last, the degree of B. A., or of B. Ph., shall pursue post-graduate courses in *two* schools of his own selection out of those in which he has graduated. His proficiency in these courses is tested by theses and examinations, and while no limit of time is fixed, it is estimated that the completion of the post-graduate courses will require at least two years of study after attainment of the bachelor's degree. The candidate's thesis must show independent research in the subject of his selection, and, on approval, must be printed. The effort is thus made by means of the doctorates to encourage and reward specialization. The system has been in operation too short a time as yet to produce results, but there are now certain students pursuing post-graduate courses who will apply for the doctorate in due time.[1]

It deserves to be added here that no honorary degree is conferred by the University of Virginia. It may be taken for granted that any one of its graduates who writes a titled degree after his name has worked hard for it, and has attained on the written examinations the standard requisite for graduation in the several schools specified for that degree.

In order not to prolong this paper to too great length, it remains to notice briefly, in conclusion, the character of the preparation necessary

[1] The degree of doctor of philosophy was conferred for the first time in 1885, and it was in that year also decided to recognize the B. A. degree from other reputable institutions as a preliminary to this doctorate, the requirement, however, of graduation in the two selected schools of the University being still maintained.

for academic students to enter the University of Virginia profitably. Professional students, of course, being over twenty-one years of age, will enter with whatever preparation they may have been able to acquire, and will profit accordingly. From the average age of entrance of the academic students, already stated as about nineteen years, it will be seen that they have attained greater maturity of mind than the first-year students of many institutions of learning, and their preparation should correspond.

In several schools of the University no previous knowledge of the subjects taught is required, and a student may enter these schools without further preparation than is implied by the possession of a good common English education, such as the highest grade of public schools can supply, for the teaching begins with the elements of the subject, as in chemistry, for example, or moral philosophy; but some maturity of mind is requisite in order to profit by the courses taught. In judging of this preparation, then, it will be necessary to take those subjects which the preparatory schools profess to teach, namely, Latin, Greek, mathematics, French, and German, if, indeed, these last can be rightly added. I wish I could add English also, but as yet the courses in English are so meagre and so varied in the preparatory schools that one can not, for the large majority of students, count upon more than instruction in the ordinary English grammar, and in the elementary principles of composition and rhetoric. There are some important exceptions to this statement, but I think that I speak rightly as regards the English course taught in the great majority of preparatory schools in the South, which is the chief constituency of the University of Virginia, and possibly in the North and West; but of these I speak under correction. In my judgment the great want in most of our preparatory schools is a thorough course in English parallel with the courses in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and of equal importance. We are not so deficient in good preparatory schools, at least in Virginia, as one would infer from a letter of Prof. W. M. Baskervill, of Vanderbilt University, printed in the Nation of December 18, 1884 (No. 1016), in which, after enumerating five schools by name—one in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, and three in Virginia—he adds: "All the rest of the South can not add five more such schools to this list." I would beg leave to say that I can easily add from Virginia alone "five more such schools" and over, whose course is equally as high in grade as that of those mentioned, and, in fact, a colleague informed me that he could count fifteen. But these schools have not yet established full and thorough courses in English equal in extent and importance to their courses in classics, mathematics, and modern languages, though I look hopefully for this to come in time, even if something else must "go by the board." While our schools are doing good work, and sending up some students every year prepared to enter the Senior classes in the University, they are not now equal in numbers, nor, perhaps, in the grade

of their work, to the schools in what was "the golden age" for Virginia preparatory schools, and for the University—the decade from 1850 to 1860. Then there were at least a half dozen schools in the State whose number of boarding pupils varied from sixty to a hundred, and several others with a less number, all preparatory to the University, and drawing their pupils from all parts of the South. The University during this period was in its most flourishing condition, having for at least six years successively over six hundred students in attendance, nearly four hundred of whom were academic students, coming from all of the Southern States from Maryland to Texas. Almost all of these preparatory schools either were conducted by graduates, usually M. A.'s of the University, or drew their principal teachers from it. Having been educated in one of these schools and having taught in another, I may be permitted to speak from personal experience of the preparation afforded, as an illustration of the school course. In the school attended we had been reading for three years the higher Latin and Greek authors—others having been previously studied—of which I recall, in Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal, Plautus and Terence, Cicero's Letters, and Tusculan Disputations; and, in Greek, Euripides, Sophocles, Thucydides, and Theocritus, and we had written weekly exercises in Latin and Greek composition, retranslating into these languages a piece of English translated from some classical author; we had studied trigonometry and surveying, analytical and descriptive geometry, and the class succeeding ours studied also the differential and integral calculus; we had pursued a French course during the three years, reading lastly Racine and Molière, and writing weekly exercises. I do not now recall any English studies pursued, except spelling, which was rigidly insisted on for the whole school, and composition and declamation; for the time of English was not yet. I can not say that all, or even a majority, of the students entering the University enjoyed this amount of preparation, but it was not any too much for entering the Senior classes in the respective schools, and any student who desired to graduate the first year in the schools named must have had somewhat equivalent preparation, even if he had not read quite as much Latin and Greek. I speak of "Senior classes" and of "graduation the first year," because a student may enter the lower classes in the schools of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and modern languages with very much less preparation, or he may even enter the Senior classes and profit by the instruction given; but he will not graduate the first year. Comparing the courses taught in these schools of the University now with those taught twenty-five years ago, I should say that graduation in Latin and mathematics is somewhat more difficult now than it was then; in Greek and modern languages it is about the same. The preparatory schools have, therefore, now a somewhat harder task than they had then, and, with some exceptions, it does not seem to me that they fulfil it as well, but I may be mistaken. Education in Virginia, if not in the whole South, does not seem to have re-

covered from the great cataclysm, notwithstanding twenty years have elapsed, and a new generation has come on the scene. The University of Virginia is certainly now much better equipped for its work than ever before. Its thirteen schools of 1860 have expanded to nineteen; it possesses a chemical laboratory and a museum of natural history and geology of extraordinary value; its gifts, endowments, and appropriations are greater than at any former period; and it has just been provided with an endowed observatory, and a refracting telescope equal to any in this country and excelled by few in Europe. That its students are not as numerous as formerly, is due, in my opinion, to two causes—the one, perfectly just in itself and not to be regretted but in its effect, that other Southern States are building up their own institutions, and are educating for themselves the students whom Virginia formerly educated for them; in this they are wise, and are to be congratulated, and no lover of education would wish to see them take one step backward; the other cause is, I fear, not so creditable to our people as a whole, and here I include Virginia, as well as other Southern States; it is, that there is not as great a desire for higher education as there once was; our people have been occupied with their material interests, and have starved their minds; young men are growing up all around us with a mere smattering of education, but as it is sufficient to enable them to enter upon an agricultural, manufacturing, mercantile, or commercial life, they are satisfied; education costs money and postpones the time for making money, and we are content to do without it. But "the three R's" will not suffice; the education given in our public schools is very desirable as far as it goes, and these schools should, by all means, be extended; but, if we are content to stop there, it will not answer; we can never rear a cultured community on the rudiments of learning; we can never take the position we once occupied in the statesmanship of this great country, nor even hold our own, if our higher institutions of learning are neglected.

The so-called "New South" has developed in many ways, has expanded prodigiously, from a material point of view, and has extended the blessings of elementary education to a much larger number than ever before. But I question seriously whether, in proportion to the population, there are as many young men now seeking a higher education as there were in 1860.[1] Some who write about the condition of education in the South previous to 1860 do not know what was the real condition of affairs. They do not reflect that the higher institutions of learning in each State, and the private schools preparatory to them, were generally well attended, and that the character of the liberal education supplied by them was in no whit inferior, if it was not supe-

[1] This view is expressed also in two thoughtful and well-written articles on "Education in the South," which appeared in the Nashville Christian Advocate of January 24 and 31, 1885, but the anonymous writer is rather pessimistic in regard to education not only in the South, but in the whole country.

rior, to what it is now. While we have broadened, we have not deepened. Lack of private means, doubtless, has had much to do with this, but as material interests have progressed, this lack is being gradually supplied. The caution which, it seems to me, is now most needed by the people of the South is not to let regard for material interests override consideration of intellectual growth. Mind must rule, and mind must have the opportunity of being developed to its highest capacity if we would keep pace with the intellectual progress of the world. Our higher institutions of learning must be cherished, not only supported from the public funds, but aided by private benefactions, and especially sustained by receiving for education the sons of all who can afford to send their sons to be educated. With much increased facilities for instruction, the colleges and universities should not lack students, for whom these facilities are provided. Higher education should be at least as highly appreciated now as it was by our fathers, or the result will inevitably be seen in the career of our sons. We can not afford to neglect the higher education, for, if we do, it will undoubtedly react upon the lower, and we shall stand before the world a half-educated people, regardless of our most important interests. Moreover, we can never contribute our share to the literature of the world unless we lay the foundation broad and deep. Writing novels and works in the negro dialect is not contributing to the highest forms of literature. Does any of this ephemeral literature, or all of it together, deserve to be placed beside the papers which emanated from the statesmen of the past, or the speeches with which the halls of legislation once resounded? Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us realize that the higher education must be maintained, and that we must take advantage of it if we would be an educated people; that there is a higher life than the mere material, and that making money is not the chief end of man.

This sketch of the way in which the University of Virginia is endeavoring to do its part towards securing that *thoroughness* in the higher education which is so essential to success, is offered as a contribution to the general educational work in this country, and especially as a plain description of one modest phase of that work.

CHAPTER XIV.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY[1] OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Memoir, Correspondence, etc., from the papers of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. 4 volumes, 8vo. Charlottesville, 1829.

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, being his Autobiography, Correspondence, etc. Published by order of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library. From the original manuscripts in the Department of State, edited by H. A. Washington. 9 volumes, 8vo. Washington, 1853–54.

The above are the best sources of information concerning the origin of Jefferson's educational ideas and his early plans for the development of a university in his native State. Here will be found his correspondence with M. Pictet upon the project of transferring the Geneva faculty to Virginia; also his letters to M. Dupont de Nemours, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Cooper, and many other gentlemen, whose advice Jefferson sought upon educational questions. In Jefferson's complete works will be found his Notes on Virginia, which contain valuable historical references to his first plans for transforming William and Mary College into a university, and to his original bills for the establishment of a system of public education.

The Writings of George Washington, edited by Jared Sparks.

These contain the interesting correspondence between Washington and Jefferson respecting the project for a French-Swiss university in Virginia, a project which undoubtedly had great influence upon both of these Virginians in shaping their schemes for national and State education.

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[1] The writer had substantially completed this bibliography when that excellent bibliographical work appeared, the *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana:* A List of Books Written by or Relating to Thomas Jefferson, by Hamilton Bullock Tompkins (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons). 350 copies printed. The writer's purpose in the present Bibliography is educational, and specifically concerns the University of Virginia, but he gladly expresses his gratitude to Mr. Tompkins for so comprehensive and complete a *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana.* Such collections of historical material with regard to other American statesmen would prove of great service to students and specialists.

The Writings of James Madison.

The third and fourth volumes of these writings are very important for an understanding of the historical and political significance of the University of Virginia. Madison was one of the original board of visitors and one of Jefferson's most valued advisers in the direction of the institution, especially in the matter of political education. He and Jefferson agreed upon and prescribed text-books upon the science of government. Both men wished to keep the University out of the hands of the Federalists.

Sundry Documents on the Subject of Public Education for the State of Virginia. Published by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund. Richmond, 1817.

With this invaluable publication the documentary history of the University of Virginia begins. It was the discovery and acquisition of this pamphlet of 78 pages in an antiquarian book-store at Baltimore which first led the writer to an interest in the educational history of Virginia. The collection of "Sundry Documents" was issued through the political influence of Cabell as a means of propaganda for the university idea, which, in the year 1817, first began to influence the Virginia Legislature. The collection contains Jefferson's bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge, proposed by the committee of revisers of the laws of Virginia, appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1776. This is the historical corner-stone of Jefferson's university. The writer has called particular attention to this bill in the preceding monograph. Note also Jefferson's original bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary College, which was to be the roof and crown of a system of popular education. The next great land-mark in the history of the University of Virginia is Jefferson's letter to Peter Carr, September 7, 1814. It represents a complete break from the idea of transforming William and Mary College into a State university, and takes a fresh departure in the proposed development of Albemarle Academy into a college or university. This letter, which contains Jefferson's educational platform, was published by Cabell in the Richmond Enquirer, and marks the first introduction of the new idea into the public mind. Then follow all the legislative documents, such as the report of the president and directors of the literary fund to the General Assembly in December, 1816, a report which marks the entrance of Jefferson's educational ideas into politics. The correspondence between Governor Nicholas and the leading educators of the country upon a system of public education for Virginia, and also Mercer's bill "for the establishment of primary schools, academies, colleges, and an university," are of considerable historical interest. All of these Sundry Documents have been digested in the preceding monograph. Although the pamphlet was printed by the managers of the literary fund and "distributed among the citizens of this Commonwealth" of Virginia, yet it is not likely to have survived in any considerable number of copies. Friends of education in Virginia who happen to own these "Sundry Documents," one of the primary sources of the higher educational history of that State, would do well to present the pamphlet to public libraries and institutions of learning for preservation.

Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia, presented December 8, 1818. Richmond, 1818.

This document is quite as important as the one just mentioned, for it is the report of the Rockfish Gap Commission, which decided that the University of Virginia should be established upon the site of Jefferson's "Central College." The commission was a brilliant idea, first suggested to the Leg-

islature by Mr. Cabell. It was appointed by the Governor, who favored Jefferson's project, from the senatorial districts of the State. Some of the best men in Virginia assembled at Rockfish Gap, a pass through the Blue Ridge to the Valley of Virginia, in August, 1818, and there came under the persuasive influence of Mr. Jefferson. He convinced the commission, by maps and ingenious diagrams, that, of all competitors for the University, the region of Charlottesville was nearest the geographical centre and nearest the centre of white population. The idea of centrality and the educational foundations already laid by Jefferson carried the day in opposition to Lexington and Staunton. Jefferson prepared a most elaborate report, containing his entire philosophy of education, from the primary school to the university. The original printed document has never come to the eye of the present writer, but he has found a printed copy in the Analectic Magazine, Vol. XIII, pp. 103-116, Philadelphia, 1819. To this magazine Jefferson's friend Dr. Cooper, the first professor in the University of Virginia, was a contributor. For example, see his review of Count Destutt Tracy's Political Economy, in the March number, 1819, pp. 177-191. The book was a translation from the French, which Jefferson had caused to be made and published. This Analectic Magazine was evidently one of the means of contemporary propaganda for Jefferson's ideas. The report of the Rockfish Gap Commission is also reprinted in the Early History of the University of Virginia, a valuable documentary collection described below.

Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, hitherto unpublished, etc. Richmond: J. W. Randolph. 1856.

This is a documentary history of the University, and by far the most important work which has ever appeared upon the subject. The work contains Jefferson's extensive correspondence with Cabell, some of which "unpublished" material may also be found in Jefferson's Writings, with Cabell's name unfortunately omitted. The above volume contains also the published records of the trustees of Albemarle Academy, of the visitors of Central College, and to a limited extent of the visitors of the University of Virginia. Jefferson's most important educational reports and the early acts of legislation for the University are also to be found in this invaluable collection, for the use of which the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, formerly of the University of Virginia.

Session Acts of the Assembly of the State of Virginia.

These contain, in the most authentic form, the fundamental law and subsequent legislation of Virginia with respect to her University. The legal regulations of the institution and the various appropriations made from time to time for its benefit, are all recorded here, and are indexed under the head of "University."

Codes of the State of Virginia.

The various codified editions of the statutes of Virginia afford the student a convenient résumé of the permanent law affecting the University and the interests of higher education.

The Annual Reports of the Board of Visitors, published by the State of Virginia.

Sets may be found in Richmond and in the library of the University.

Catalogues of the University of Virginia.

A bound set, from the first session in 1825 down to the present, is preserved in the University library.

Manuscript Records of the Board of Visitors.

From May 5, 1817, to April 7, 1826, these records are written in Jefferson's own hand. From October 2, 1826, to July, 1828, they are in the hand of Nicholas P. Trist.

Manuscript Catalogue of the University Library, by Jefferson.

This is the only manuscript in Jefferson's own hand that could be found in the University library. The catalogue gives additional evidence of Jefferson's attention to details in the organization of his University. There are catalogued 2,436 volumes. described by Jefferson as 1 grand folio, 168 folio, 388 4to, 1,609 8vo, 2,270 12mo. Jefferson classified the library as follows: (1) Ancient history; (2) Modern history (foreign); (3) British; (4) American; (5) Ecclesiastical; (6) Physics; (7) Agriculture; (8) Chemistry; (9) Anatomy; (10) Surgery; (11) Medicine; (12) Zoölogy; (13) Botany; (14) Mineralogy; (15) Technology; (16) Astronômy; (17) Geography, etc. He observes, characteristically, at the beginning of his catalogue: "Books are addressed to the three faculties: memory, reason, imagination."

The University Memorial. By Rev. John Lipscomb Johnson. Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers. 1871.

This work consists of a series of biographical sketches of alumni of the University of Virginia who fell in the late Civil War, and contains many glowing tributes to the character and talents of the sons of this institution.

The Gilmer Manuscripts.

Inquiring of Col. Charles S. Venable, chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, for original manuscript materials relating to that institution, the writer first learned of the existence of original and unpublished letters written by Thomas Jefferson to Francis W. Gilmer. Upon application to the present owner of the letters in question, John Gilmer, Esq., of Chatham, Pittsylvania County, Va., the writer was courteously intrusted with the entire bound collection, which includes not only letters from Jefferson, but also some from Madison and from the gentlemen in England to whom Gilmer had letters of introduction. There are letters of advice or suggestion from Major John Cartwright, Dugald Stewart, Benjamin Rush, Lord Brougham, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Forbes, Dr. Samuel Parr, Henry Drury of Harrow, Prof. John Leslie of Edinburgh, Peter Barlow of the Royal Military Academy, and many others. It is very interesting to trace in this correspondence the lines of personal influence, inquiry, and recommendation which led gradually to the selection and engagement of a faculty for the University of Virginia. Here are the letters written by Thomas Hewett Key, George Long, Dr. Dunglison, George Blaetterman, and various other gentlemen with whom negotiations were opened. Much interesting light is thrown by the Gilmer manuscripts upon the beginnings of the University of Virginia. The collection, which is well preserved in a large volume, quarto, came into the writer's hands too late to make any use of its contents in preparing the body of the present monograph, but he has appended in foot-notes to the chapter on the first professors certain selections from the Gilmer correspondence. By the consent of the owner of the manuscripts, the editor has committed the entire collection to one of his students from Virginia, William P. Trent, A. M., for further use. There are some very interesting letters from George Ticknor, written in Boston and at Goettingen; also several communications from the Abbé José Correa de Serra, Dupont de Nemours, and a great mass of unpublished letters from Will-

iam Wirt. The discovery of the Gilmer collection, which has fortunately survived the ravages of war, is only another illustration of the importance and practical value of American students utilizing academic connections and the historical environment for the prosecution of their original studies. Probably the Gilmer collection is but one of many family collections of important papers which might be made useful to historical science in the hands of students. The field of American educational history is comparatively unbroken, and it is not unlikely that many other interesting materials and discoveries may yet be made. It is the ploughing of new lands that unearths interesting relics of a forgotten race, and it will prove no ungrateful task to follow in the track of educational pioneers like Thomas Jefferson and Francis Gilmer.

LIVES OF JEFFERSON. STANDARD WORKS.

Rayner's Life of Thomas Jefferson. Boston, 1834.

This early work contains but a few pages, 415–420, upon the origin of the University.

George Tucker's Life of Thomas Jefferson, 1837.

George Tucker was professor of moral philosophy in the University of Virginia, and naturally paid some attention to the history of the institution. See portions of Chapters XIX and XXI. His account of Mr. Jefferson's hospitality to professors and students is striking. Every week Jefferson had a little company of students to dine with him, although he himself, being a little deaf, sat apart in order not to repress student conversation.

Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, 1852.

The notice of the University is necessarily meagre.

De Bow's Industrial Statistics of the Southern and Western States. Vol. III. "Virginia." New Orleans, 1852–55.

De Bow is a valuable source of information upon Southern educational history.

Henry S. Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, 1858.

Portions of Chapters XI, XII, XIII of Vol. III contain a graphic account of Mr. Jefferson's relations to the University. Here are to be found Dr. Dunglison's interesting memoranda. He says that soon after the first professors arrived in Charlottesville, "the venerable ex-President presented himself, and welcomed us with that dignity and kindness for which he was celebrated. He was then eighty-two years old, with his intellectual powers unshaken by age, and the physical man so active that he rode to and fro from Monticello, and took exercise on foot with all the activity of one twenty or thirty years younger. He sympathized with us on the discomforts of our long voyage, and on the disagreeable journey we must have passed over the Virginia roads; and depicted to us the great distress he had felt lest we had been lost at sea, for he had almost given us up when my letter arrived with the joyful intelligence we were safe."

H. W. Pierson's Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Miss Sarah N. Randolph's Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson. Harper and Brothers, 1871.

In Chapter XX of this pleasantly written volume there is some account of Jefferson's devotion to his University, the building of which he watched from the northeast corner of the terrace at Monticello.

James Parton's Life of Thomas Jefferson. Boston, 1874.

Chapter LXX, on Jefferson's labors to promote education, is very cleverly written, and contains valuable information, derived from Prof. Charles S. Venable, on the examination system of the University, the healthful religious life there prevailing, and the moral effect of trusting to student honor. In Mr. Parton's book are valuable notices of Dr. Priestley and Dr. Cooper. It appears that the latter suffered under the Alien and Sedition Acts for harmless animadversions upon John Adams. Judge Chase imposed upon Cooper a fine of $400 and sentenced him to prison for six months. Jefferson's relations to Cooper and Priestley are well described. Parton's work contains a heliotype reproduction of a somewhat remarkable portrait of Jefferson, painted by Rembrandt Peale in 1803, and now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

John T. Morse's Thomas Jefferson, in the American Statesman Series, 1883.

In this work, written from a political point of view, one could not reasonably expect to find much with regard to Jefferson's relation to the University.

Catalogue of the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, under the head of "Jefferson".

This is a remarkably good bibliography of the books, writings, essays, magazine articles, etc., that have appeared upon the subject of Jefferson.

Poole's Index of Periodical Literature.

This also contains references to a wide range of magazine literature upon Jefferson.

PAMPHLETS, REPORTS, MAGAZINE ARTICLES, ETC.

North American Review, January, 1820.

This contains an article by Edward Everett in review of Jefferson's report for the Rockfish Gap Commission. The article is interesting as an expression of Northern opinion respecting the new educational departure in Virginia. Jefferson himself read the article, and commented upon it in a letter to John Adams, August 15, 1820.

American Quarterly Review, June, 1831. Article by Dr. Dunglison on "College Instruction and Discipline."

This article contains an important discussion of the subject of student co-operation in the matter of college discipline, by one of the original professors, who held views somewhat opposed to those of Mr. Jefferson. *Cf.* Randall's Life of Jefferson, III, 517–519, where the story of the disorders that occurred even in the time of Mr. Jefferson are plainly told. In spite of the disagreeable experiences through which, in common with most colleges, the University of Virginia has passed in the matter of student riots (of which Dr. Dunglison, Professor Tucker, and Professor Minor tell the unvarnished truth), there has certainly resulted from Mr. Jefferson's original experiment in college government a remarkable harmony between the faculty and the students. The principles of authority and self-government, of law and liberty, have found a happy reconciliation. Jefferson was early convinced of this possibility. He wrote to Governor Giles: "A finer set of youths I never saw assembled for instruction. They committed some irregularities at first, until they learned the lawful length of their tether; since which it has never been transgressed in the smallest degree."

Dr. H. Tutwiler, in his address before the alumni society of the University of Virginia, June 29, 1882, said: "It is but recently, as we learn from the newspapers, that the distinguished president of Amherst College has sub-

mitted to the students of that institution a proposition to make them judges, under certain limitations, in the matter of discipline. This was precisely the plan of Mr. Jefferson, as set forth in the first published edition of the laws."

Niles's Register, 15; Supplement, 79.

Under the heads of "Education," "Jefferson," "Virginia," in Niles's Register, various interesting allusions to the University may be found. The state of the Literary Fund is from time to time noted, *e. g.*, January 10, 1818.

Bohn's Album.

This work is remarkable solely for its pictures of professors and for its views of the University. Two engravings from Bohn have been reproduced in this report.

Southern Literary Messenger, January, 1842, and April, 1856.

This interesting repository of Southern literature before the War contains two articles on the University of Virginia, bearing respectively the above dates. Most remarkable side-lights are thrown upon the institution by observers belonging to those times. Friendly, although critical, their testimony is highly valuable. The first article contains interesting sketches of three professors whom the University had lost—Bonnycastle, Davis, and the German, Dr. Blaetterman—from which sketches the present writer has already drawn.

The second article, published fourteen years later, is devoted to "The University: its Character and Wants." This is a very spirited and refreshing critique of the institution by one who evidently had its interests warmly at heart. The author, who is evidently a Southerner and has seen something of the world, possibly at a German university, rushes with a free lance at some of the weak points of the rural civilization of the Old South, and does not spare the University of Virginia. This critic, whoever he was, uttered some rather striking *ante-bellum* observations. He said: "In the way of general culture our Southern States generally are not abreast of the major part of those other civilized States whom we consider our peers. Even if slavery is a blessing, even if our social state is superior to that of France or that of Maine, slavery will not therefore supply or be a substitute for *art*. Slavery can not play a tune. * * * Where are the fine arts? Where is our music? Where are our pictures? Where are our sculptures? Where are the treasures of our science? And, saddest yet, where is our literature? Will any man say that our civilization has culminated? "The great immediate wants of Virginia are physical and intellectual development, railroads, and educational appliances. If the physical resources of Virginia were developed, wealth and the growth of towns would result. * * * Railroads are as essential as the schools. There can be no higher development, no outbreaking of the intellect, without a dense population, or without towns. Minds must be brought together." This reformer then advocates with great vigor a policy of internal improvements, with liberal provisions for education, "beginning with the University." He states, if not quite fairly, yet with perfect freedom, the condition of that institution as it appeared in 1856. He says: "Not a solitary additional chair has been established since its original foundation. For years, and years, and years, $15,000 has been its annuity. No sort of effort has been made to extend its provisions. No kind of modification has been adopted from regard to the advancement of knowledge. It is just like those old French *diligences* that have been running ever since the Merovingian dynasty." This aggressive writer then proceeds to urge a longer sojourn of students at the Univer-

sity; greater attention to their qualifications for admission; the division of the chair of ancient languages into two professorships, one of Latin, the other of Greek [this was done in 1856]; the institution of a chair of history and English literature [1857]; a chair of geology [1857] and practical mining; increase of the University library. Upon this latter point the critic speaks feelingly: "Our earliest recollections are of seeing in Smith's Geography that the library of the University contained 17,000 volumes." After a long period, he says the collection has increased to 18,000; but now for many years "no additions whatever have been made to the library."

He next urges the establishment of fellowships, yielding a few hundred dollars a year, "for the purpose of fostering and encouraging an elevated scholarship." He reviews, with evident understanding and appreciation, the fellowship system of Oxford and Cambridge, and also describes the prizes and scholarships then offered at Harvard and Yale Colleges. He explains accurately and approvingly the German system of recruiting professorships from *privatdocenten*, or private lecturers, who establish themselves at a university and compete with one another and with the regular professors. He contrasts the German system with the English, saying, "the professors at Oxford and Cambridge do no work at all; they deliver an occasional languid lecture; but the business of instruction is committed to private tutors, who are in no way as such connected with the university." The critic then proceeds to urge university provision for the study of Christianity, its philosophy and literature. "Why should the authenticity or genuineness of Homer be a matter of livelier interest than who wrote the Pentateuch?" Then follows a searching review of the educational results actually accomplished at the University of Virginia by a student who reaches the highest grade, master of arts, and compares them with the results of higher education in Germany. While not yielding superiority of university standards to any American institution, the critic reviews in a frank and suggestive way the courses of instruction, number of instructors, etc., at the University of Virginia, at American colleges, and at various English and German universities. The statistics were well calculated to induce reflection. The University of Virginia had, all told, 15 instructors; Harvard, 42; Yale, 43; Princeton, 20; Amherst, 17; Montreal, 18; Quebec, 22; Oxford, 593; Cambridge, 482; Berlin, 152; Bonn, 70; Leipsic, 97; Munich, 66; Tübingen, 62; Göttingen, 83; Heidelberg, 62.

He notes the relative size of college libraries in this country in 1855–56: Harvard, 101,000 volumes; Yale, 63,000; Brown, 34,000; Bowdoin, 28,000; Dartmouth, 32,000; Georgetown, 25,000; South Carolina College, 22,000; Franklin, in Athens, Ga., 10,000; Saint Mary's, Maryland, 20,000. He then contrasts the annual appropriations for educational purposes in the different States, for schools alone: Massachusetts, $1,140,000; New York, $3,046,430; New Jersey, $388,572; Pennsylvania, $2,000,000 and over; Missouri, $210,000; Delaware, $50,000; North Carolina, $240,000; Tennessee, $280,000; Louisiana, $250,000. "In Virginia the annual appropriation from the literary fund and the capitation tax amounts to about $170,000, including the University and the Institute." He then compares relative endowments and appropriations for the higher education: Harvard had, in 1855, over a million dollars endowment, and annual receipts from the same, from tuition, etc., of $256,303. The University of Virginia had $15,000 per annum from the Legislature, and this sum, with total receipts from tuition, room-rent, etc., would amount perhaps to $65,000 per annum. South Carolina was then appropriating $21,000 a year to her college at Columbia;

Alabama and Louisiana were giving about $30,000 a year to their colleges; and Mississippi appropriated annually to her university $17,000.

The significance of these facts and figures could not have escaped the critic's mind, nor that of his readers in 1856. The object of the entire article was clearly to arouse public opinion to the needs of the university situation in Virginia. The author wished to secure a more hearty support of the institution, an increase of the faculty, better pay for the professors, alumni representation upon the board of visitors, and many other excellent reforms. He wished greater attention to be given to the qualifications of students entering the University and a longer sojourn there. Inadequate preparation for university work and insufficient time for a liberal education appear to have been radical student faults at the University of Virginia; but it is well known that the authorities have always maintained high standards of examination and graduation. The small proportion of honors awarded in 1854–55, as compared with the total number of students in the various schools, is very striking:

Subject.	No. students.	No. graduates.	Subject.	No. students.	No. graduates.
Ancient languages	234	16	Chemistry	190	24
Modern languages[1]	200	.....	Moral philosophy	118	31
Mathematics[2]	241	24	Medicine	96	14
Natural philosophy	109	11	Law	98	8

[1] There were 18 graduates in French, 13 in Spanish, 9 in German, and 5 in Italian; but none who were graduated from the entire school of modern languages.

[2] The author now under review says the course in mathematics at the University of Virginia "is almost identically the West Point course, where mathematics is the main and engrossing study."

In the above attendance upon the various schools some students are counted more than once. There were in all that year, 1854–55, at the University, 514 students; 352 in the academic as distinguished from the professional schools. The proportion of graduates to undergraduates in other American colleges was, and still is, much higher than at the University of Virginia. In 1854, at Harvard, there were in all 329 undergraduates, of whom 88 were Seniors, destined, by far the greater part, to receive their diplomas in course. At Yale, in 1855, there were 473 undergraduates, including 97 Seniors, most of whom received their degree of B. A. That same year, at the University of Virginia, while 106 men, out of a total of 352, were graduated from individual academic schools, only 3 succeeded in taking the degree of B. A., and only 7 the master's degree. From statistical evidence like this, which runs through earlier and later years, from the recognized ability and requirements of the professors since the very foundation of the University, and from the high repute in which its degrees have always been held, it is clear that the standards of higher education in Virginia were kept above reproach, whatever the drawbacks and difficulties of the situation.

Mr. Jefferson's Pet [the University of Virginia]. Harpers' Magazine, May, 1872.

This readable and well-illustrated article was written by Prof. Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia. It attracted the writer's attention when a college student, and was his first introduction to a knowledge and appreciation of that Southern institution. A year later (1873) he met upon an ocean steamer a professor of Latin from that institution, and received from him his first letters of introduction to professors in Berlin. This was the beginning of an academic comity of interest, which the writer of this report is disposed to cherish. Prof. Schele de Vere's article is reprinted as a preface to the following valuable work, edited by him:

Catalogue of Students, with brief statement with regard to some of the most prominent, from the foundation of the University to 1875. Baltimore: Charles Harvey & Co. 1875.

This painstaking compilation was a labor of love by Prof. Schele de Vere, and as a basis for estimating the influence of the University of Virginia upon the South, it has been of great value to Mr. William P. Trent, one of its graduates, who has made a valuable contribution, descriptive and statistical, to the present report.

A Sketch of the History of the University of Virginia, together with a catalogue of the professors and instructors, the graduates in law and medicine, and the masters and bachelors of arts, etc., since the foundation of the institution. Charlottesville, 1880.

This is of value as a supplement to the above. A complete catalogue of students during the last ten years, showing their present occupations, is now in preparation.

Historical Sketches of Virginia.—Literary Institutions of the State: University of Virginia. The Old Dominion Magazine, Richmond, Va., Vol. IV and Vol. V, beginning March 15, 1870, and ending June 15, 1871.

These sketches of the University of Virginia are short articles extending through fourteen different numbers of a popular magazine, now discontinued and very scarce. These sketches were published anonymously, but the present writer finds them accredited to Professor John B. Minor among the publications by Virginia authors in the period from 1867 to 1873, a valuable list appended to the third annual report of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, superintendent of public instruction in Virginia. Through the courtesy of Professor Minor the writer has been permitted to examine the author's annotated copy of these sketches, which, it is understood, he intends at some time to revise and publish in book form. They cover the entire history of the University from its origin down to the time immediately preceding the Civil War, with an occasional reference to academic matters since that date. The work is by far the most important source of information for the local and internal history of the University. It contains information upon the gradual growth and development of the University, the history and *personnel* of its departments, the extension of its buildings, and the financial history and administration of the institution.

Particular emphasis is laid upon the importance of reviving Mr. Jefferson's plan for the payment of professors partly by a fixed salary and partly by fees from students, according to the views of Adam Smith and Dupont de Nemours, and according to the long-established practice of certain European universities.

Mr. Jefferson's idea was to make the self-interest of the professors co-operate with their sense of duty, instead of directly opposing it. The theory is, that when the amount of a professor's remuneration for his services depends upon his success, in competition with other professors, then his entire energy goes into his professorial work; when his salary is fixed and protected from competition, laziness or indifference to duty sometimes overcomes him, or else his activities seek other channels; this latter is almost certain to be the result when success meets with no adequate reward. On the other hand, it may be said that academic competition breeds internal dissensions, constant rivalry and jealousy among professors, and an eagerness for money-making, which is the root of all evil; moreover, on

principles of competition pure science can never prosper in a university when its professors are rewarded according to standards of popularity. It is, however, as Mr. Minor clearly demonstrates, both unwise and unjust to disregard altogether economic laws in the appointment and payment of professors. The popularity, success, amount, and character of a professor's work, as determined by a subtle law of competition, must always be taken into account in the estimate of the value of his services. Without a return to the Jeffersonian principle it is doubtful whether the University of Virginia could have been so quickly revived after the War, although, to Mr. Minor's regret, it has since returned to the principle of fixed salaries.

University of Virginia. Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1872.

This excellent account of the University of Virginia, by Professor Minor, was the first of an interesting series of sketches of the higher institutions of learning in the State of Virginia, published in the valuable reports of Dr. W. H. Ruffner in the years 1872-73.

A Sketch of the University of Virginia, 1885. Richmond, 1885.

This is a pamphlet of 42 pages, based upon the above account and considerably extended. The sketch was prepared by authority, to represent the University of Virginia in the educational section of the New Orleans Exposition. Extracts have been reprinted from it in the present monograph, in order to show the administration and resources of the University. Professor Minor contributed a paper on the administration of the University to the appendix of the Jefferson-Cabell Correspondence in 1856, and still earlier, in 1851, a letter on the origin of the institution to Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. III, pp. 461, 462.

The College Book. Edited by Charles F. Richardson and Henry A. Clark. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

This valuable and pioneer work in the history of American higher education contains a good article upon the University, with a fine heliotype illustration of the same.

The College of William and Mary. By H. B. Adams. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 1, 1887.

This monograph contains (pp. 58-61) some facts illustrating the early rivalry of the University of Virginia and of the royal old college at Williamsburg. If the latter institution had succeeded in getting to Richmond, as intended in 1818, it would have been greatly invigorated by that municipal environment. A historic college in the capital of the State would have endangered the success of Jefferson's university. He and Cabell, however, defeated the threatening project by skilful tactics in the Legislature.

Local Examinations adopted by the University of Virginia. By Charles S. Venable. Article in the Educational Journal of Virginia, July, 1877.

This article describes a plan, authorized *circa* 1877 by the board of visitors, for local examinations of persons not members of the University, on the model of the tests established by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford introduced this system in 1857, and Cambridge followed in 1858. Girls were admitted to Cambridge local examinations in 1865, and to the Oxford locals some years later. The examinations instituted in Virginia were in no way connected with entrance examinations to the University,

but were simply upon subjects taught in the public and private high schools of the State, with a view to encouraging higher education by the award of examination certificates.

Summary of Virginia. By Maj. Jed. Hotchkiss. Richmond, 1876.

This useful and suggestive work contains a valuable summary of the provisions for education in Virginia, and, among other valuable sketches, one of the University of Virginia. This author acknowledges his indebtedness to the educational reports of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, which are of first authority in the educational history of Virginia.

Virginia Educational Journal.

This is a valuable repository of articles on the educational history of Virginia. Here were published many of Dr. Ruffner's articles, notably his controversy with Dr. Dabney, parts of which were published in pamphlet form and circulated by the United States Bureau of Education.

Steiger's Cyclopædia of Education.

This contains valuable contributions to the educational history of Virginia by Dr. Ruffner.

The Elective System of the University of Virginia. By Prof. James M. Garnett. Andover Review, April, 1886.

This article is extremely valuable from an educational point of view. It was prepared for the International Congress of Educators, which met at New Orleans in February, 1885, at the time of the Exposition, and is reprinted in this report from the Andover Review.

The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, etc.

This was a weekly journal, edited by some of the professors, from June 17, 1829, to June 9, 1830. It is preserved in the library of the University of Virginia in a large octavo bound volume of 850 pages, and contains many articles, literary, philological, and scientific, by the professors of that early time, and some interesting Jeffersoniana.

The Virginia University Magazine.

This periodical is edited by representatives of the two literary societies of the University, and has been in existence for many years. The writer of this report observed a bound set in the library of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia, which college association is the oldest and one of the most flourishing in the country. It was founded at the University in the year 1858. In the same library are bound volumes of the various addresses given before the society of the alumni, founded in 1838. It is the custom to invite distinguished graduates to address the students of the University. In the same library collection are very many printed sermons and religious addresses delivered before the students by distinguished clergymen invited for the purpose. These discourses and the earnest character of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia, together with the maintenance of a university chaplain by voluntary subscriptions, are a sufficient refutation of the charges of irreligion which have frequently been made against the institution.

Thomas Jefferson's Home, by John G. Nicolay, and The Later Years of Monticello, by Frank R. Stockton. Century Magazine, September, 1887.

From these recent and suggestive articles various illustrations have been taken for the present moograph.

Social Life at the University of Virginia, by John B. Minor, Jr. Lippincott's Magazine, October, 1887.

This is a pleasantly-written sketch by a son of Professor Minor.

MEMORIALS, ADDRESSES, PERIODICALS, ETC.

Memorial sketches of the early professors of the University of Virginia, by Prof. Gessner Harrison, may be found in the old edition of Duyckinck's Encyclopædia.

Discourse on the Life and Character of Prof. John A. G. Davis, by Lucian Minor, 1847.

Memorial of Professor Emmet, by Prof. George Tucker, 1846.

Address before the society of the alumni, by J. R. Tucker, 1851.

Address before the society of the alumni, by James P. Holcombe, 1853.

Address before literary societies, by Commodore M. F. Maury, 1855.

Address before society of alumni, by John A. Broadus, 1856.

Address before society of the alumni, by Charles S. Venable, 1857.

Inaugural address of Prof. Stephen O. Southall, 1866.

Inaugural address of Prof. John W. Mallet, 1867.

Address before literary societies, by John S. Preston, 1868.

This address marks the addition of a chair of industrial and analytical chemistry.

Address before alumni society, by John W. Stevenson, 1870.

Memorial of Prof. Gessner Harrison, by John A. Broadus, 1874.

Address before society of alumni, by Hon. John H. Kennard, of Louisiana, 1874.

Inaugural address of William M. Fontaine, professor of geology and natural history, 1878.

This address represents the institution of a chair of natural history and geology. Geology was previously attached to the school of physics.

Address before society of alumni, by Bishop Thomas U. Dudley, 1879.

Pamphlet and appeal to the alumni and friends of the University for endowment of the Leander McCormick Observatory, 1878.

Address on opening of the Louis Brooks Museum, by J. C. Southall, LL. D., 1876.

Historical address of Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, at semi-centennial, 1875.

Semi-centennial ode, by Hon. Daniel B. Lucas, 1875.

Address before society of alumni, by H. Tutwiler, A. M., LL. D., June 29, 1882.

This address is particularly valuable for its historical reminiscences of Mr. Jefferson. It was given fifty-seven years after Mr. Tutwiler came to the University of Virginia. He was one of the students in Mr. Jefferson's time, and remembered all the early professors. He says: "I well remember the first time I saw Mr. Jefferson. It was in 1825, in the proctor's office, whither I had gone with some students on business. A tall, venerable gentleman,

in plain but neat attire, entered the room, and, bowing to the students, took his seat quietly in one corner. One of my friends privately gave me to understand that it was Mr. Jefferson. I was struck by his plain appearance and simple, unassuming manners. When Mr. Brockenbrough was done with the students he looked up and recognized Mr. Jefferson, who then came forward to greet him. We used to see him afterwards as he passed our room on the eastern range in his almost daily visits to the University. He was now in his eighty-third year, and this ride of eight or ten miles on horseback over a rough mountain road shows the deep interest with which he watched over this *child of his old age*, and why he preferred the more endearing title of *Father* to that of founder. This is also shown in the frequent intercourse which he kept up with the faculty and students. Two or three times a week the former, often with their families, dined with him by invitation, and once a week he had the students. He had a list of these, and through one of his grandsons, then a student in the University, four or five were invited to dine with him on the Sunday following. This day was selected because it did not interfere with the regular lectures. When he found that some of the students declined the invitation from religious convictions, he ascertained how many there were of this class, and invited them on a week-day. Mr. Jefferson had a wonderful tact in interesting his youthful visitors, and making the most diffident feel at ease in his company. He knew from what county each student came, and being well acquainted with the most prominent men in every part of the State, he would draw out the student by asking questions concerning them, or about something remarkable in his neighborhood, thus making one feel that he was giving instead of receiving information; or he would ask about the studies of the students, and make remarks about them or the professors, for all of whom he had a high admiration. He was thus careful to pay attention to each individual student."

Address of Hon. W. C. Rives on Life and Work of W. B. Rodgers, 1883.

Address of Prof. Asaph Hall, U. S. Navy, on opening the Leander McCormick Observatory, 1885.

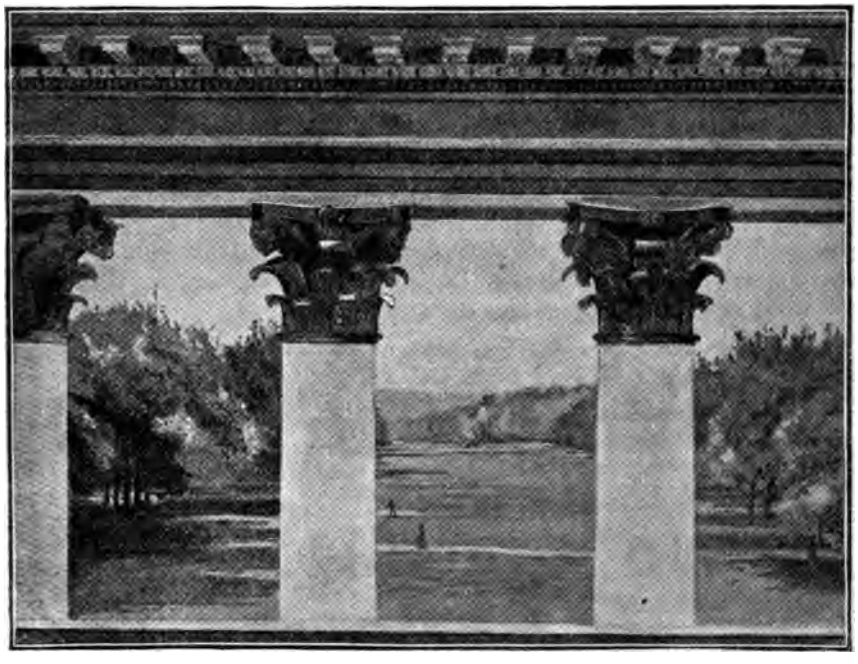
This marks the inauguration of an astronomical observatory, which was one of Mr. Jefferson's favorite projects.

Historical address, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, in 1868, on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Jefferson in the library.

This address is still in manuscript, and is in the possession of Hon. E. Johnston Barbour, Barboursville, Orange County, Virginia.

The Student's Hand-Book of the University of Virginia, 1887–88.

This convenient account of the various features of student life at the University, with a map of the buildings, was published by the Young Men's Christian Association.



VIEW OF LAWN FROM ROTUNDA-WINDOW, FACING SOUTH.

CHAPTER XV.

WRITINGS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1825–1887.

By William P. Trent.

The following lists are reasonably complete; in some cases proper materials have been wanting; in a few absolute completeness did not appear desirable. For reasons of convenience, a chronological order of arrangement has been preferred to an alphabetical. An asterisk (*) means that the professor was also an alumnus; a dagger (†) that the work was published during the author's connection with the University. As a personal examination of many of these works was impossible, the dates of publication were in some cases not to be obtained.

George Long (professor of ancient languages, 1825–28):

Edited for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—
- Quarterly Journal of Education (1831–35);
- Biographical Dictionary (1842–44);
- The Penny Cyclopædia (1833–46);
- Was general editor of the Bibliotheca Classica.

Published—
- An Analysis of Herodotus;
- A Classical Atlas;
- Editions of Cæsar's Gallic War and Sallust;
- Geographical Treatises on England, Wales, and America;
- A History of France (1850);
- The Decline of the Roman Republic (5 vols., 1864–74).

Translated—
- Select Lives from Plutarch;
- Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius;
- Epictetus.

Contributed to Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionary.

Thomas Hewett Key (professor of mathematics, 1825–27):

Published—
- A Latin Grammar (1843–46);
- Philological Essays (1868);
- Language in its Origin and Development (1874). Besides many contributions to philological journals.
- A Latin Dictionary (1888); compiled from papers left by him.

Charles Bonnycastle (professor of natural philosophy and of mathematics, 1825–40):

† Published a Treatise on Inductive Geometry.

GEORGE TUCKER (professor of moral philosophy, 1825–45):

Published—

Letters on the Roanoke Navigation (1811);
Essays on the subjects of Taste, Moral and National Policy (1822);
The Valley of the Shenandoah. A novel (2 vols., 1824);
A Voyage to the Moon. A satirical romance (1827);
†The Principles of Rent, Wages, and Profits (1837);
†Life of Thomas Jefferson (2 vols., 1837);
†The Theory of Money and Banks Investigated (1839);
†The Progress of the United States in Fifty Years, 1790–1840 (1843);
History of the United States to 1841 (4 vols., 1856–58);
Political Economy for the People (1859);
Essays, Moral and Philosophical (1860).

ROBLEY DUNGLISON (professor of medicine, 1825–33):

Published about twenty volumes, among the most valuable of which are his—

†Human Physiology (1832);
†Medical Dictionary (1833);
Therapeutics and Materia Medica.

JOHN TAYLOE LOMAX (professor of law, 1826–30):

Published—

A Digest of the Law of Real Property (3 vols., 1839);
The Law of Executors and Administrators (2 vols., 1841).

* GESSNER HARRISON (professor of ancient languages, 1828–59):

Published—

†A Latin Grammar (printed for class use in 1839; published 1852);
†Greek Prepositions, etc. (1857).

JOHN A. G. DAVIS (professor of law, 1830–40):

†Published a Treatise on Criminal Law (1838).

WILLIAM B. ROGERS (professor of natural philosophy, 1835–53):

Was director of geological surveys in Virginia from 1835 to 1841, and wrote much in connection therewith; he also published—

†Strength of Materials (1848);
†Elements of Mechanical Philosophy (1852);
Geology of the Virginias (posthumous) and many scientific papers.

* JAMES L. CABELL (professor of surgery, 1837–):

Published—

†Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind (1857);
†Syllabus of Lectures on Physiology and Surgery (1859), and the following papers: On the Treatment of Acute Pneumonia, etc. (1867); on the Architecture of the Animal Kingdom (1868); on Chronic Pneumonia in Relation to Tuberculosis (1868); on the Cell Doctrine—a Review of Clémenceau's Essay on the Genesis of the Anatomical Elements (1868); on Thermal Baths of High Temperature (1871); on the Ventilation of School-Rooms and the Diseases Incidental to the School as such—four papers (1872); on Drainage for Health, with Special Reference to the Medical Topography of Virginia (1875); on Water Supply in Relation to Health (1876); on the Etiology of Enteric Fever (1877); on a Proposed System of International Inspections and Notification of Infectious Diseases—a paper read before the International Conference at Washington in 1880; on Rise and Progress of International Hygiene (1881); on Sanitary Conditions in Surgery (1882); Annual Reports of the National Board of Health for 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883, and several reviews in Bledsoe's Southern Review and in Gaillard's Medical Journal.

HENRY HOWARD (professor of practice of medicine, 1839–67):

Published—

Outlines of Medical Jurisprudence.

J. J. SYLVESTER (professor of mathematics, 1840–41):

Has published a great number of contributions to mathematical and scientific journals and transactions of societies; Sylvester's Theorem, in Connection with "Newton's Rule" in Regard to the Number of Positive, of Negative, and of Imaginary Roots of an Equation, Philosophical Transactions (1864); London Mathematical Society Publications, Philosophical Magazine for 1866.

From 1877 to 1882 Professor Sylvester contributed 30 articles and notes to the American Journal of Mathematics, of which he was editor; also 22 articles and notes to the Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Institut de France; also to the proceedings of the Royal Society, London, a paper "On the Limits to the Order and Degree of the Fundamental Invariants of Binary Quantics" (1878); also to the Messenger of Mathematics, London, 4 papers; to the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, 4 papers; and to the Journal für reine und angewandte Mathematik, Berlin, 6 papers.

H. ST. G. TUCKER (professor of law, 1841–45):

Published—

Commentaries on the Laws of Virginia (2 vols., 1836–37);

† Lectures on Constitutional Law (1843);

† Lectures on Natural Law and Government (1844).

ROBERT E. ROGERS (professor of chemistry, 1842–52):

Edited with his brother (Prof. James B. Rogers) Turner's Chemistry, with Additions (1846). Edited the American reprint of Lehmann's Physiological Chemistry (1855), and took part with his brothers in geological publications.

EDWARD H. COURTENAY (professor of mathematics, 1842–53):

Published—

A translation of Boucharlat's Mechanics (1836);

Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus—published posthumously (1855).

M. SCHELE DE VERE (professor of modern languages, 1844–):

Published—

† Outlines of Comparative Philology (1853);

† Stray Leaves from the Book of Nature (1856);

† Studies in English (1867);

† Grammar of the Spanish Language;

† Grammar of the French Language (1867);

† The Great Empress, a novel (1869);

† Americanisms (1871);

† The English of the New World, (1873) etc., and various philological papers.

WILLIAM H. MCGUFFEY (professor of moral philosophy, 1845–73):

† Published his well-known Readers and other school-books.

*JOHN B. MINOR (professor of common law, 1845–):

† Has published his valuable Institutes (4 volumes);

† Synopsis of Criminal Law;

† History of the University of Virginia, in the Old Dominion Magazine (1869–70. Incomplete).

*J. LAWRENCE SMITH (professor of chemistry, 1852–53):

Published—

Mineralogy and Chemistry—Original Researches; also

Report to the United States Government on the Progress and Condition of Several Departments of Industrial Chemistry, and over fifty scientific papers.

*JAMES P. HOLCOMBE (professor of equity, 1854–61):

Published a work on Equity (1846);

A collection of letters of distinguished writers (1867–68).

ALBERT T. BLEDSOE (professor of mathematics, 1854–63):

Published—

A Theodicy, or Vindication of the Divine Glory (1853):

† Essay on Liberty and Slavery (1857);

Is Davis a Traitor? (1866);

Philosophy of Mathematics, etc. (1868);

Professor Bledsoe was afterwards editor of the Southern Review.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (professor of Greek, 1856–76):

† Latin Grammar, Primer, Reading and Exercise Books (several editions);

† Edition of Persius (1875);

Justin Martyr's Apologies, and Epistle to Diognetus; Edited with Introduction and Notes (1877);

Edition of Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes (1885);

† Address on Classical Study (1869);

† Legend of Venus (Southern Review, April, 1867);

† Xantippe and Socrates (Southern Review, July, 1867);

† Limits of Culture (Southern Review, October, 1867);

† Emperor Julian (Southern Review, January, 1868);

† Maximilian (Southern Review, April, 1868);

† Apollonius of Tyana (Southern Review, July, 1868);

† Lucian (Southern Review, October, 1869);

† Studies in the Attic Orators (Southern Magazine, April to September, 1873);

Personal Reminiscences of Friedrich Ritschl (American Philological Association Proc., 1877);

Address before Literary Societies of the College of New Jersey (1877);

Classics and Colleges (Princeton Review, July, 1878);

University Work in America (Princeton Review, May, 1879);

Athena Parthenos (Harper's Magazine, April, 1882), etc.;

Editor of the American Journal of Philology, to which he has made many contributions.

G. F. HOLMES (professor of historical science, 1857–):

Published—

† Series of Readers;

† English Grammar;

† Pictorial English Grammar (1868);

† History of the United States (1871);

† A New History of the United States (1886);

† A Science of Society, privately printed.

Addresses—

Inaugural, at William and Mary College, The University of Mississippi, and † The University of Virginia.

Lectures—

Before the Virginia Historical Society—"The Virginia Colony";

Before the Peabody Institute, Baltimore—"The Romances of the Round Table"

G. F. HOLMES—Continued.

Lectures—Continued.

Before the societies of Emory and Henry College, 1852—"Demosthenes";
Before the Virginia Teachers' Association—"The Study of English."

† Contributed to McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia Bibl. Theol. and Eccles. Literature—

Vol. II, 1868, Comte, Auguste; Descartes;
Vol. III, 1870, Elizabeth, Queen; Empiricism; Epicurus; Epicurean Philosophy; Faith and Reason; Ficinus Marsilius; Fief; Feudal System; Gassendi; Grosseteste;
Vol. IV, 1872, Hamilton, Sir William; Hartley; Hume;
Vol. V, 1875, Kant; Knighthood; Leibnitz; Locke;
Vol. VII, Nostradamus;
Vol. VIII, 1879, Philosophy; Platonic Philosophy; Pletho, Gemistus: Plotinus; Polignac; Positive Philosophy; Pythagoras; Realism;
Vol. IX, 1880, Empire, Holy Roman; Scholasticism; Scotus, Erigena; Seneca; Socrates; Spinoza;
Vol. X, 1881, Syncellus, Georgius; Synesius.

Supplement—

Vol. I, 1885, Byzantine Historians; Cause; Causation;
Vol. II, 1887, Comnena, Anna; Scepticism, Recent Phases of.

Contributed to the Southern Quarterly Review—

The North American Indians, January, 1844;
Rome and the Romans, October, 1844;
Rabelais, January, 1845;
Sue. Wandering Jew, January, 1846;
Athens and the Athenians, April, 1847;
California Gold and European Revolution, July, 1850;
Cimon and Pericles, April, 1851;
The Athenian Orators, October, 1851;
Grote's History of Greece, November, 1856;
Motley's Dutch Republic, October, 1857;
Julius Cæsar;
Hume's Philosophy;
English in the XVth Century;
The Berlin Treaty.

North British Review—

Auguste Comte and Positivism.

New York Methodist Quarterly Review—

Philosophy and Faith, April, 1851;
Faith and Science, April, 1852;
Instauratio Nova, July, 1852;
The Bacon of the XIXth Century, July, 1852;
Revival of the Black Arts, April, 1854;
The Sibylline Oracles, October, 1854;
The Positive Religion, July, 1854;
† Sir William Hamilton, January, April, 1857;
† Friar Bacon and Lord Bacon, January, April, 1858.

Southern Methodist Quarterly Review—

The Blunders of Hallam, January, 1853;
The Cæsars, July, 1853;
Sir William Hamilton, October, 1853;
Greece and its History, January, 1855;
Chastel on Charity, January, 1856;
Remains of Latin Tragedy, January, 1856;

G. F. HOLMES—Continued.

Southern Methodist Quarterly Review—Continued.
Spencer's Social Statics, April, 1856;
Greek in the Middle Ages, August, 1856;
Gibbon's Decline and Fall, July 1856;
Alchemy and the Alchemists, July, 1856.

Southern Literary Messenger—
Life and Times of Pericles, February, 1850;
John C. Calhoun, May, 1850;
The Nineteenth Century, August, 1851;
General Zachary Taylor, September, 1850;
Greeley on Reforms, May, 1851;
Uncle Tom's Cabin, December, 1852;
Spiritual Manifestations, July, 1853;
Universities and Colleges, August, October, and November, 1853.

De Bow's Review—
Ancient Slavery, November and December, 1855;
Increase of Gold, 1856;
Gold and Silver Mines—The Golden Age, July, 1856;
† Who Wrote Shakspeare? February, 1868; and many other contributions.

United States Law Magazine—
Cancellariæ Origines, July, August, and September, 1851;

The Forum (Law Journal)—
† The Civil Law, 1873–74;
† Primitive Law, April and July, 1875.

*WM. E. PETERS (professor of Latin, 1865–):
Has published † A Syllabus of Latin Syntax.

*CHARLES S. VENABLE (professor of mathematics, 1866–):
Has published † a mathematical series in several volumes; also a report in a volume of Coast Survey reports for 1860 on observations made in July and August, 1860, as a member of the United States expedition to Labrador to observe eclipse of that year.

JOHN W. MALLET (professor of chemistry, 1872–):
Has published Physical and Chemical Conditions of the Culture of Cotton (London: Chapman & Hall. 1862); the British Association Earthquake Catalogue (conjointly with his father, R. Mallet); also about eighty scientific papers in the Philosophical Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society, the Journal of the Chemical Society of London, the Proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, the Annalen der Chemie und der Pharmacie, the American Journal of Science (Silliman's), the American Chemical Journal, the Journal of the American Chemical Society, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

NOAH K. DAVIS (professor of moral philosophy, 1873–):
Published—
† The Theory of Thought; a treatise on deductive logic (New York: Harper's, 1880).

Also the following papers:
† The Duality of Mind and Brain, in the Christian Philosophy Quarterly for 1882;
† Am I Free? in the Christian Philosophy Quarterly, 1885;
† Is Prayer Reasonable? in Christian Thought, July and August, 1885;
† The Moral Aspects of Vivisection, in North American Review, March, 1885;
† The Negro in the South, in the Forum for April, 1886;
† Religious Exercises in State Schools, in the Forum for February, 1887.

* THOMAS R. PRICE (professor of Greek, 1876–82):

Published—

A New Heresy; review of Mr. Froude's views on education, in the Southern Magazine, 1870;

The Place of the Mother Tongue in Education, 1874;

† The Method of Philology; inaugural address, 1876;

† The Study of English as an Introduction to the Study of Latin and Greek, 1877;

† Methods of Language Teaching as applied to English; a course of lectures delivered before the Summer Normal School of Virginia, and published as a pamphlet, 1880;

The Construction and Types of Shakspeare's Verse-forms (*in press*); and contributions to the American Journal of Philology and other journals.

* WM. M. FONTAINE (professor of natural history and geology, 1879–):

Published—

Resources of West Virginia, octavo; prepared in conjunction with M. F. Maury, Jr., and published by the State of West Virginia;

The Upper Carboniferous or Permian Flora of Southwest Pennsylvania and West Virginia, octavo; prepared in conjunction with I. C. White, and published by the Second Geological Survey of Pennsylvania;

The Older Mesozoic Flora of Virginia, quarto; published by United States Geological Survey as Monograph VI;

The Potomac Flora of Virginia, quarto; in press.

Also the following articles in the American Journal of Science:

Notes on the West Virginia Asphaltum Deposit;

On Some Points in the Geology of the Blue Ridge of Virginia;

On the Primordial Strata of Virginia;

Notes on the Vespertine Strata of Virginia and West Virginia;

The Conglomerate Series of West Virginia;

Notes on the Mesozoic of Virginia, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

ORMOND STONE (professor of astronomy, 1882–):

† Editor of Annals of Mathematics, 1883–87, published at the University of Virginia.

Has contributed a number of scientific papers in astronomical journals and reports (part of this work done at the University).

JOHN H. WHEELER (professor of Greek, 1882–87):

De Alcestidis et Hippolyti Euripedearum Interpolationibus (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn, 1879);

Report of Rheinisches Museum (Philological Journal, 1881–82);

Review of Klinkenberg's De Euripdeorum Prologorum Arte (Philological Journal, 1882); also contributed to the Nation, etc.

* JAMES M. GARNETT (professor of English, 1882–):

Has published † A Translation of Beowulf (1882, 2d edition, 1885). Has contributed to the Southern Review, the Andover Review, the American Journal of Philology, Proceedings of the National Educational Association, Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

* WILLIAM M. THORNTON (professor of engineering, 1883–):

Assistant editor Annals of Mathematics.

* FRANCIS P. DUNNINGTON (professor of analytical and agricultural chemistry, 1885–):

† Has contributed various papers to the American Journal of Chemistry.

*WILLIAM B. TOWLES (professor of anatomy and materia medica, 1886–):

Published—

†Syllabus of Notes on Anatomy;
†Syllabus of Notes on Osteology;
†Syllabus of Notes on Materia Medica.

*WILLIAM C. DABNEY (professor of practice of medicine, etc., 1886–):

Published—

(1) The Value of Chemistry to the Medical Practitioner—a small book, to which was awarded the Boylston prize of Harvard, in 1873;

(2) Over thirty papers on different medical topics in—

The American Journal of Medical Sciences,
The Medical News,
The Virginia Medical Journal,
The Maryland Medical Journal,
The North Carolina Medical Journal,
The Transactions of the American Medical Association,
The Transactions of the Medical Society of Virginia,
The Transactions of the North Carolina Medical Society.

ASSISTANT PROFESSORS.

*JOHN A. BROADUS (assistant in ancient languages, 1851–53):

Published—

Preparation and Delivery of Sermons;
Lectures on the History of Preaching;
Commentary on Matthew;
Book of Sermons and Addresses.

*EDWARD S. JOYNES (assistant in ancient languages, 1853–59):

Has published several text-books on the modern languages, and papers in philological journals.

*EDWARD B. SMITH (assistant in mathematics, 1855–57):

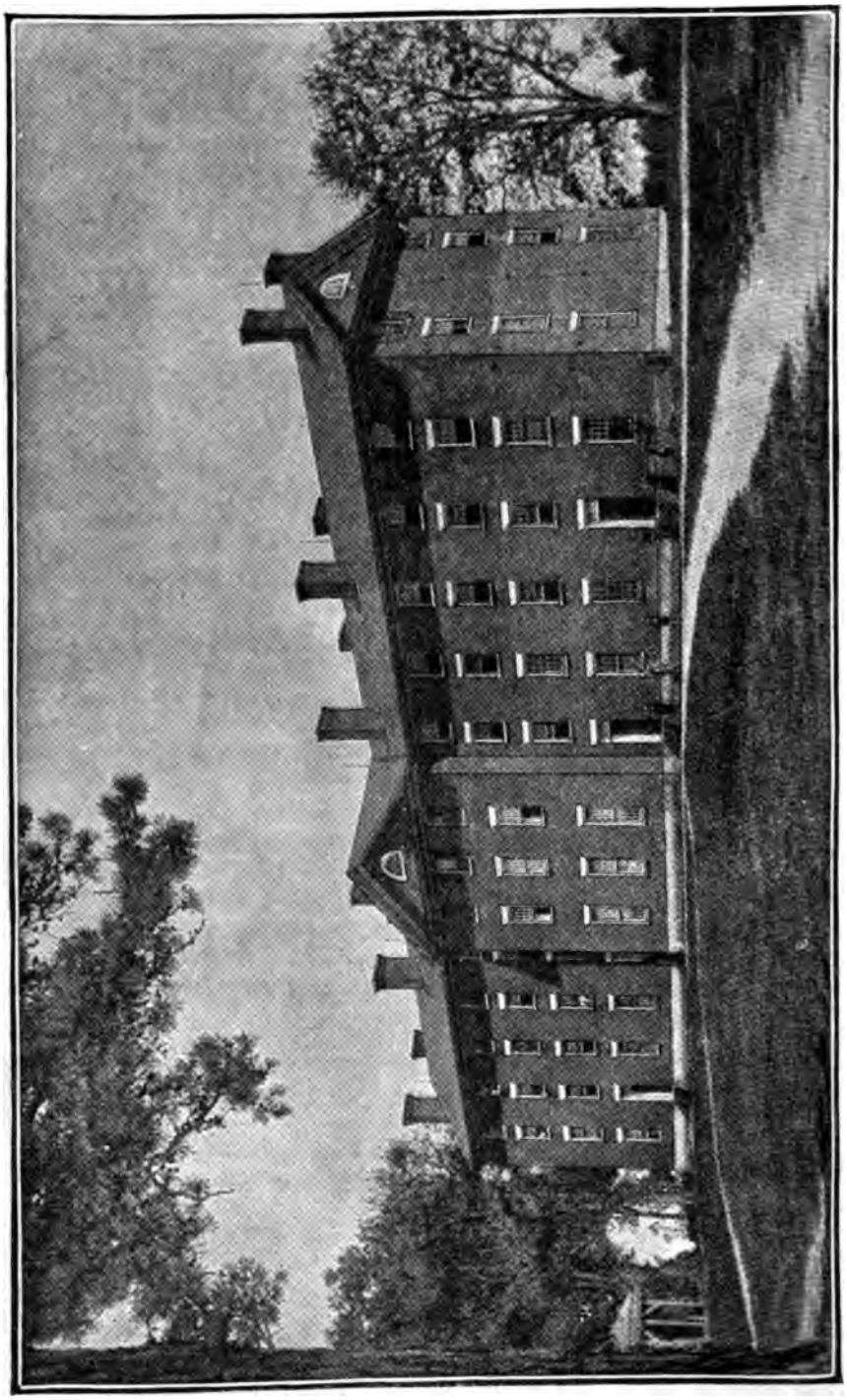
Text-book of Plane Trigonometry.

*JAMES G. CLARK (assistant in mathematics, 1857–58):

Text-book of the Differential and Integral Calculus.

*GAETANO LANZA, Jr. (assistant in mathematics, 1869–71):

Has published a work on Applied Mechanics, 1883, and scientific papers.



HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE.

CHAPTER XVI.

HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE.

BY C. R. MCILWAINE.[1]

Hampden-Sidney College, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, claims an age of more than one hundred and eleven years. As Prince Edward Academy, it originally formed one of the series of log colleges which, during the eighteenth century, began to look out from the shade of the forest, and to extend among the people the civilizing influence of letters. Its foundation is to be attributed to the intellectual and religious energies of the descendants of Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood, many representatives of which had left their native countries and the more settled portions of eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to found in portions of Virginia a suitable inheritance for their posterity.

The Synod of Philadelphia had already, in 1738, petitioned the Governor of Virginia to protect those of this race and religion, settling the valley in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Having received a favorable response, the authorized representative of the Synod began to settle Presbyterian families in Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Campbell. Families of this race were, at this time, scattered throughout Virginia; but, owing to the popular sentiment in favor of the established church, there had hitherto failed to exist between them that bond of civil and religious community which afterwards became so prominent a factor in the Revolutionary era of the State.

During an early period of the last half of the eighteenth century, after the formation of Hanover Presbytery, the relations between the Presbyterians became more firmly established, and they began now to excite attention as a positive element in State politics.

The College of New Jersey, the historic survivor of Nassau Hall, was laying deep the foundation for an accurate culture, and became a resort for Presbyterians who desired to extend their religious and mental training. Samuel Stanhope Smith, a native of Lancaster County, Pa., and a graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1769, subsequently united with the Presbytery at Hanover, in Virginia, and represented the cause

[1]Mr. Clement R. McIlwaine is a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College and a son of its distinguished president, Dr. Richard McIlwaine. He studied for some time in the historical department of the Johns Hopkins University, and was subsequently graduated at the law school of the University of Maryland, in Baltimore. The editor of this report takes this occasion of thanking his former pupil for preparing the present chapter.—EDITOR.

of religion and education with such eminence as to make his name historic in the early annals of the Commonwealth. The cause of learning among the Presbyterians in Virginia was already advancing apace, when the impetus, happily given to it by the New Jersey pioneer, may be said to have occasioned the foundation of two academies—Prince Edward and Liberty Hall—each tracing its origin from one parent source. Under the auspices of Hanover Presbytery the Prince Edward Academy was opened to students in January, 1776, under the control and direction of Samuel Stanhope Smith, rector, to whose magical influence its early prosperity may be attributed. The Presbytery, consulting the best interests of the academy, endeavored to encourage every necessary branch of literature, and, while reserving a preference in favor of the Presbyterian service, extended the benefits of the foundation to all denominations.

The name of Prince Edward Academy was changed to that of Hampden-Sidney in May, 1777, in honor of those principles of political liberty which had been sealed by the blood of martyrs. Among the trustees of the academy may be mentioned the names of James Madison and Patrick Henry, which indicate that the institution was a product of civil and religious liberty, and was first launched upon its existence during the most important epoch in our history.

In October, 1779, the rector was released from his duties in order to accept the professorship of moral philosophy in the College of New Jersey; his brother, the Rev. John Blair Smith, by common consent succeeded him. The second rector of the academy, who afterwards became the first president of the College, when chartered by the Legislature of the State in 1783, was also a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and, through the influence of the two brothers, the curriculum and government came to resemble the Princeton model. Those who were most closely connected with the early history of Hampden-Sidney, were allied by ties of sympathy and respect with that central school, which had been so essential, not only in directing the educational tendencies, but also in shaping the political and religious principles, which were adhered to with such fidelity by the Presbyterians[1] until the bill

[1] In this connection the editor notes the historical importance of the early movements in behalf of religious liberty in Virginia by the Hanover Presbytery in 1774. Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, who has discussed the pioneer influence of Patrick Henry in promoting religious freedom (see papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. III, and Dr. Stillé's reply, Vol. III), has lately made a valuable documentary discovery, which is described and published in the Central Presbyterian, Richmond, May 16, 1888. Mr. Henry's letter and the document in question are here reprinted in full:

"RICHMOND, VA., *May* 7, 1888.

"In looking among the archives of the State a few days ago, I found a paper of great historical value, in its bearing on the part taken by the Presbyterian Church in the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia. I enclose it with the request that it be published, and although it was written in 1774, this will be its first publication.

"The occasion of its preparation was the introduction in the House of Burgesses in 1772 of a bill having for its professed object the better security of the religious

for establishing religious freedom was finally enacted in 1785. Historical justice claims honorable mention of the first president of Hampden Sidney, in his defence of religious liberty before the committee of the whole house in the Virginia Assembly, sustained by an eloquence and astuteness which were said by many to have excelled Patrick Henry.

In characterizing that civil and religious conflict, in the midst of which Hampden-Sidney was called to life, the memorial from Hanover Presbytery of 1776 most fittingly expresses the sentiments of our founders: "That duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cogniz-

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liberty of Protestant dissenters in the colony, but really contrived for their oppression in several particulars. The objectionable features are commented upon in the paper now sent you. Foote, in his Sketches of Virginia, p. 320, states the dissatisfaction of Hanover Presbytery with the proposed bill, and the appointment of Rev. John Todd and Capt. John Morton as commissioners to attend the next Assembly in opposition to it. Nothing was done in the next Assembly touching the matter, and at the meeting at the house of Robert Caldwell, on Cub Creek, in Charlotte County, October 14, 1774, there being apprehension that the Assembly would take action during the fall session, the Presbytery adjourned to meet on the second Wednesday of November next, at the house of Col. William Cabell, of Amherst, to remonstrate against the bill. This paper is that remonstrance, and is most interesting and instructive, not only because of its ability and the light it sheds on the then condition of the Church and the colony, but because it is the first paper of the kind, so far as I have seen, which was ever presented to the Virginia Assembly claiming equal rights for dissenters. It may therefore be regarded as the advance guard of that army of remonstrances which so vigorously attacked the Establishment, and finally overpowered it and established perfect religious liberty on its ruins.

"Foote evidently never saw this paper. Taking it in connection with the able memorials of Hanover Presbytery in 1776 and 1777, which Foote gives in full, the reader can have no difficulty in seeing where Mr. Jefferson, who was a member of the Assembly, got his views of religious liberty. His famous bill was not written before 1777, nor reported before 1779, and it shows no more advanced thought on the subject than the able papers of Hanover Presbytery. I will add that it is probable that Rev. Caleb Wallace, who wrote the memorial of 1776, wrote this paper. He was a graduate of Princeton, and became in later life a distinguished judge in Kentucky.

"WM. WIRT HENRY."

"*To the Honorable the Speaker and the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses:*

"The Petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, in behalf of themselves, and all the Presbyterians in Virginia in particular, and all Protestant dissenters in general, humbly showeth, That upon application made by the Rev. Mr. James Anderson in behalf of the Synod of Philadelphia, the Honorable Governor Gooch, with the advice of the council, did in the year 1738, or about that time, for the encouragement of all Presbyterians who might incline to settle in the colony, grant an instrument of writing under the seal of the colony, containing the most ample assurances that they should enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion, and all the other privileges of good subjects. Relying upon this express stipulation, as well as upon the justice and catholic spirit of the whole legislative body, several thousand families of Presbyterians have removed from the Northern provinces into the frontiers of this colony, exposed themselves to a cruel and savage enemy, and all the other toils and dangers of settling a new country, and soon became a barrier to the former inhabitants who were settled in the more commodious parts of the colony. Ever since that time we have been considered and treated upon an equal footing with our fellow subjects, nor have our ministers or people been restricted in their religious privileges by any

able but at the tribunal of the Universal Judge." "In this enlightened age, and in a land where all are united in the most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect that our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of civil as well as religious bondage."

By the act of 1783 the academy became a college, thereby dissolving all connection with the parent presbytery. The ties of an earlier connection, however, have not been forgotten or ignored, and the board of trustees, which has annually assembled under the protection of the charter since 1783, has been often constrained to refer with pride to the parent of one of the most important literary institutions in the State.

law of the colony. Your humble petitioners further show, that with gratitude they acknowledge the catholic design of our late honorable Assembly to secure by law the religious liberties of all Protestant dissenters in the colony; accordingly they did in the year 1772 prepare and print a Toleration Bill, but as the subject was deeply interesting it was generously left open for amendment. But notwithstanding we are fully persuaded of the catholic and generous design of our late representatives, yet we are deeply sensible that some things in the above named bill will be very grievous and burdensome to us if passed into a law. Therefore we humbly and earnestly pray that the said bill may not be established without such alterations and amendments as will render it more agreeable to the principles of impartial liberty and sound policy, which we presume were the valuable ends for which it was first intended. Therefore we humbly beg leave, while we are making the prayer of our petition in a more particular way, to lay before this honorable House, in the most respectful manner, a few remarks upon the bill.

"The preamble is agreeable to what we desire, only we pray that the preamble and every other part of the bill may be so expressed as will be most likely to obtain the royal assent.

"We are also willing that all our clergymen should be required to take the oaths of allegiance, etc., usually taken by civil officers, and to declare their belief of the Holy Scriptures.

"Likewise, as is required in the said bill, we shall willingly have all our churches and stated places for public worship registered, if this honorable House shall think proper to grant it. But every minister of the gospel is under indispensable obligations to follow the example of our blessed Savior, 'who went about doing good,' and the example of his Apostles, who not only 'taught in the Temple, but in every house where they came they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.' From which, and their constant practice of travelling into every quarter of the world, we humbly trust that it will appear to this Assembly that we cannot, consistent with the duties of our office, wholly confine our ministrations to any place or number of places; and to be limited by law would be the more grievous, because in many parts of this colony, even where the majority of the inhabitants are Presbyterians, it is not, and perhaps it may not in any short time be, easy to determine where it would be the most expedient to fix upon a stated place for public worship, and, indeed, where we have houses for worship already built, generally the bounds of our congregation are so very extensive that many of our people, especially women, children, and servants, are not able to attend by reason of the distance, which makes it our duty, as faithful ministers of Christ, to double our diligence, and frequently to lecture and catechise in the remote corners of our congregations. This restriction would also be very grievous to us in many other respects. We only beg leave to add: That the number of Presbyterians in this province is now very great and the number of clergymen but small, therefore we are obliged frequently to itinerate and preach through various parts of the colony, that our people may have an opportunity to worship God and receive the sacraments in the way agreeable to their own consciences. As to our hav-

The historic influence to which Hampden-Sidney owes its origin has been briefly stated, and as the second college founded in the history of the State, its life began under different auspices from those of the more venerable William and Mary, which sprang into existence at a period when a college was the dream of individuals, but had made no impress upon the people of the colony. Nor is there any historic connection between Hampden-Sidney and the University of Virginia, which was matured many years after the organic life of Hampden-Sidney began. The educational ideas of Jefferson found embodiment in an institution which has proved a fountain of intellectual culture, not only

ing meetings for public worship in the night, it is not in frequent practice among our churches; yet sometimes we find it expedient to attend night meetings, that a neighborhood may hear a sermon or a lecture, or be catechised, without being much interrupted in their daily labor. And so long as our fellow-subjects are permitted to meet together by day or by night for the purposes of business or diversion, we hope we shall not be restrained from meeting together, as opportunity serves us, upon business of all others the most important; especially if it be considered that the Apostles held frequent societies by night, and once St. Paul continued his speech till midnight; accordingly it is well known that in city and collegiate churches evening prayers and lectures have long been esteemed lawful and profitable exercises. As to any bad influence this practice may have upon servants or any others, it is sufficient to say that there is nothing in our principles or way of worship that tends to promote a spirit of disobedience or disorder, but much to the contrary; and if any person shall be detected in doing or teaching anything criminal in this respect, we presume he is liable to punishment by a law already in being; therefore we pray that no dissenting minister, according to law, may be subjected to any penalty for preaching or teaching at any time, or in any place in this colony.

"We confess it is easy for us to keep open doors in time of divine service, except in case of a storm or other inclemencies of the weather; yet we would humbly represent that such a requirement implies a suspicion of our loyalty, and will fix a stigma upon us to after ages, such as we presume our honorable representatives will not judge that we have anyhow incurred; therefore we pray that this clause may also be removed from the bill.

"And as to baptizing or receiving servants into our communion, we have always anxiously desired to do it with the permission of their masters; but when a servant appears to be a true penitent and makes profession of his faith in Christ, upon his desire it is our indispensable duty to admit him into our Church, and if he has never been baptized, we are to baptize him according to the command of Christ: 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.' And we are so confidently persuaded of the liberal sentiments of this House, that in obeying the laws of Christ, we shall never be reduced to the necessity of disobeying the laws of our country.

"And we also, having abundant reasons to hope that we shall be indulged in every other thing that may appear reasonable, your petitioners further pray:

"For liberty and protection in the discharge of all the functions and duties of our office as ministers of the gospel, and that the penalties to be inflicted on those who may disturb any of our congregations in the time of divine service, or misuse the preacher, be the same as on those who disturb the congregation or misuse the preachers of the Church of England, and that the dissenting clergy, as well as the clergy of the Established Church, be excused from all burdensome offices. All which we conceive is granted in the English Toleration Act.

"And we pray for that freedom in speaking and writing upon religious subjects

for Virginia, but for the entire South. Hampden-Sidney has remained true to its original vocation as a college, and cannot offer to-day more extensive advantages than might be reasonably expected from the terms of the original charter. This instrument, however, is so liberal in its character that no recourse to the Legislature for revisal or amendment has ever been deemed necessary.

According to charter provisions the corporation was established with a view to diffusing useful knowledge among the citizens of the Commonwealth. Under the legal title of "President and Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College," every right is accorded by law which is necessary to perpetuate a useful existence, and no legislative stricture is imposed to mar the symmetry of its development. By Article IV "the president

which is allowed by law to every member of the British Empire in civil affairs, and which has long been so friendly to the cause of liberty.

"And also we pray for a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations and legacies for the support of our churches and schools for the instruction of our youth. Though this is not expressed in the English Act of Toleration, yet the greatest lawyers in England have plead, and the best judges have determined, that it is manifestly implied.

"Finally, we pray that nothing in the Act of Toleration may be so expressed as to render us suspicious or odious to our countrymen, with whom we desire to live in peace and friendship; but that all misdemeanors committed by dissenters may be punished by laws equally binding upon all our fellow subjects, without any regard to their religious tenets. Or if any non-compliance with the conditions of the Act of Toleration shall be judged to deserve punishment, we pray that the crime may be accurately defined and the penalty ascertained by the Legislature; and that neither be left to the discretion of any magistrate or court whatsoever.

"May it please this honorable Assembly, there are some other things which we omit, because they are less essential to the rights of conscience and the interest of our Church; we trust that we petition for nothing but what justice says ought to be ours. for as ample privileges as any of our fellow-subjects enjoy: 'To have and enjoy the full and free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever.' We are petitioning in favor of a Church that is neither contemptible nor obscure. It prevails in every province to the northward of Maryland, and its advocates in all the more southern provinces are numerous and respectable; the greatest monarch in the north of Europe adorns it; it is the established religion of the populous and wealthy states of Holland; it prevails in the wise and happy cantons of Switzerland; and it is the possession of Geneva, a state among the foremost of those who, at the Reformation, emancipated themselves from the slavery of Rome; and some of the first geniuses and writers in every branch of literature were sons of our Church.

"The subject is of such solemn importance to us that, comparatively speaking, our lives and our liberties are but of little value; and the population of the country and the honor of the Legislature, as well as the interest of American liberty, are certainly most deeply concerned in the matter. Therefore we would willingly lay before this honorable House a more extensive view of our reasons in favor of an unlimited, impartial Toleration; but fearing we should transgress upon the patience of the House, we conclude with praying that the allwise, just, and merciful God would direct you in this and all your other important determinations.

"Signed by order of Presbytery.

"DAVID RICE, *Moderator.*
"CALEB WALLACE, *Clerk.*

"*At a session of the Presbytery in Amherst County, November* 11*th*, 1774."

and trustees are authorized to grant degrees in as ample a manner as any college in America can do, and to elect and commission, under their common seal, professors and masters." "The greatest care and caution shall be used in electing such professors and masters, to the end that no person shall be so elected unless the uniform tenor of his conduct manifests to the world his sincere affection for the liberty and independence of the United States of America."

Having enjoyed for more than a century an organic existence, a brief survey of its internal development during this period will be useful in explaining the present status of Hampden-Sidney.

The first laws framed for the government of the corporation were drafted by John Blair Smith, in 1784, at the instance of the board of trustees, and, while stamped by the masculine vigor of their originator, they are characterized by a simplicity almost primitive in comparison with the more refined regulations in force to-day.

The students were classified as members of the grammar school, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors, who were all subject to the control and direction of the president and masters, assistants or tutors. The title of professor did not come into use until 1816, when a "First Professor" was appointed. The Freshman first makes his appearance in the collegiate annals in 1812.

For moral suasion, not so much respect was entertained at Hampden-Sidney as to exclude occasional recourse to corporal punishment. While this mode of correction was reserved mainly for the members of the grammar school, the liberties of Sophomores and Juniors were not so well defined as to be entirely secure from invasion. The collegiate classes, however, had their moral status well hedged in by law at an early period, while the members of the grammar school remained subject to the more paternal treatment until the school was discontinued as a department in 1865.

A peculiar respect for gravity and decorum was characteristic of the old régime at Hampden-Sidney. The president, masters, and students were enjoined to appear at church in "distinguishing habits of black;" a requirement which, it is needless to say, was soon dispensed with. The tutors resided in the college building in order to keep the students in proper obedience. The latter were strictly enjoined to remain in their rooms after the hour of nine at night. Attention to moral and religious duties was enforced by fines, provisions for which did not disappear from the code until 1809. The last of the original laws, which exists to-day in its primitive vigor, is the article forbidding proselytism. While condemning any tendency in the authorities to influence the students in favor of any particular sect, it enjoins the duty of respecting that freedom of conviction which belongs to true religion—a law which has never been violated, and which has received but one interpretation within the entire history of the College.

The development of a good curriculum has been gradual, but decided. In the period of the academy, particular attention was devoted to the classics, mathematics, and natural and moral philosophy—studies which have always commanded an important place in the curriculum of the College. To the presidents born before the era of the Revolution, the Smith Brothers, Drury Lacy, Archibald Alexander, and Moses Hoge, may be ascribed the honor of having kept alive the institution of which they were the guardians. Such learning as was taught from 1776 to 1820 was sound and good; but it was not classified according to the approved models of to-day. To a finical modern student, who has not examined the methods existing in our collegiate schools of a half century ago, the system might appear rude. Assistants and tutors were generally appointed during this period at the instance of the president, and, as they were always men of the soundest moral and intellectual vigor, they were quite as efficient in the discipline of youth, and quite as well adapted to impart what was then considered sound learning, as many of their historical successors, the professors of our day and generation. A tendency to improvement began under the presidency of Moses Hoge, and resulted in a well-regulated and durable system under the enlightened administration of his successor, Jonathan P. Cushing.

With the death of Dr. Hoge, the era of masters and assistants ends, and that of the professors properly begins. The administration of President Cushing is the most unique, and, in many respects, the most masterly, in the history of the college. Jonathan Peter Cushing was born in 1793, at Rochester, N. H., and at an early period of life was apprenticed as a mechanic. Imbued with a desire to pursue learning, and to cultivate the tendencies of a naturally refined and energetic mind, he withdrew from his not less honorable but more humble sphere in order to become a scholar. Having studied at Phillips Exeter Academy, he graduated at Dartmouth College in 1817, and subsequently removed to Virginia, where he became identified in early manhood with Hampden-Sidney College. As tutor and professor of natural philosophy his ability and rare executive talents were discovered. Upon the death of Dr. Hoge, Mr. Cushing was elevated to the presidency of the College in 1821. About this time professorships in natural philosophy and mathematics were established, followed in quick succession by professorships in literature and belle-lettres, Latin and Greek.

From the conclusion of President Cushing's administration to the beginning of the present régime, 1835 to 1883, the names of the successive presidents are Carroll, Maxwell, Sparrow, Wilson, Green, and Atkinson. During this period the development was in some respects painfully slow, although the curriculum as established under Cushing was maintained in its entirety. The classical influence had for many years attained a supremacy to which it was not legitimately entitled. The curriculum at one time seems to have solidified to such an extent as not to permit healthful development. The Civil War of 1861–65 tried the institution

severely, but it survived and incorporated into its course such studies as were calculated to impart new life and vigor to the College, and to keep it apace with the demands of the age. A professorship of English and a systematic course of Bible studies were established. The facilities for studying German and French were enlarged, and their importance was duly emphasized. Under strict but reasonable limitations elective studies were allowed. With these important changes the administration of President Atkinson terminated in 1883.

The department of the English professorship embraces English, rhetoric, history, political economy, and logic, a blending of courses which, from the view of a specialist, may be subject to many objections; but, as different combinations of these branches are pursued during each academic year, the elements of each may be taught with some degree of precision within the period prior to graduation. This is the germ from which a more extended course of history and political science may be developed in the future. A recent introduction, indicating the practical tendencies of the curriculum, without marring its classical and scientific features, was the establishment, in 1886, of a department of commercial arithmetic and book-keeping.

At this point it may be interesting to mention some of the financial measures to which Hampden-Sidney has had recourse in the past in order to continue its existence as a literary institution. The original fund for erecting the academy was collected by subscription from friends in Prince Edward, Charlotte, and Cumberland, and those without the limits of these counties who sympathized with the liberal project of old Hanover Presbytery. The Presbytery, having been determined in its choice of a location for the College by the liberality of Peter Johnston,[1] of Prince Edward, who donated 100 acres of land in this county for the purpose of its erection, the foundation of Hampden-Sidney was laid in a tobacco-growing section, where currency had but a very limited circulation, and where, through the peculiar system of land tenure existing before the War, no tendency to manufactures was encouraged, and the profits to the farmer class continued unreasonably small. Cordially supported, from the beginning, by the sympathy and respect of the people living in the vicinity, the trustees of the College soon recognized the necessity of having recourse to more certain sources of revenue than were promised from the paucity of the currency in the country, in order to secure the permanancy of a literary establishment. While the trustees were ever maturing plans for increasing the funds by means of private donations, they were not insensible of the privileges offered by lotteries, to which, in an emergency, so many institutions resorted for aid at that time. In May, 1777, in virtue of a petition from the board

[1] Peter Johnston, of Longwood, was a Scotchman, the friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's father. He was a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and was the adjutant of General Lighthorse Harry Lee's famous legion during the Revolutionary War. His son Peter was a member of the first class, and was the father of General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia.

of trustees of Hampden-Sidney, the Legislature permitted a lottery to be erected for the benefit of the academy. At a later epoch in the history of the College, its guardians approved most highly of the utility of lotteries, and not only invested money in the purchase of tickets, but passed resolutions, couched in the most complimentary language, in consideration of their regard for a donor who gave several lottery tickets for the use of the institution. Even so late as 1797, at a meeting of the board, during which Archibald Alexander, afterwards the founder of the theological school at Princeton, was installed as president, a petition to the General Assembly for a lottery to be erected in favor of Hampden-Sidney was most gravely approved and recorded. The wants of the institution, it is scarcely necessary to remark, were not relieved by having recourse to a source which, in time of need, had enriched many more fortunate adventurers.

From 1776 to 1820 the College was enabled to exist through the union of the pastoral office with that of president, each successive president, after his qualification, being installed pastor of Cumberland and Prince Edward churches. In 1803 a ray of hope appeared to possess the hearts of the trustees by their petition for aid to the Cincinnati Society. In so low a condition was the state of finances at that time that an offer was made to change the name of the College; but the society, not satisfied with so complete a resignation, bestowed its endowment upon a more fortunate rival. The financial success which was finally reaped by the College under the presidency of Cushing, is to be attributed, partly, to his rare administrative ability, but more reasonably, perhaps, to the greater ability of the friends of Hampden-Sidney at that time to supply her wants. During this administration the exchequer seemed to have been full to overflowing, in comparison with its exhausted state during past years.

The present college edifice was erected under the happy auspices of this era, and, while somewhat defaced by an age of more than fifty years, it is still substantially complete, and bears the symmetry and beauty of the original design. The first systematic attempt to raise a permanent endowment was matured under President Cushing, and, while the project has been slow of realization, the permanent funds of the College have continued slowly to increase. In 1846 the finances were somewhat relieved from embarrassment by the establishment of a system of scholarships. Under Doctor Atkinson's administration the College was safely brought through the period of civil strife; and while for a time enervated by that paralytic shock which no human power could avert, she has finally emerged from an apparent state of torpor, and bears to-day the same relation to present Virginia which she once sustained to the Virginia of the past. The scheme for raising $100,000, as a permanent endowment, planned in 1859, has already been more than realized; and, while the present resources of the College are incapable of supporting her corps of instructors without recourse to the income

arising from tuition, her financial condition is more prosperous than at any epoch in her past history. The financial project set afloat by the board of trustees during the present administration, to raise a permanent fund of $250,000, is being pursued with the same persistency which has characterized a continuous effort of more than a hundred years. If this plan can be realized, the sphere of usefulness which Hampden-Sidney has never failed to fill in the past, can be widened and extended in the future; although the territory which will most naturally patronize her in the future must, in virtue of the educational development in the Southern States, be necessarily more contracted.

There are two institutions closely connected with Hampden-Sidney which, even in this cursory review, claim particular mention. Hanover Presbytery, in 1808, conveyed to Hampden-Sidney funds for founding a theological department, the latter simply acting as trustee to execute the behest of her venerable mother. Under the administration of Moses Hoge, the president performed the duties of professor of theology, although in an entirely separate and distinct capacity. In 1824 the department was discontinued, and from the germ sprang Union Theological Seminary, an institution full of interest to the Presbyterians of the South. In 1837 a medical department was established in Richmond under the control and direction of Hampden-Sidney College. From this year until 1850 the degree of M. D. was conferred under the seal of the College, at which time the department was discontinued, and the former ward, under the name of the Medical College of Virginia, has, during a corporate existence of nearly four decades, elevated the science of medicine in the State.

In her relation to the State, Hampden-Sidney has never failed to perform those duties imposed by the terms of her charter, and, while a majority in the board of trustees have always been closely associated with those pervading influences which have never ceased to flow from the parent spring, she is only responsible for the duties imposed by a charter which renders her absolutely free from the undue influence of any denomination of Christians.

The more distinguished of her alumni have occupied prominent positions in church and state, and have been associated with the most eminent institutions of learning in Virginia and the South. Those less distinguished, but not less honorable, have shown a power of endurance ingrained in their natures by a principle transmitted from the academy to the College,—that liberty is only valuable when submissive to reason and law.

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Hampden-Sidney College: Its relation and services to the Presbyterian Church and to the cause of education and religion. A discourse preached at the Second Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va., February 5, 1888, by Richard McIlwaine, D. D. From this historical address, by the father of the author of the above sketch, the following additional notes are appended by the editor:

"One of the most interesting pages of American history is to be found in the annals of old Hanover Presbytery, and one of its most important features is the concern felt and the measures adopted to provide for the scholastic, moral, and religious education of the youth of the State. At a meeting of this venerable body, held in the county of Charlotte, in the year 1774, the subject of Christian education was prayerfully considered, and it was determined to establish an academy for the education of youth on the east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In February, 1775, this institution was located in Prince Edward County, was opened for students in January, 1776, and the spirit of American independence being abroad in the land, was named *Hampden-Sidney*, after the two English patriots who sealed their love of constitutional freedom with their blood. The school was at once filled to overflowing with students, and among the first acts of the Legislature of Virginia after independence had been acknowledged, was the incorporation, in 1783, of Hampden-Sidney College, under a charter broad in its provisions and ample in the privileges it conferred. In that instrument these memorable words occur: 'And that, in order to preserve in the minds of the students that sacred love and attachment they should ever bear to the principles of the present glorious Revolution, the greatest care and caution shall be used in electing such professors and masters, to the end that no person shall be so elected unless the uniform tenor of his conduct manifests to the world his sincere affection for the liberty and independence of the United States of America.'

"It is worthy of remark that the history of Hampden-Sidney has ever been in accord with this patriotic declaration. Even during the pendency of the Revolution, its students were formed into a company under the command of the president, Rev. John Blair Smith, and marched to Williamsburg and placed at the service of the Governor of the Commonwealth. So, too, in the war of 1812, the young men, under the command of John Kirkpatrick, a late graduate, who was then pursuing his theological studies under Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge, the president of the college, took part in the defence of Norfolk, and were for some time in service. And again, in our late War, Captain J. M. P. Atkinson, better known to you as my predecessor, led the *Hampden-Sidney Boys* out to the field of conflict in defence of what they believed to be the rights of constitutional government. * * *

"We have at Hampden-Sidney a faculty of six professors, and also a fellow, annually elected to give instruction in sub-freshman studies. Our professors are gentlemen of marked ability, cultivated scholars, exemplary Christians, and most laborious and earnest in the discharge of all their duties. We have over one hundred students, the sons of our ministers, elders, and christian people, whose general bearing, behavior, and studiousness can not be excelled by any similar number of young men on the continent. We have a college building 160 feet long by 40 wide, an excellent structure

of solid masonry, which, with some improvements, can be made all that is wanted in such a building. Besides, we have a commodious steward's hall and five professorial residences in a fair state of preservation, and in addition we have about two hundred and fifty acres of land, on and in the midst of which these buildings stand.

"Our endowment amounts to $110,000, and we have a building fund of something more than $8,000, which we are now endeavoring to increase in order to erect buildings absolutely necessary to the well-being of the college.

"It will be seen from this statement that we already have a good foundation. Our board of trustees has authorized an effort to raise $250,000 in addition, $200,000 for permanent endowment and $50,000 for buildings and improvements.

"As to the location of the college, I may say that I regard it one of the most desirable in Virginia. It is in a portion of the State where it is greatly needed; is the only institution of high grade in southside Virginia between the mountains and the sea, and is in a region proverbially healthful, and distinguished for its moral and religious influence. Union Theological Seminary is immediately adjacent, and the intercourse maintained between the faculties and students of the two institutions is mutually salutary. Our community is composed entirely of the families and students of the college and seminary, and can not be excelled for the genial and kindly influence exerted on our young men. * * *

"It was from Hampden-Sidney that the venerable Samuel Doak, one of its first corps of teachers, and the founder of Presbyterianism in Tennessee, went forth to establish a college across the mountains. He carried on the backs of mules the first library which was ever on the west of the Alleghanies, before a wagon road had been cut across the mountains. From that day to this Hampden-Sidney has been among the foremost institutions in the land in furnishing Christian educators for our colleges and schools. The largest institution in the South is to-day presided over by a Hampden-Sidney graduate, the venerable Landon C. Garland, chancellor of Vanderbilt University. The present presiding officer at our own State University and another member of its faculty are Hampden-Sidney men, and another, the lamented and gifted Southall, lately fell at his post as professor of law. Two of our graduates have been presidents of Davidson College; one a professor of Washington College; one of Washington and Lee University; one is now in Richmond College; one in the University of Texas; another is the noble chancellor of Central University, Kentucky; another is the founder of the Southwestern Presbyterian University, and now professor of biblical literature at that institution; another is professor in your own theological seminary; five are professors in our own college; and there are many others in colleges and at the head of classical and high schools, male and female, throughout the country."

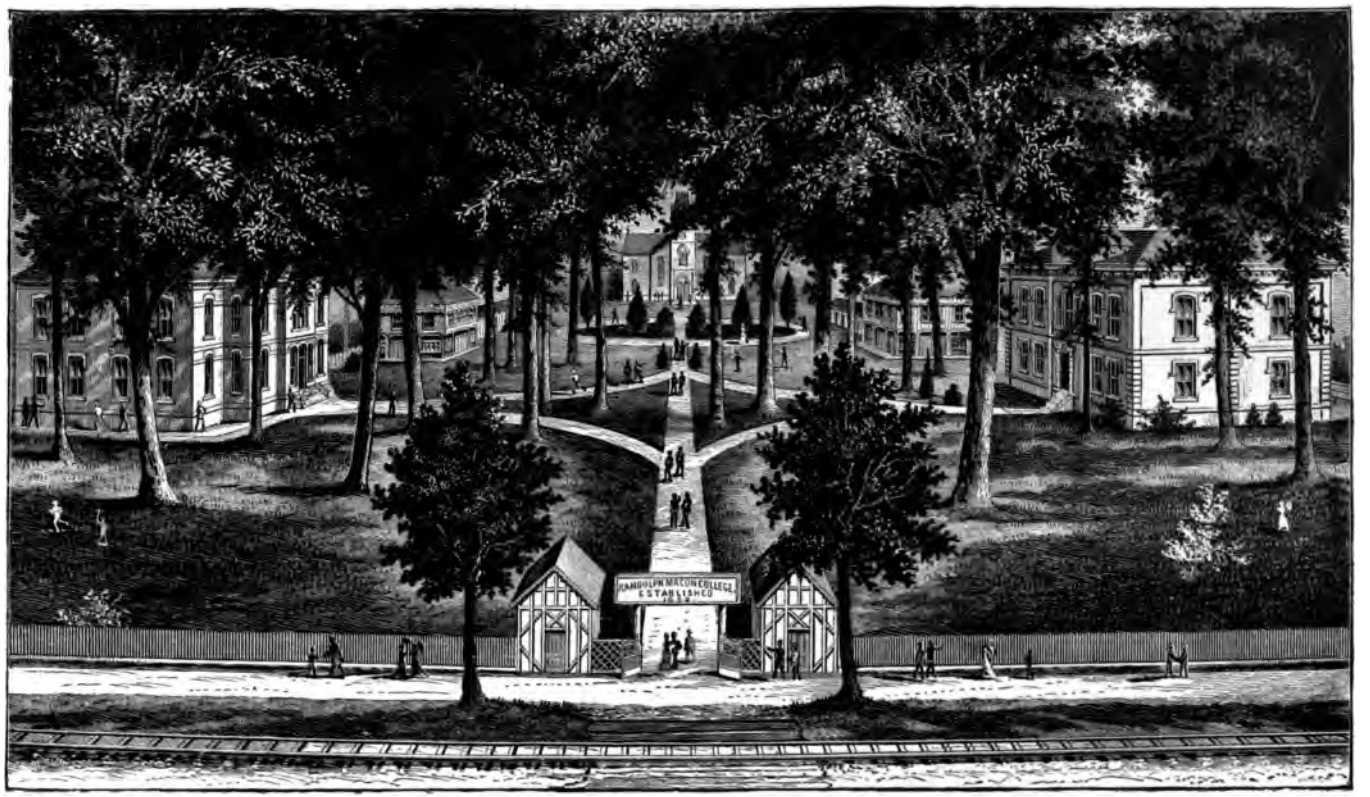
CHAPTER XVII.

RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE.

By Authority.

Rev. John E. Edwards, D. D., a well-known trustee of the college, thus describes the origin of the institution in "A Fragmentary Sketch" communicated to the centennial edition of the Randolph-Macon Monthly, April, 1882, a magazine which may be regarded as a good source of collegiate history:

"Randolph-Macon College is the oldest Methodist college in the United States. Its charter was granted by the Legislature of Virginia at the session of 1829–30. The inception or birth-idea of the college originated as early as 1828, perhaps earlier, and is traceable to Gabriel P. Dissosway, a layman, then living in Petersburg, Va., in consultation with Rev. Hezekiah G. Leigh, Rev. John Early, and other leading Methodists, ministers and laymen, of that day. At the Virginia Annual Conference, held in February, 1829, before the charter was obtained or the name agreed upon, the Rev. H. G. Leigh was appointed college agent, to canvass the subject and raise funds for the establishment of the institution. It was a new movement, and it encountered prejudice or cold indifference on the part of the preachers and people; but the eloquent and earnest appeals of the agent in the field disarmed the one and stirred the sluggishness of the other; prejudice and indifference gradually gave way, and in a comparatively short time a general interest was awakened in behalf of the new movement that foretokened success. The site was selected and the name of the college was agreed upon, and measures were put on foot for the erection of the college buildings and the inauguration of the institution. As a large portion of North Carolina was then embraced in the bounds of the Virginia Conference, it was deemed proper and advisable that the college should occupy a local position equally accessible both to Virginia and North Carolina. Hence the location near Boydton, Mecklenburg County, Va. Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, and John Randolph, of Virginia, were Representatives in the United States Congress from coterminous districts—Mecklenburg County being in Randolph's district; Macon's district was just across the State line. Whether it was to avoid a denominational name for the college, or the hope of securing large donations from these distinguished gentlemen in building up an institution



RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE, ASHLAND, VA.

that was to perpetuate their names, that governed the board of trustees in fixing on *Randolph-Macon* as the title of the college, I shall not attempt to determine. If the former, it was a blunder; if the latter, the hope was disappointed. Neither of these gentlemen, so far as I am advised, ever gave a dollar to the college."

The organization and development of the institution are described in an authorized article, printed in the Richmond Dispatch, and sent to the editor of this report by President W. W. Smith:

"In October, 1831, the board of trustees elected the first board of instruction, viz, Rev. John Emory, D. D., of New York, president and professor of moral science; Rev. Martin T. Parks, professor of mathematics; Landon C. Garland, professor of natural science; and Robert Emory, of New York, professor of languages. The first and last declined the positions to which they were elected; the other two accepted. One of these, Rev. M. T. Parks, was a graduate of West Point Academy. Professor Garland was a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, and at the time of his election a professor in Washington College, Virginia. Rev. Stephen Olin, at that time a professor in Franklin College, Georgia, was then elected president, and Edward Dromgoole Sims, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, was elected professor of languages.

"Dr. Garland survives, now past eighty years, full of honors, filling the office of chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Tennessee. He has literally and wonderfully gratified a laudable ambition referred to in his letter of acceptance. He wrote: 'The only ambition of my life has been to devote all my time and talents to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of our common country; and that situation which would enable me to do this *most efficiently* I have ever esteemed most eligible.'

"In October, 1832, the buildings for college purposes having been partially completed, the doors were opened for the reception of students, and regular work commenced. At this time a large proportion of the students came from Georgia and South and North Carolina. This continued for a number of years, the young men coming by slow stages for hundreds of miles, until the Methodist conferences in these States established colleges of their own.

"Very soon after the inauguration of the college it was determined by the board of trustees to make the study of English more prominent than it had been in this or in the colleges generally. To accomplish this end Prof. Edward Dromgoole Sims was authorized to spend several years in the universities of Europe, making a specialty of the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages and perfecting his acquirements in other languages, classical and modern. On his return, in 1839, he commenced a course of English instruction, but having found no suitable text-books in Anglo-Saxon for his classes, he taught them by lessons on the blackboard, at the same time using the classics of the English language for texts. He was engaged in preparing a regular course

of English instruction when his valuable life was cut short by death. During Professor Sims's absence in Europe Rev. W. M. Wightman, of South Carolina, filled the chair of ancient languages. He was afterwards president of the Southern University, Greensborough, Ala., and then was made bishop of the Southern Methodist Church.

"The first degree was conferred on a graduate in June, 1835. The recipient was John C. Blackwell, of Lunenburg County, Va. He was a type of a large number of alumni who succeeded him. For over forty years, till time and age checked his ardent zeal, he presided over male and female schools.

"In order to give permanency to the college, efforts were made from the first to raise an endowment for it. This was mainly done through agents. One of the first agents was the Rev. John Early, who was for many years president of the board of trustees, and afterwards bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He raised a goodly sum for endowment in 1839, the centennial year of Wesleyan Methodism. This work was further continued by the Rev. W. B. Rowzie, now the oldest trustee of the college, and its life-long friend. In 1855–56 this endowment was vigorously pressed to success by the late Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith, then president of the college, and Rev. H. B. Cowles, the regular agent. They canvassed the State, and succeeded in raising the amount to $100,000 in money and solvent bonds.

"At this period, one marked by great material prosperity in Virginia, the college was largely attended. In a short time the War of the States came, which first drew all the older students away, and then put a stop to its exercises for about two years. At its close the endowment fund was sadly broken up, its libraries and apparatus mutilated by soldiers and camp followers, and its halls filled with dust and cobwebs.

"So great was the desolation and impoverishment of the people, that much hesitation was felt by the board in making a new departure, especially as during the War the railroad to Clarksville had been destroyed, thus throwing the college over twenty-five miles from any railway. However, in 1867 the institution was re-opened with a new president, Col. Thomas C. Johnson; Dr. Smith having resigned and taken the presidency of Central College, Missouri. This effort was not successful for many reasons, and the alternative seemed to be forced on the board to let the college go down or take steps to change its location, and place it where it would be accessible and central to those who were disposed to patronize it. This was more important from the fact that the Baltimore Conference had divided, and that part adhering to the Methodist Episcopal Church South had become a patronizing conference of the college. At a meeting of the board of trustees, held June, 1868, the removal was ordered. Ashland, Hanover County, was fixed upon as the new location. At this village buildings and a campus were bought, which were put in order for professors and students, and in September, 1868, the institution made its new departure under the new board of

instruction, with the late Rev. James A. Duncan, D. D., president. With such an able and popular president, and a faculty composed mainly of young and rising scholars, a short period only was required to regain its former numbers, which increased till the patronage exceeded anything known in its history.

"In 1877 the eminent president was taken away by death, and several of those associated with him were soon afterward elected to various universities. Dr. W. W. Bennett was elected, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Duncan, in November, 1877. During his presidency all the old wooden buildings first used were removed. In their places, besides the literary halls previously built during Dr. Duncan's life, new and well-arranged halls, lecture-rooms, and a chapel have been built, and also new dormitories for students. A more beautiful campus can hardly be found anywhere than this. Improvements are still going on, and will go on, till all will satisfy the most fastidious taste.

"It would be invidious, perhaps, to name individuals when space would forbid mention of all the prominent men who have been educated in this institution. In the Church they have become bishops, pastors in city and country, missionaries to the heathen on this continent and others. They may be found in all the Southern States and all the new Western States doing faithful work. Many of the highest universities and colleges have them.

"Randolph-Macon College, though denominational, in that it is supported and patronized mainly by one Church, is nevertheless not sectarian in its course of study. Many young men of other Churches have matriculated there who could testify that it is conducted liberally, and no proselyting influences are used on students belonging to families connected with other churches. It does, however, seek to combine religious influences with scholastic advantages, believing that learning divorced from religion is a dangerous accomplishment to any one who receives it, and that such divorcement made general will be injurious to the State."

Randolph-Macon College has educated hundreds of ministers free of tuition fees. There is a regular organization for the aid of deserving young men. It is thus doing a work which is of interest and value to the State.

"When the college was removed to Ashland and reorganized, the 'eclectic' system was adopted. This was thought to be preferable, because the preparation of young men generally was found to be defective. Besides, it is claimed that more thorough work can be done under this system than under the old curriculum system. But students are not allowed to choose for themselves without consultation with the faculty. Practically, every student has a curriculum chosen for him according to the course he wishes to pursue, thus insuring the advan-

tages of the curriculum with the mobility of the elective system. It is found in practice that fully as many take a course leading to A. M. or A. B. as under the old system. These two degrees are the most popular. The A. B. degree has two courses leading to it, one including Greek, the other substituting the modern languages for Greek. With proper preparation to begin with this degree can be taken in four years. The A. M. course requires longer time.

"There is also a course of study laid out especially for business men requiring three years for its completion. A proud boast of this college is that it was the first in the South to establish a course of English which should be in every way equal to the classical course."

ENGLISH AT RANDOLPH-MACON.

Prof. Richard Irby communicated to The State (Richmond, Va.) the following interesting historical statement regarding the origin and development of the English department at Randolph-Macon:

"The recent discussion of the establishment of a full English course in Randolph-Macon College and Richmond College is a matter of too great interest to pass by without getting at the full history in the case. I therefore give the record as I find it in minutes of the board of trustees of Randolph-Macon College. The first item is found in the proceedings of the board, June 3, 1836:

"'On motion of Mr. Waller [Rev. W. J. Waller] it was unanimously *Resolved*, That we establish a professorship of English literature in Randolph-Macon College.'

"On the next day Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, president of Augusta College, Kentucky, was elected to fill the new chair. This gentleman having declined to accept the chair, Rev. William M. Wightman, of South Carolina (an A. M. of Charleston College, and afterwards bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South), was elected in 1837 to the chair, and entered on his duties in March, 1838. On the 27th of September Professor Wightman resigned the place, and Prof. Edward Dromgoole Sims (A. M. of North Carolina University) was transferred from the chair of Oriental literature to that of English literature. Professor Sims had spent several years in Europe, making a special study of Anglo-Saxon and other languages, and returned to the college in 1839.

"June 19, 1839, on motion of J. Early,

"'*Resolved*, That as soon as practicable the trustees of Randolph-Macon College will establish a normal school as a department in the college, in which a good and liberal English education can be obtained, and which in its organization shall be especially fitted to educate common-school teachers, and that the professor of English literature be rector thereof.'

"On the same day Professor Sims was permanently appointed professor of English literature.

"At the annual meeting of the board the report of the faculty to the board read:

"'We have had under review the whole course of study and are prepared to recommend several changes, which have for their object the introduction of Anglo-Saxon as a basis for the proper study of English literature and language.'

"Professor Sims held the chair of English literature for three years. During this period he introduced the study of Anglo-Saxon. No text-books being accessible, he taught it by exercises on the blackboard, and delivered a series of lectures on Anglo Saxon as a basis of the English language. In connection with this language he also had as a part of the course the analysis of Milton and other English authors, English composition, structure of words, etc.

"Professor Sims was elected to a chair in the Alabama University in 1842, where he continued his labors in the same line, and was engaged in the preparation of a series of text-books in Anglo-Saxon when he was untimely cut off by death in the midst of his usefulness. His successor in the chair of English literature was Rev. D. S. Doggett. He not being acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon, this part of the course was discontinued, but the other parts were kept up as before.

"Referring to the journal, it appears that Anglo-Saxon was again introduced into the course by Prof. Thomas R. Price[1] in 1869–70. Of this step Professor Price wrote:

"'The president and the trustees of Randolph-Macon College in 1868–70 deserve, I think, the credit of having made the boldest and wisest move in education that has taken place in my time. Dr. Duncan, above all, so great and wise in many directions, was, in my judgment, the most deeply devoted and the most far-sighted friend of collegiate education that I have known. When made a member of the faculty, in 1868, as professor of Greek and Latin, I had, with my large classes, to struggle against great difficulties and grave discouragements. Amid all I had his tender sympathy and wise and loving help. The fundamental difficulty of all soon revealed itself to me. I was seeking to give a knowledge of the ancient languages to boys and young men that knew not enough of their own language to receive or to apply it. It was irrational, absurd, almost criminal, for example, to expect a young man whose knowledge of English words and construction was scant and inexact to put into English a difficult thought of Plato or an involved period of Cicero. Dr. Duncan, to whom I imparted my conviction of the sense of the grave evil, braver and more hopeful than I, bade me not to despair, but to cut at the root of the trouble by introducing the study of English. His eloquence and good sense won the majority of the trustees, and the English school was founded. I had the honor,

[1] Professor Price was the successor of Professor Gildersleeve in the school of Greek at the University of Virginia, and is now professor of English literature in Columbia College, New York.—EDITOR.

which I prize highly, of being made professor of English, giving up the Latin to Dr. James A. Harrison. I had the duty laid on me by the trustees of drawing up the programme of the new course and of selecting text-books and supplementing text-books by lectures. My plan was through the course of four years to make the literary and historical study of our great language go forward evenly balanced. I began with the study of grammar, and of easy texts in the preparatory section, and then year after year thus formed in succession the four college classes up to the Senior and graduation. To Dr. Duncan and to the good and wise men of the board of trustees I am profoundly grateful for having used me to carry out the bold and noble design. 'It was their own work, not suggested from the outside, imitating nothing that existed, springing from their clear conception of what education meant and from their sense of duty to their Church and people.'

"The school of English, planned by Professor Price, will be found in the catalogue of 1869–70, the second year of the removal of the college to Ashland. Omitting a part of the preamble, the following will give the design and the scope of the school as laid down in the catalogue:

"'It has, therefore, been resolved to put the study of English at Randolph-Macon College on an equal footing with the study of the Latin and the Greek. The same thoroughness of instruction will be aimed at, the same strictness of method will be enforced. The course of study in the introductory and Junior classes will be largely made up of English composition. The intermediate and Junior courses will be given to English literary history, the historical grammar of the English language, and to the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages as the sources of the English. Distinctions in the school of English as far as the end of the Junior course will be required of all graduates of the college. Graduation in the full school of English will be required of masters of arts and of bachelors of arts.'

COURSES OF STUDY AND TEXT-BOOKS.

"*Introductory class.*—Green's Analysis of the English Language, Angus's Hand-book of the English Language, readings from classical authors, English composition.

"*Junior class.*—Angus's Hand-book of the English Language, Fanchont's Five Centuries of the English Language, rhetoric, writing of essays, and orations.

"*Intermediate class.*—March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Klepstein's Anglo-Saxon Analecta, lectures on the history of English literature.

"*Senior class.*—Lectures on Gothic Grammar, Ulfilas's Gothic Testament edited by Stamm, lectures on the historical and comparative grammar of the English language.

"Thus I have given as briefly as possible the facts in the history of the English professorship so far as Randolph-Macon College is concerned. If other institutions have preceded it in this direction it seems

that it was not known to Professor Price, but he, with his liberal culture and sense of justice, would be the last one to withhold the meed of praise to any one justly entitled to it. I know he would say with me—'*Ferat palmam, qui meruit.*'

"Yours, truly, RICHARD IRBY."

PHYSICAL CULTURE AT RANDOLPH-MACON.

The editor of this report observes that Randolph-Macon College is doing pioneer work in introducing the new system of physical culture at the South, a system based not upon calisthenics or acrobatic performances, but upon properly regulated exercises, which are prescribed by a competent director to each student after special examination of his individual case. Randolph-Macon has appointed Professor Crenshaw as director of its new and well-equipped gymnasium. He is a well-educated man, one of its own masters of arts, who took a graduate course at the Johns Hopkins University, and there obtained his first insight into the new system of physical culture. Besides working under Dr. E. M. Hartwell, Mr. Crenshaw had also the advantage of Dr. Sargent's personal instruction in the normal course at Harvard University, where the new system of physical education was first developed in this country. The department of physical culture at Randolph-Macon has been given professorial dignity and a position of equality by the side of the other departments of the college curriculum. This is as it should be. Physical culture has been too long kept upon the level of the prize ring. College authorities should appoint educated men instead of boxers and acrobats to direct the important work of physical education, which is the basis of good intellectual work.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS.

For presidents the college has had the services of the following distinguished men: Rev. Stephen Olin, D. D., from 1832 to 1838; Landon C. Garland, A. M., from 1838 to 1846 (in this period Mr. Garland resigned the presidency, and Dr. William Capers, of South Carolina, was elected, but he declined, and Mr. Garland was re-elected); Rev. William A. Smith, D. D., from 1846 to 1866, a faithful service of twenty years; Thomas C. Johnson, A. M., from 1866, upon the reorganization of the school after the War, to 1868, when the institution was removed to Ashland; Rev. James A. Duncan, A. M., D. D., from 1868 to 1877 (this eminent and beloved man was the only president of the college that died while filling the office); Dr. W. W. Bennett; and Prof. W. W. Smith, A. M.

LIST OF PROFESSORS.

The following gentlemen have filled the different chairs in the order named:

Mathematics.—Rev. Martin T. Parks; Landon C. Garland, A. M., LL. D.; Ezekiel A. Blanch, A. M.; Rev. John C. Wills, A. M.; Robert T.

Massie; J. E. Blankenship; Richard W. Jones, M. A.; Harry Estill, A. M; R. Bascom Smithey, A. M. (present incumbent).

Ancient languages.—Edward D. Sims, A. M.; David Duncan, A. M.; Oliver H. P. Corprew, A. M.; William B. Carr, A. M.; Thomas R. Price, M. A.; Charles Morris, M. A. Present incumbent of Latin, W. W. Smith, A. M; Greek, Richard M. Smith, M. A., Ph. D.

Modern languages.—Rev. W. M. Wightman, A. M.; G. Staubly; W. W. Valentine; James A. Harrison. Present incumbent of French, R. E. Blackwell, A. M.; German, Richard M. Smith.

Natural sciences.—Robert Tolefree, M. D.; James W. Hardy, A. M.; Rev. Charles F. Deems, D. D.; Charles B. Stuart, A. M.; Nathaniel T. Lupton, A. M.; Bennett Puryear, A. M.; Rev. John C. Blackwell, A. M.; Richard M. Smith; William A. Shepard, A. M., Ph. B. (present incumbent); Benjamin F. Sharpe, adjunct professor.

English literature.—Edward D. Sims, A. M.; Rev. D. S. Doggett, D. D.; Thomas R. Price, M. A.; R. E. Blackwell, A. M. (present incumbent).

Philosophy and Biblical literature.—Rev. John A. Kern.

DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI.[1]

"Among teachers the college has representatives of whom she may be justly proud. Rev. John C. Blackwell, A. M., of Virginia, the first

[1] Among the graduates of Randolph-Macon who are unknown to fame but yet deserving of honor, is John Lynch Clemmons, Esq., of Louisville, Ky., step-father of the Hon. Albert S. Willis, M. C., from that State. His claim to honorable mention rests upon his early anticipation of the idea of the electric telegraph, in 1833, when he was yet a student at Randolph-Macon, from which institution he was graduated in 1837. The following statement by Mr. Clemmons to a Washington correspondent was published in the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer, March 19, 1886:

"In the spring of the year 1833, when about the age of twenty years, I commenced attending lectures on chemistry, and was forcibly struck with the powers of the galvanic battery, and its connection with electrical currents. In thinking over the matter I felt convinced that electricity could be practically used in conveying intelligence between distant points on insulated wires. I announced this belief to my classmates, and to illustrate my idea, drew a diagram * * * exhibiting a wire supported by glass brackets on upright poles, such as are now in use, with a battery at each end and an independent clock-work on which to receive messages.

"I attempted frequently to explain this to my comrades, but was only laughed at for my pains. I was regarded as a visionary, and my project as a dream. I contended that it would work, and prophesied that in the near future a man would be sitting in his chamber in New York conversing with his brother in New Orleans as familiarly as if they were seated at his own fireside. * * *

"In after years a number of my schoolmates came out with voluntary communications to different newspapers testifying to what I have above stated. Prominent among them was J. W. Cameron, at one time editor of a paper published at Wadesboro, N. C.

"Being young and somewhat diffident, I did not press my suggestions upon the public attention; but hearing that a gentleman by the name of Page, in Washington City, had become quite eminent as an electrician, I resolved to communicate to him my ideas on the subject of telegraphy by the electric current, and to obtain his views on the subject. I therefore wrote to him, explaining in detail my views, accompanying the same with diagrams, etc., and asking him for his opinion. To this request I

graduate, yet lives to reflect honor upon his *alma mater*. He has spent a long life in the work of instructing both sexes, and has had few equals and no superiors as a careful, capable, and conscientious teacher. The following gentlemen are enrolled as graduates on the records of the college: Bishop Holland N. McTyeire, D. D.; Rev. John C. Granbery, D. D., of Vanderbilt University; Rev. A. W. Mangum, D. D., of the University of North Carolina; Richard W. Jones, M. A., of the Uni-

received no answer. This failure to answer was rather a damper upon my enthusiasm and I thought that, after all, probably my theory was not practicable, or its merits would have been appreciated by a man eminent in electrical science.

"I therefore dropped the matter, and devoted myself to my studies, saying but little more about the telegraph. I was preparing myself by a collegiate literary course for entering upon my profession as a lawyer, and devoted myself exclusively to that purpose.

"Years rolled by, and I had almost forgotten the telegraph matter, when in the year 1844 I opened the Washington Globe one morning, and the first paragraph that attracted my attention was an account of the formation of a partnership between Page, Morse, Amos Kendall, and Smith, to erect an experimental telegraph wire between Baltimore and Washington City, and an application to Congress for pecuniary aid.

"The moment I saw the combination the conviction flashed upon my mind that Page had used my suggestions to him, made eleven years before, in the furtherance of the Morse project; and when I learned that at the time I wrote to Page in 1833 and for some years afterwards he was an examiner in the Patent Office and forbidden by law to take out a patent in his own name, my convictions were confirmed. Indeed, I was so positive of the fact that I wrote a communication to the Washington Globe, publicly charging Page with having availed himself of my suggestions.

"Being thus publicly charged with appropriating my suggestions, he was compelled to reply to my communication, and did so by admitting that he had eleven years before received my letter and diagrams, but excused himself for not answering it on the ground that he then thought there was nothing in it.

"In the meantime Morse, Page & Co., having received Congressional aid, proceeded to erect their line between Baltimore and Washington, which proved a success, and so linked Mr. Morse's name with the project as to give him the boom over everybody else.

"Not wishing [continued Mr. Clemmons] to place my reputation for veracity in the crucible of public criticism, and caring very little about the matter anyway, I remained silent ever afterwards.

"I should say that the alphabet which I suggested to Mr. Page was precisely the same as that which was used by Mr. Morse, and I believe is still used. I have long since ceased to give any attention to telegraphy, but take it for granted that it is now a very different thing from what it was in the beginning, on account of the numerous improvements resulting from experience.

"It is, in fact, hardly proper to say that the electric telegraph was an invention, or that it originated with any one man. It was a growth, not an invention. It commenced with Volta and Galvani, a hundred years ago, and has gradually grown up to its present stature. In the years of 1835, 1836, 1837, much attention was given to the subject, both in Europe and America. Scientists in England, France, Germany, and the United States were working upon the problem in those years. Dr. Jackson in Boston, Joseph Henry at Princeton, and others, were studying the subject, and, in fact, making experiments in a small way. Doubtless the idea of telegraphing by the electric current was original with several different persons, as well as myself. Its practical introduction, however, was due to Morse, and he is entitled to the credit of having first proved its utility. I think he is entitled to the greater honor, for while with others it was mere theory, he put it into practice, and conferred thereby its blessings upon the world. I would not pluck a single leaf from the laurel that circled his brow, or drop a word that would reflect upon his memory."

versity of Mississippi; Bennett Puryear, A. M., of Richmond College; O. H. P. Corprew, A. M., of Central College, Missouri; Rev. Turner M. Jones, A. M., president of Greensborough Female College; Rev. John S. Moore, A. M., of the Southern University, Greensborough, Ala.; Edward E. Parham, A. M., president of Murfreesborough Female College; Rev. Samuel Lander, D. D., president of female college, Williamstown, S. C.; Rev. Charles B. Stuart, A. M., president of Marshall College, Texas; James H. Péay, A. M., superintendent of public schools, Richmond City; B. W. Arnold, A. M., president of Corvallis Institute, Oregon; Rev. James B. Thomas, A. M., president of a college in California; Prof. F. C. Woodward, A. M., Wofford College, South Carolina; Professor Baskerville, Vanderbilt University; Robert Sharp, A. M., University of Louisiana; Howard Edwards, A. M., Bingham's Military School, North Carolina; Clarence Edwards, A. M., president of Beaufort Academy, South Carolina; Professors Shepard, Smith, Blackwell, and Smithey, now filling chairs in the college; and as one of the late honored sons of the college, Rev. W. W. Royall, missionary to China, who is now in charge of a branch of Dr. Allen's college at Shanghai. Besides these there are scores of others teaching in colleges and high schools whose locations are not known to us.

"Among those who have attained distinction in civil life may be named Hon. David Clopton, of Alabama; Hon. James F. Dowdell, of Georgia; Col. Richard H. Powell, of Alabama; Hon. W. McK. Robbins, of North Carolina; Hon. David R. Duncan, of South Carolina; Hon. Thomas J. Jarvis, Governor of North Carolina, and hosts of others in law, medicine, and in the less prominent, but not less honorable pursuits of life, who look back to their college days with pleasure and with earnest wishes for the permanence and prosperity of their 'dear old mother.'"

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

President W. W. Smith, of Randolph-Macon, at the opening of the year 1887–88 supplied the editor with the following supplementary information:

"To bring the sketch down to the present date, I would add that the college is free from debt, and has accumulated $100,000 toward an endowment, in addition to the equivalent of $60,000 in the annual payment of $3,600 to its funds by the Church. It is expected soon to increase the fund to $250,000. The attendance is larger than for twelve years, there being 144 present to-day, and we shall probably catalogue about 160, as against 109 last year. Improvement is being made in every direction."

Concerning the Greek course at Randolph-Macon College, the following interesting note has been furnished by Professor Richard M. Smith, a brother of President W. W. Smith.

"The professor assigns to each class, in addition to the strictly Greek work, a course in translations of the best Greek writers. From this the

student gains *what he can gain in no college course by exclusive reading of Greek*—a moderately good acquaintance with Greek literature. This is a new feature, and to it sympathetic and critical attention is invited.

"In addition to this, standard primers on Greek history, literature, education, and social and religious life, are studied, and there are given on these subjects supplementary talks, taken directly, so far as is possible and advisable, from the classic writers themselves. Thus, for instance, Plutarch is made to lecture upon Demosthenes or Alexander, while Demosthenes and Æschines may contend before the class with their own speeches. In like manner, every important author mentioned in the literature studied is illustrated by a selected reading from his own writings.

"Based on this work there is required in every class an essay, such as 'Homeric Theology and Morality,' 'Contrasts between Greek and American Education,' 'Socrates,' and 'Greek and American Social Life.'

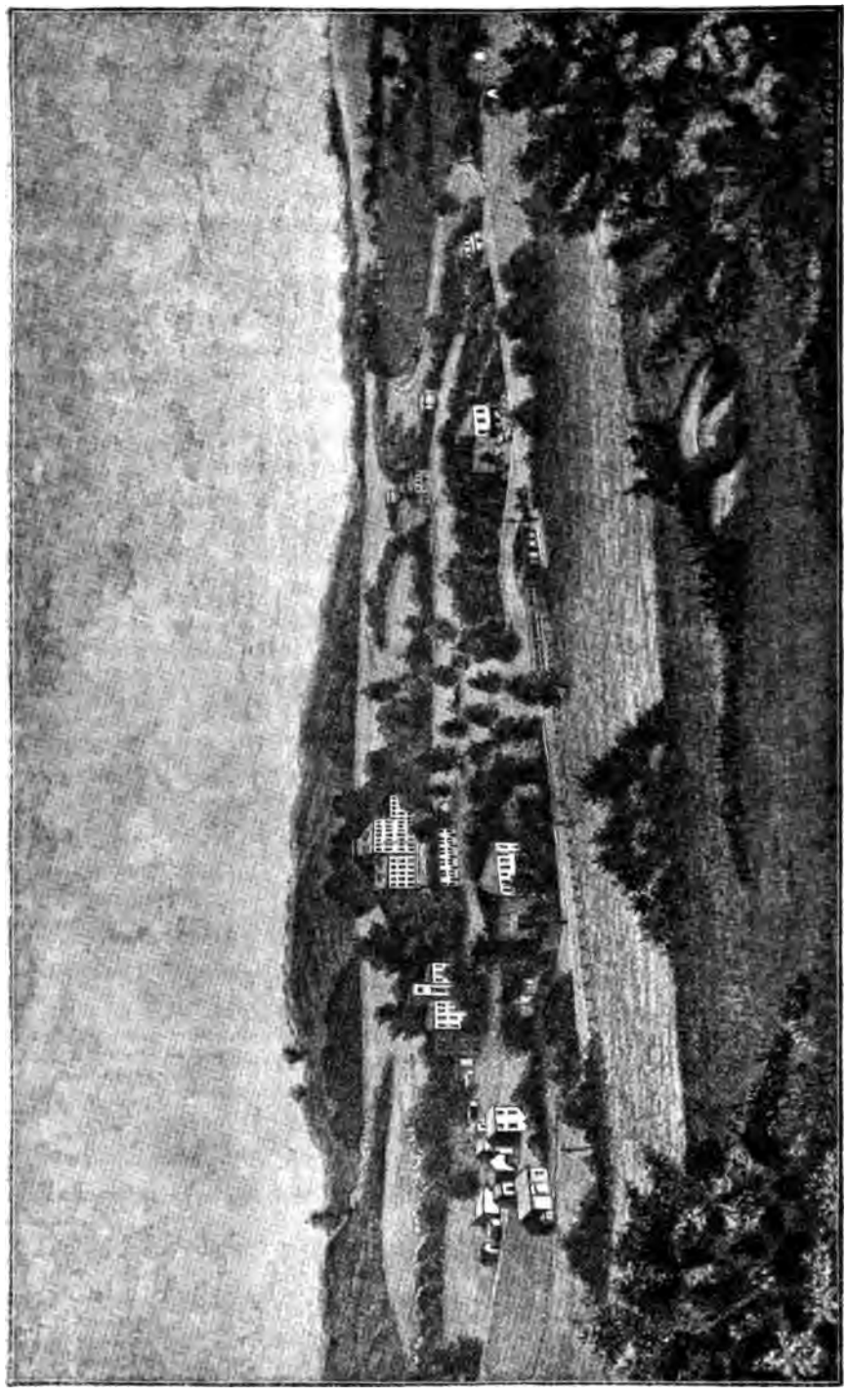
"The inspiration of this plan is the belief that God and Christ are in history, and that the Greek nation had a great mission for the world. The aim of the present course is that the student may be not merely trained by the Greek language, but also brought into extensive and stimulating contact with Greek life, Greek thought, and Greek achievements, and warned by Greek sins and disasters.

"Another feature of the course is that the student is made acquainted with the original form of the documents of what all must admit to be the greatest and purest religion, and not only studies them in class, but also hears lectures that strive to give him, not a good sermon, but all the light that the study of the Greek language and literature casts upon the New Testament. This light is great. It is easy to find. To have it is the desire, not of theological students only, but of every true Christian and of every wise man. To give it is the duty of one that professes to know and teach Greek. As few young men attend theological seminaries, it is the duty of every complete curriculum to meet this need.

"The course here suggested has been tested by the experience of three years. He who has followed it believes it to be good, and hopes it will be approved and improved by others."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Besides the authorities mentioned in the course of the preceding sketch, a good notice of Randolph-Macon College may be found in the Appendix to Part I of the Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Dr. W. H. Ruffner) of Virginia, 1873, pp. 145–147. Perhaps the most complete and authentic history of the institution is contained in the document written by John Howard, Esq., counsel for the trustees on the occasion of a lawsuit brought against them and testing the right of removal from Boydton to Ashland. This document, or demurrer, contains a full record of all legislation affecting the college, and is of great importance.



EMORY AND HENRY COLLEGE, WASHINGTON COUNTY, SOUTHWESTERN VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EMORY AND HENRY COLLEGE.[1]

By Authority.

About the year 1833–34 the practicability of establishing an institution of learning somewhere in Southwestern Virginia or East Tennessee that would afford educational advantages of a higher order than any then existing that were accessible, began to be discussed. The want of a first-class college was felt, especially by the ministry and those in professional life. Up to this time the few who wished to obtain more than a common-school education were forced to seek it abroad. Randolph-Macon, at Boydton, Va; Hampden-Sidney, in Prince Edward County, Va.; and the college at Knoxville, Tenn., were the most available. As a class, the preachers in the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church were doubtless most impressed with the need of a first-class college. Rev. Creed Fulton, then in the prime of his life, a member of the conference, warmly and zealously advocated the enterprise before the conference and in private circles. Under his leadership that enterprise soon took definite shape.

The Holston Conference, at its annual session in the fall of 1835, held in Knoxville, Tenn., resolved to establish somewhere in Southwestern Virginia what was then called a manual-labor college, an institution of learning in which the pupils were to be trained to labor as well as think. This manual-labor feature was a very prominent one in the enterprise as it was first brought before the public; a feature that was subsequently modified and finally abandoned, for reasons which will be noticed hereafter. It is not to be regretted, however, that this feature was made prominent in these incipient movements, for the institution was to be built up by a people engaged almost wholly in agriculture and the mechanic arts; a people among many of whom a prejudice existed against what was considered a learned and lazy race. The conference at this session took further steps by appointing Rev. Creed Fulton as general agent to solicit subscriptions, and, with the aid of a committee appointed for the purpose, select a location and enter upon the work of building. Mr. Fulton hastened to Virginia. The knowledge he had of the country, acquired as a travelling preacher, enabled him to select wisely and well. The first convention of citizens was called to meet at the old Glade Spring Presbyterian Church, in Washington County.

[1] This college owes its name to Bishop Emory and Patrick Henry, as representatives of Church and State in Virginia.

The fact should be recorded that this first meeting was held in a Presbyterian community, and a subscription was at once made amounting to about $5,000. The liberal and generous aid thus given at a critical time by the members of one religious denomination to an enterprise of this kind inaugurated by another, and intended to be denominational, should ever be held in pleasant recollection. Encouraged by this success Mr. Fulton immediately called the committee to meet in Abingdon, where a further subscription of about $5,000 was obtained. Among the men of influence who warmly espoused the cause which Mr. Fulton advocated, the names of Alexander Findlay, of Abingdon, and Col. William Byars and Tobias Smyth, citizens of Washington County, should never be forgotten. After careful deliberation it was decided to locate the institution in a beautiful valley nine miles east of Abingdon. This valley, watered by a tributary of the Holston, lies just south of the extreme west end of Walker's Mountain, and is noted for its beauty and fertility. It is 2,000 feet above sea-level. Whitetop Mountain, seen twenty miles south, rises 6,000 feet above the sea. The hand of Providence seems to have been in the location of the institution, for through this valley, then so secluded, now passes a great railway thoroughfare, connecting the East with the West, thus bringing the college, with all its beautiful surroundings, into public notice.

A farm containing about six hundred acres of highly productive land was purchased and paid for out of the funds first raised. It was at first intended that this farm should be cultivated by student labor, for which a compensation was to be allowed which would assist in paying the students' expenses. This farm, though not long cultivated according to the original plan, became subsequently a most valuable appendage, not only furnishing in its productions the means of boarding students at a low rate, but by enabling the authorities to keep at a distance any population that would be hurtful. This fine body of land was purchased from Rev. Edward Crawford, a Presbyterian minister, who we trust, true to his calling, had given more attention to the spiritual wants of his people than to the cultivation of his farm. The heavy forests were unbroken and the fields were overgrown with briars and thickets, while the inclosures and buildings were in a state of general dilapidation. These conditions all favored an easy purchase of the land, but they subsequently sorely tried the temper and patience of the young laborers.

Plans were drawn for a commodious boarding-house and for the main college building. The first was well planned and admirably built, meeting well the main purpose for which it was designed; it contained, in addition to the large dining hall, kitchen, store-rooms, and steward's apartments, a large public studying hall, and some dormitories.

The school was opened April 13, 1838, and one hundred students were enrolled the first year under the presidency of Rev. Charles Collins. No better man could have been found to take charge of the institution in its infancy and start it on its career of usefulness. A man of re-

markably clear head, in early manhood, fixed in his purpose and resolute, with a laudable ambition to succeed, he combined within himself rare elements of success, both natural and acquired.

The students were divided into small companies of eight or ten each, and each company placed under the supervision of one of the older students. These companies were taken at two o'clock each afternoon out upon the farm to work for two or three hours. They were allowed from three to five cents per hour, according to their skill and industry as estimated by their leaders. The impracticability of the manual-labor system soon became apparent. The farm work could not be done successfully in this way. A hundred hands were to be employed by the superintendent for two or three hours; the most of these had never been taught to work, and they often did more harm than good. Implements and work stock in corresponding numbers had to be provided, these to lie idle three-fourths of every day, and often the fields would scarcely be reached before the bell would summon them to return, and that too often at a time when the care of the crop required immediate and prolonged attention. It was soon discovered that a full corps of regular hands had to be employed in addition to the students. But the students had to be paid for their labor, for the subscribers and patrons had been led to expect that in this way a student could meet the greater part of his expenses. Board and tuition had to be put at scarcely more than a nominal rate. Board was $1.25 per week and tuition $10 per session of five months. The consequence was that debts—an incubus that presses the life out of so many colleges—began to accumulate. The fact became apparent that manual-labor institutions must be well endowed to insure their success. The system, however, was not speedily abandoned, but was persisted in for eight or ten years, changing gradually into a voluntary instead of a compulsory system. Then, as might have been anticipated, it soon ceased altogether. Viewed in another light, the system was by no means devoid of advantage. It broke the monotony of ordinary student life; it promoted health and buoyancy of spirits; in the hours of field and forest labor there was found not only relief from study, but such a variety of incident, that the students of those days found more means of solid enjoyment than others have since.

The debt alluded to as originating partly at least in the attempt to carry out the manual-labor system, continued to exist with gradual increase until 1843, when it was cancelled by obtaining a loan of $18,000 from the literary fund of the State of Virginia. It should be stated in this connection as a very remarkable fact that, after paying the floating debt referred to above, the management of the college was such that without a single dollar of endowment or of donations it kept clear of debt for the lapse of about thirty years, and that the income from board and tuition, both of which were placed at figures unusually low for a first-class institution, was sufficient not only to meet current expenses,

but to make substantial improvements from time to time, such as the building of new and elegant houses and enlarging the library and apparatus. The patronage of the college has been drawn almost exclusively from the Southern States, and prior to the Civil War from the cotton States. The number of students attending the school, beginning with one hundred the first year, rose gradually, with slight fluctuations, to 280 in the year preceding the War. Since the War the number has varied from 80 to 150.

The financial success of the college, in *ante-bellum* years at least, was due largely to the system of boarding. All the students, except day students, boarded in a common hall, where by practising economy, and with the help of the farm, a variable surplus was realized each year, which was applied to making improvements. Since the War, however, the club or mess system has been adopted largely. Now the boarding department yields the college no revenue. The more important buildings, added from time to time, have been erected in the following order: In 1848 a professor's house was built at the west end of the campus and occupied by Professor Wiley; this building was subsequently enlarged and became the president's house. In 1852 a house was erected directly east of the one last named, and facing the campus, to be occupied by Professor Longley. In the year 1856 the number of students had so increased that one boarding hall was insufficient, and the building of a second became necessary. What is now known as the "Fulton House" was then erected on a small elevation northeast of the spring. These are all elegant brick buildings. Two additional dormitory buildings were erected—one a wooden one-story range on the east border of the campus, the other a two-story brick building. The destruction of the old boarding-house, already alluded to, was immediately followed by the erection of a more sightly and imposing building on ground a little south of that occupied by the old one. This college misfortune was promptly met by the friends of the institution in the county, mainly by a subscription of about $16,000, to erect the new building, which in architectural skill and plan far excels any other on the premises. Several objects were happily combined in this structure. Besides all the apartments necessary for the boarding department, it was arranged so as to contain two commodious literary halls, with adjoining libraries, a large college library room, a museum and cabinet room, and an observatory on a stately tower, which furnishes independent stairways to the literary halls. This building is known as the "Byars House." As regards other changes and improvements, the campus, once limited to about four acres, has been enlarged to twenty-five, and amply supplied with shade trees. Among these trees the returning alumnus, after many years' absence, may find the one which his own hands, aided by those of his dearest friend, may have planted. On the farm there have been changes. Some fields, once worn and bare, have by careful management been restored to fertility, and are now clothed with a continuous coating

of grass. The college cemetery, now a marked feature in the landscape, with its monuments, crowns the northern hill. Here sleep, undisturbed by din of battle, more than two hundred soldiers of the Confederacy.

The building of the railroad through this valley marked an era of improvement in everything connected with it. It sweeps in a gentle curve around north of all the buildings, except the depot, giving the observer a pleasing panoramic view of them. On the margin of the college farm and half of a mile west of the college, where once grew the chincapin and the vine, a quiet, shady vale, well suited for evening walks, now quite a village has sprung up, containing some business houses, shops, and a number of handsome dwellings. On a small elevation near by stands the residence of Professor Davis. Other beautiful residences have been erected in sight on the neighboring farm. The main college building has been marked, from time to time, by varying conditions. The original wooden roof, having been many times on fire, was replaced by one of metal. After the War the building was thoroughly renovated internally; all the old lathing and plastering were removed and replaced, the rooms repaired and repainted. More recently the entire building has been painted and pencilled externally, so that its appearance is now fresh and attractive. The old college bell, whose tongue was now and then stolen, but which continued to call students and faculty to duty for nearly forty years, at length succumbed to a crack in its side. In view of its associations it was remelted and made part of a new and larger one, which now sends its heavy, but melodious tones far over the surrounding hills. The heavy forests surrounding the college have, to some extent, been cleared away, and in their places are cultivated fields. These old woods, in days of yore, were ever and anon made vocal by youthful orators. This custom still prevails, although the forest area is somewhat contracted, and often an approaching anniversary or exhibition is heralded in this way. Well-graded roads have taken the place of the original trail-like pass-ways that radiated in all directions.

Besides these physical changes to which allusion has been made, others of a different kind have been continually occurring, generally, as we trust, marking progress in harmony with the spirit of the times, though it can scarcely be claimed that these changes have always been for the better.

Comparing the routine of daily duty as prescribed and followed in the early years of the college with that practised now, many changes are found. Change sometimes is needed simply for the sake of change; it breaks the monotonies of life. The first generations of students remember this programme: The morning bell aroused them from slumber at 5 A. M. In the winter season all as yet was night. The more diligent rose at once, kindled their fires, dressed, and set their rooms in order. At half past 5 the bell summoned to morning prayers in the chapel. This signal roused the laggards from their beds, who hastened, half clad, to join their comrades in the dimly-lighted chapel—one tallow candle

usually furnishing the light. After roll call, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, during which good order was scarcely expected, some escaped in the dim light to their rooms. From the chapel a large number passed directly to the lecture rooms, well warmed and lighted, the remainder to their rooms; the diligent to their books, and the laggards possibly to their beds. Two series of recitations, of thirty minutes each, passed before the bell for breakfast rang at 7. At 8 A. M. half-hour recitations were resumed, which continued until 1, the hour for dinner. At 2 P. M., in the days of manual labor, the companies went to work until 4. When the labor feature was dispensed with, the time from 2 to 4 was given to study in private rooms. Then duty began on the huge trunks of trees which teamsters and oxen had dragged in, and which the students cut and carried to their rooms. From the supper table, at 5, they passed again to the chapel for evening prayer, at which singing was substituted for reading the Scriptures. Then followed the evening walks and recreations until 7 P. M., then studying until 9, when the bell rang for retiring—a signal which many took for ceasing to study and not retiring. Thus ended the day. This old system, though ridiculed now as something obsolete and impracticable, had much of merit in it, which one might commend without the charge of "fogyism." It encouraged early retiring and early rising, industry, and economy in the care of rooms. In the present routine, which is more sybaritic, the morning slumber is not broken until 6 o'clock; breakfast at 7, with no recitation or study hours preceding it. Recitations begin at 8, to which forty minutes each are allowed. At 10 A. M. there is a convention of all the students, with all the faculty, in the chapel for worship, which consists in reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer. This is a great improvement on the old system. It is the usual time for making communications and announcements to the students and for hearing Senior speeches. There is much more of the spirit of devotion, and excellent order invariably prevails. The students are not called together for afternoon prayers. There is no cutting and carrying of wood now as formerly. Coal is used for fuel, and is delivered to the students in their rooms, which is far better in point of economy and risk of damage by fire. The ringing of the 9 o'clock bell has been dispensed with, the entire night being regarded as sacred either to study or repose. The literary societies formerly met in their halls on Friday nights, now they meet on Saturday nights. This last change is found to work well. Part of Saturday was formerly employed in hearing the classes in elocution, now the time is allowed for making preparations for debate. On Sunday, in addition to the customary service of preaching, etc., much attention is given to Sabbath-school work. Bible reading is encouraged, a large and interesting Bible class being conducted every Sabbath by the president of the college.

The changes that have taken place from time to time in the board of curators and in the board of instruction will be seen by reference to

records where these boards are named. The methods of instruction have been modified, but radical changes have been avoided, while many of those introduced have been adopted, not so much from a settled conviction that they were great improvements over older methods, as from a desire to conform to the custom of the times. No substitute for mental labor on the part of the student has yet been found to yield satisfactory results. The old tread-mill methods of drilling, although often now subjects of ridicule, secured a degree of mental discipline which no short method, involving merely a passive reception of what is taught, can equal.

In the curriculum of Emory and Henry it is still maintained that Latin, Greek, and mathematics should be held as standard studies for mental discipline. Much time must be devoted to a patient study of the natural, mental, and moral sciences, and the curriculum made yet more symmetrical by due attention to the modern languages, specially the German and the French; holding the idea as preposterous that any one-sided development that may be secured by a few weeks' special study of a few branches, intended as special preparation for some particular pursuit, can be properly regarded as education. To aid instruction in the natural sciences a "Science Hall" has just been erected, with lecture-rooms and a laboratory below, and a cabinet of minerals and museum above.

The facilities for boarding students prior to the time of the War were limited, at least in variety, being confined almost entirely to the two college boarding halls. The usual evils attending such a system were manifested—such as coarseness of manners, arising from an absence of refined family influences, and dissatisfaction with the fare. After the Civil War a number of family residences were erected in the immediate neighborhood, where boarding can now be had, and the students are permitted to select any approved place or to board themselves in messes. This last method is now quite popular and economical. Companies containing fifteen or twenty each take some building, provided by the college at a small charge, and elect one of their number to superintend their operations and employ a cook. In this arrangement one of the evils alluded to above is eliminated. They are never known to complain of their board.

In the government of the college and in the administration of discipline there has been much change. The system now practised would have been inefficient in *ante-bellum* days, nor would the former methods be applicable now. These changes have not only been in harmony with, but they have been necessitated by, a change in the general character of the students. The old dispensation was emphatically one of law, and a rigid enforcement of law seemed to be necessary. The patronage of the school was drawn almost exclusively from slave-holding territory. Among the evils arising from the system, a very serious one was that it tended to weaken inducements to study, by favoring an idea

in the minds of the young men of the dominant race that they were independent, not only of the necessity of manual, but in a measure of mental labor. Their relations to the servile race at home did not tend to make them specially submissive to wholesome restraints at school; the spoiled favorites of fortune, they were frequently sent abroad because they were unmanageable at home. With such boys college rebellion was a favorite pastime, to prevent which the severest penalties belonging to college discipline were inflicted; such as reproof, private, then public dismission, and expulsion, following these last with a publication of the same in the annual catalogue. In former years the dominant party was often composed of the worst characters, who held the better class in a state of abject fear. The idea was fostered that the faculty was one party and the students another, having no interests in common; that their stay at college, far from being a privilege, was a sort of durance, to which they were subjected contrary to their wishes, and from which they longed to be delivered. To these was added a spirit of vandalism that took delight in mutilating and destroying whatever had been prepared for the comfort and welfare of the college community. In all these things there has been a most gratifying change brought about, gradually, by many different causes. The overthrow of the "peculiar institution" prepared the way, by bringing our young men to feel that they were dependent upon themselves for success, and that education was a necessity. Much is to be attributed to the changes that have taken place in the whole social fabric; to the march of mind and of manners; to educational advantages that have been extended to all classes, and doubtless a great deal to such influences as have come from the pulpit and the Sabbath school. In the school itself much has been done, independent of faculty action or influence, to bring about this important transformation, inducing a higher and healthier tone of public sentiment among the young men, and giving to the better class a controlling power, both by numbers and influence. Among these we notice the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is becoming everywhere a power for good. To this may be added the presence of a large number of sterling young men in our college community who are preparing for the ministry; and, lastly, the influence of the periodicals published by the literary societies. Whether these in colleges generally are productive of good or evil depends entirely on the manner in which they are conducted. In Emory and Henry such publications, in late years at least, have been managed with surprising skill and prudence, reflecting great credit on those in charge of them, and by their timely suggestions and admonitions giving shape and tone to the sentiments and conduct of the students. In the midst of a body of students of this character, students who feel that their interests are identified with those of the faculty, there is but little use for so-called "college law." College law, as well as other law, "was not made for the right-

eous," and might perhaps be laid aside almost wholly, leaving the young men to be a law unto themselves, were it not that still with each returning session there are present some few of the baser sort. Rules, both general and specific, however, are always necessary for the efficient working of every institution of learning, which must be sacredly observed.

A very important feature in the history of Emory and Henry College yet remains to be noticed, and that is the origin and working of the literary societies, known respectively as the Calliopean and the Hermesian. It has been claimed for these that they stand unrivalled in their history and operations. They were established prior to the year 1840. It would not be doing them justice to say that they had encountered no perils and surmounted no difficulties. The boys of either crew have sometimes proved their ship among the breakers, when the skill of all on duty was put to the test. Working side by side, it would have been a marvel indeed if they had never been antagonistic; the great wonder is that their relations have generally been so eminently pleasant and their intercourse marked by so much of reciprocal courtesy. Club-like in their character when first organized, without libraries or equipments, they held their meetings in the lecture-rooms. In the course of two or three years, however, they fitted up the attics in the wings of the main college building as halls. These were small, with ceilings low and means of ventilation imperfect, but they were rendered very attractive. Indeed, the ornamentation seemed to be in an inverse ratio to the fitness of the apartments otherwise. Limited in space for their operations as these societies were at that period, and subjected to inconveniences of various kinds, it is, nevertheless, questionable whether the god of eloquence and the queen of the muses were ever more lavish in bestowing success on their votaries. Indeed, the reputation which Emory and Henry has borne as a school eminently successful in elocutionary training was well established at this time. In the building of the Byars House, in 1858, by special contract with the literary societies, the third story was built and devoted solely to their use, affording two halls, each about 40 by 50 feet, with lofty ceilings, and sufficient space for libraries contiguous to each hall, and separated therefrom by arched doorways and glass partitions. A large collection of books had been made by each society, by purchases and otherwise, before they entered their new halls, but with new library apartments and ample space a spirit of rivalry sprang up which has resulted in large collections. The equipments of these halls are such as to make them highly beautiful and seemingly verging on extravagance, but as each generation of students has contributed only a part, the expense has been easily met. In the main they have been wonderfully free from internal feuds and schisms or party strife. The happy exception they enjoy from such evils is due largely to the fact that secret organizations are not allowed to exist as such in the college. A generous rivalry between these literary societies, with other good results, has

modified the bearing of the older students towards new recruits. The unkind treatment of new students, technically known as "hazing," in some colleges, is here considered ungentlemanly and is practically unknown. The manly and business-like way in which the affairs of these societies are conducted would surprise any one not familiar with them.

By inspecting the faculty record it may be seen that four members thereof were officially connected with and worked together as colleagues. for twenty-four consecutive years, while three of these were thus united for thirty-four years, and two of them are still thus associated. After a lapse of more than forty years we know of no other institution that can exhibit such a record. It indicates great steadiness in the working of the machinery and great harmony among those placed in charge of it, both of which are essential to success in operations of this kind. In later years, when similar institutions became more abundant, when competition became active and a struggle for existence began through lack of patronage, some changes were made which restored the confidence of the people in the college, and stirred them up to retaining the great school in their midst.

In the half century now closing on the history of the institution it has run a career of prosperity and usefulness surpassing the most sanguine expectations of its founders. If the career of Emory and Henry should end even now, our whole country should rejoice in the good it has already accomplished. It has proved a blessing to the country and to the church, such as has abundantly repaid all it has cost of labor and treasure. It has already aided in educating 5,200 young men; it has graduated more than 500. Of these graduates over 200 have belonged to the State of Virginia, more than 100 to Tennessee, and 31 to North Carolina, while all the other Southern States have been well represented. It has provided first-class teachers for high schools and colleges, while five universities are partly manned by its graduates. Our records show, in part at least, to what extent the pulpit and the bar, the editorial chair and the healing art, legislative bodies and our Congress halls, have been supplied with efficient men from these academic shades.

At a special meeting of the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors of Emory and Henry College held on July 18, 1888, Major R. W. Jones, of Mississippi, was elected president of the college and professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of President Jordan. Mr. E. B. Craighead, of Missouri, was elected professor of Latin and French. The Faculty now stands as follows: R. W. Jones, M. A., LL. D., president; Rev. E. E. Wiley, D. D., treasurer and financial agent; Rev. Edmund Longley, M. A., professor of moral philosophy and English; Rev. James A. Davis, M. A., professor of natural philosophy, astronomy, and botany; George W. Miles, Jr., M. A., professor of Greek and German; Samuel M. Barton, Ph. D., professor of pure and applied mathematics; R. W. Jones, M. A., LL. D., professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; E. B. Craighead, M. A., professor of Latin and French.

CHAPTER XIX.

ROANOKE COLLEGE.

BY THE EDITOR.

There is a short historical account of this institution in Dr. William H. Ruffner's Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1873, pp. 148, 149, in which attention is called to the original design of the college in the valley of the Roanoke. It was "for the especial benefit of the Anglo-German population of Virginia, who, to a great extent, then [1853] constituted the industrious, rural people of the valley counties and other parts, mostly of West Virginia, who from different causes, to a very limited extent, patronized the old established institutions of the State."

Roanoke College was the historical outgrowth of a private Lutheran foundation called the Virginia Institute, established within the limits of the Mt. Tabor congregation, in Augusta County, by the Rev. David F. Bittle and the Rev. C. C. Baughman, in the year 1842. The institution was adopted by the Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church in 1843, and in 1847 it was removed to its present site, Salem, in the Roanoke Valley. The Virginia Collegiate Institute was chartered as Roanoke College in 1853. The college is characterized in the original charter as "A seminary of learning for the instruction of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, and the learned and foreign languages." It was distinctly asserted that nothing in the charter should be "so construed as at any time to authorize the establishment of a theological professorship." Although remaining under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the institution has always been conducted in a most catholic spirit, and has largely drawn both its students and its support from non-Lutheran sources. About two thirds of its present constituency come from other denominations. As indicative of the liberal tendencies of the college, it is stated that Roanoke College had representatives at seven theological seminaries in 1886–87—Lutheran (Gettysburg and Philadelphia), Presbyterian (Union, N. Y., and Princeton), Episcopalian (Alexandria), Congregational (Yale), and Baptist (Louisville, Ky.).

The sources of information concerning the historical development of Roanoke College are few and scattered. Probably the most authentic are the historical articles of the late President Bittle, the first president

and virtual founder of the college, contributed to the Roanoke Collegian, of which a bound set is preserved in the Roanoke College library. A memorial address delivered by S. C. Wells, Ph. D., at the opening of the Bittle Memorial Hall, Roanoke College, Salem, Va., October 17, 1879, and printed in the Lutheran Quarterly for October, 1880 (Gettysburg), contains an excellent sketch of Dr. Bittle's[1] life-work as the builder of a good institution of learning on an educational frontier. The following scattered notices of the college have been gathered from various sources, but all have the sanction of President Julius D. Dreher, the energetic head of a hopeful college. The first notice is taken from the Journal of Education, Boston, June 30, 1887, which appears to be one of the most recent authoritative statements:

"In the Virginia mountains there is no spot more healthful than the Roanoke Valley, which lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, at an average elevation of 1,100 feet above the sea-level. That it is a valley of wonderful beauty also may be seen from the accompanying cut, which was made for the Century Magazine when Edward King was writing 'The Great South' papers for that popular monthly. It is a region much like the Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, the valley being small enough to be seen at one view from an elevation, together with the outline of the mountains that completely encircle it. It bears a striking resemblance to the lovely valley in which Williams College is situated. When Rev. George Müller, of Bristol, England, visited Roanoke in 1878 to address the students, he remarked that the scenery around Salem strikingly reminded him of Switzerland. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., LL. D., Dr. A. D. Mayo, and many others, have also written descriptions of the picturesque beauty of the valley of the Roanoke. * * *

"The Virginia Collegiate Institute, which was established in Salem in 1847, was erected into Roanoke College by act of the Legislature of Virginia in 1853, the charter vesting the government of the college in a self-perpetuating board of trustees. There was little except the charter to entitle the institution to the new dignity assigned. A brief historical sketch of those early days of the college informs us that—

"'Crœsus did not stand sponsor at its baptism, nor the Roanoke, as another Pactolus, stand ready to convert its ventures into gold. * * * The library at this time consisted of 140 volumes; the grounds and buildings were worth about $10,000, with liabilities of about $8,000 resting upon them; and willing hands and hopeful hearts kept watch and ward over the financial and academic interests of the rising institution in the prayerful hope that the blessing of Heaven would continue to attend the new enterprise.'

[1] Cf. "Doctor Bittle and Roanoke College," an address delivered in the English Lutheran Church, of Richmond, October 8, 1876, by W. H. Ruffner, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia, and printed in the Educational Journal of Virginia, November, 1876.

ROANOKE COLLEGE AT SALEM, VA.

"Earnest work, done at great personal sacrifice, by an overworked and underpaid faculty, has marked every step in the onward movement of Roanoke College. Only fairly started when the Civil War was begun, its doors were nevertheless kept open throughout that dark period; and the college bell rang its daily call to peaceful tasks while the music of the bugle and the drum was heard on many a tented field. A true picture of the shifts resorted to and the sacrifices made to carry on the college during that trying time would reveal various lights and shadows—much that was amusing—to offset an otherwise too sombre background. Scarcely had the War ended before an agent was in the field to collect money to erect an additional building; the enlarged main edifice and the west hall proving altogether inadequate to meet pressing demands.

"The small library was increased from year to year until a building for its accommodation became a necessity. Through the generous gifts of friends North and South the trustees were enabled to erect such a building in 1879. It is substantially built of brick—as are all the college buildings—and is called the 'Bittle Memorial,' in honor of the first president of the college. The library now contains about 16,000 volumes, many of the books being rare and valuable, and a number of them from 200 to 400 years old.

"Following the example of the University of Virginia, many colleges in the South have arranged their studies into schools instead of courses. Roanoke College adheres to the historic classification of Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior classes, but allows a choice among several courses for degrees.

"Roanoke College has always manifested a warm interest in the advancement of popular education and in preparing well-qualified teachers for various grades of schools. Up to the year 1865 the college graduated only 41 men. The results the institution has achieved have been accomplished almost entirely within the brief period of a little more than two decades. The whole number of graduates now aggregates nearly 300, the majority of whom are engaged as professors, teachers, and clergymen. Graduates of the college may be found in almost every profession and in connection with leading business interests in twenty-seven States and Territories.

"Owing to the want of means and to irregular preparatory training a great many students in the South pursue only a partial course at college. Of this class Roanoke has received fully one thousand. As many of these are pretty well educated, and as no inconsiderable number of them occupy prominent positions in professional and business life, the college may justly claim large consideration for them in making up any estimate of its usefulness to the country.

"The college draws its students from every Southern State and from some parts of the North and West. At different times young men have come from Mexico. For sixteen years Roanoke has been educating In-

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dians. The Choctaws support a small number of students at the college at the expense of their government. Three Choctaw superintendents of schools have visited the college in the discharge of their official duties. In 1883 William H. McKinney graduated at Roanoke with the degree of A. B., being the first Indian to take a diploma at a Virginia college, and also the first one to win that honor at Yale University, where he was made a bachelor of divinity in 1886.

"The history of Roanoke College corresponds in general to that of Yale up to the year 1831, when the first endowment fund of $100,000 was raised for that University, but more nearly with the story of the earlier years of Amherst, as told by Prof. W. S. Tyler in his history of that institution. It must be borne in mind that Roanoke College is only thirty-four years old, including the War period; that the years since the War have not been favorable to the building up of a struggling institution; that the college has never received even the smallest appropriation from the State; and that, although five bequests have been made to it, the college has as yet very little endowment—four of these bequests, left by friends in Virginia, not being yet available.[1] It is surprising that the college has lived; it is still more surprising that it has made so good a record for sound scholarship and for wide usefulness. How this work has been accomplished need not be told here in detail. Any one at all familiar with the difficulties of establishing good colleges, even in wealthy communities and under favoring conditions and influences, can fill up this outline with years of burdensome work on meagre salaries, with earnest devotion on the part of faculty, students, and friends, and, above all, with love to humanity and faith in God.

"The college owes much to the unflagging energy and self-sacrificing spirit of its first president, Dr. D. F. Bittle, who gave to it twenty-three years of constant and laborious service [from 1853 to 1876]."

Speaking of this man, Dr. A. D. Mayo, associate editor of the Journal of Education, Boston, in an editorial on "Roanoke College," says:

"The true existence of the institution began with its first president, Dr. Bittle, who for more than twenty years toiled like a Hercules against every obstacle to establish a centre of good learning for the people of his religious connection. Around him grew up a corps of teachers worthy of such a leader, two of whom are still among the present faculty. The school slowly grew, kept itself alive during the War, and now, at the end of its first generation, is able to make an honorable show of past service. In this time it has received more than 1,000 and graduated nearly 300 students, the majority of young men of that substantial and vigorous sort on whom the future of every Southern State so largely depends. It has received students from some twenty States of the Union, and its name is cherished in every part of the South.

[1] Since this was written a bequest of real estate (valued at $10,000) has become available by the death (October 11, 1887) of the widow of the donor. Col. G. B. Board, president of the board of trustees, died recently, leaving the college $10,000 for endowment, already well invested.

"Our four days' acquaintance with these young men, their professors, and the large number of visitors from the adjacent country, convinced us that President Dreher has not over-rated the importance of this fortress of the new education in new Virginia. With one exception Roanoke College is the only institution of the sort in a region as large as the State of Maryland, which is rapidly coming into notice as the mining, metallic, manufacturing, and cattle-grazing portion of the State. The new iron town of Roanoke is only seven miles away, and the whole country is alive with the omens of bright promise for a near future. It will be a great advantage if this young institution can offer, at its present moderate rates, a thorough college education to large numbers of the active young men of such a district."

Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, in his editorial "Notes on Virginia," in the Hartford Courant, July, 1883, says: "Roanoke College is animated by the modern spirit, has put the past behind it, and is keenly alive to the importance of the right sort of educational training for the new Virginia. There is nothing more important, just now, for the South, than the thorough educational training of the so-called middle class. Only by this means can it keep step with the great industrial movement of our time. In tone and standard the college is good, its students are there to learn, and the results, according to its means, are satisfactory. But it is an institution peculiarly happily situated to tell upon the new awakening life of the South, and no amount of money would be thrown away on it. I thought while we were there, in the midst of so much agricultural richness, with the mineral wealth opening up, and such signs near at hand of a vast industrial development, that here is just the place for a grand industrial scientific school, which would probably tell more than any other one agency on the development of the resources of Virginia."

Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., LL. D., in a communication to the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, June 27, 1882, said:

"A large share of the students are from the middle class, and the spirit of the work and of self-reliance manifested by them is truly inspiring. In the baker's dozen of speeches by these young men in the contest for the prize medal in oratory, and on the commencement stage, there was a revelation of the temper of the new South that bodes nothing but good to that section and to the whole nation. Without exception, the speeches were brave, manly, forward-looking. The fact that a new day had come to the South was the undertone of all this young thinking; and it was evident enough that these hopeful fellows were ready to spring to the front of the new movement, and make the most of its opportunities. National matters were referred to by most of them, and not one word of bitterness was spoken, nothing that could have given pain to the most stalwart Northerner. In a literary way, the speeches were much more rhetorical than would be heard at Yale or Amherst, and some of them needed not a little chastening; but what

they lacked in finish they made up in manliness. On the whole, I was greatly pleased with the indications given by the young men of this college, representing several different States, of the public sentiment at the South."

PROFESSIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF ALUMNI.

The triennial catalogue of the alumni of Roanoke College gives the names, occupations, and residences of the graduates of Roanoke College. It shows that at the close of its thirty-fourth year the college had graduated 278 men, of whom 261 are living. We give the distribution of the whole number (278) by professions and States.

By professions: Presidents, principals, professors, and teachers, 67 (of these 20 are clergymen); clergymen, 61; attorneys-at-law, 48; merchants and in general business, 23; agriculturists, 22; physicians, 20; editors, 4 (six clergymen and teachers are also engaged in editorial work); bankers, 4; civil officers, 3 (not counting lawyers who hold offices or graduates who are members of State Legislatures); United States Civil Service, 3; officers in United States Army, 1; missionary in Mexico, 1; studying in Germany, 1; unclassified, 20 (including a number of recent graduates). In this classification graduates preparing for a profession are counted as being already in it.

By States: Virginia, 135; North Carolina, 19; Texas, 18; Pennsylvania, 13; Maryland, 12; West Virginia, 9; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 8; Kentucky, 7; Mississippi, 6; New York, 5; Louisiana, California, and District of Columbia, 4 each; Alabama and Indian Territory, 3 each; New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Colorado, and Nebraska, 2 each; Georgia, Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Utah Territory, Mexico, and Germany, 1 each. This shows that the graduates of Roanoke are laboring in twenty-eight States and Territories and two other countries.

In so brief an analysis it is not possible to enumerate the prominent positions filled by Roanoke graduates. In estimating the work done by the college we must keep in mind the fact that, besides the graduates, nearly 1,500 students have taken a partial course at Roanoke, and that many of these fill prominent positions in professional and business life. When it is borne in mind that Roanoke College has done its work with almost no endowment and under many disadvantages, its faculty and friends certainly have good reason to be gratified at what has been accomplished. (Roanoke Collegian, July, 1887.)

An indication of professorial activity at Roanoke College is a History of Education, by F. V. N. Painter, A. M., professor of modern languages and literature. (International Education Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.)

RICHMOND COLLEGE.

CHAPTER XX.

RICHMOND COLLEGE.

By Professor H. H. Harris,

Chairman of the Faculty.

Enduring institutions are commonly the result of slow growth, and that often from small beginnings. So it has been with Richmond College. In common with nearly all other seats of Christian learning, it owes its foundation to the desire for a better educated ministry.

ITS ORIGIN.

On the 8th of June, 1830, a few devoted men, who had gathered in Richmond for their General Association, met in the Second Baptist Church at 5 o'clock, A. M., "to devise and propose some plan for the improvement of young men who, in the judgment of the churches, are called to the work of the ministry." The slender means at their command were but as the faint light of the sun just rising upon them in comparison with the strength and beauty that were to follow. They organized the "Virginia Baptist Education Society," and for two years aided approved young men by placing them in private schools, nine with Elder Edward Baptist in Powhatan County, four with Elder Eli Ball in Henrico.

In 1832 the society bought Spring Farm, a small tract some four miles northwest of the city, and there, on the 4th of July, opened a manual-labor school called the "Virginia Baptist Seminary," with Rev. Robert Ryland teacher, and 14 students. During the second session, which began in February, 1833, the number of students ran up to 26, about two-thirds of them preparing for the ministry, the rest for other vocations. The course began with arithmetic, geography, and grammar, and, running through four years, embraced algebra and geometry, Latin and Greek, natural and moral science, with theology as an optional study. All the classes yet formed were taught by Dr. Ryland and Rev. Eli Ball.

In December, 1833, the seminary was removed to the site now held by the college, just within the present limits of the city, though then in the western suburbs, half a mile beyond the corporation lines. To this purchase of nine acres six more were added in 1836, making a location which was well described as "combining healthfulness, beauty, and convenience." The design in adding more land was to give larger scope

to the manual-labor feature of the school. This was strenuously insisted on by the authorities, as giving to the needy opportunities for self-help and to all healthful exercise, but it proved unpopular with the students. The hours of daily labor were reduced from three to two, and finally, as we read in the report for 1841, "this feature of the seminary has been gradually fading from view, until (like all similar institutions in our own and other countries) it has been virtually abandoned."

The records of the seminary during the ten years of its existence under this name are unfortunately incomplete. The attendance gradually increased to more than seventy pupils. The corps of instructors consisted of Dr. Ryland and two tutors. Dr. Ryland had leave of absence for one year to accept the chaplaincy of the University of Virginia. Among the assistants were William F. Nelson, F. W. Berryman, Caleb Burnley, R. A. Claybrook, Elias Dodson, I. G. Barker, J. C. Clopton, S. C. Clopton, George Struve, and Charles L. Cocke—the first and last named served a number of years, the others for shorter periods. The first class to finish the course went out in 1836, four in number—William I. Chiles, Elias Dodson, A. P. Repiton, and John O. Turpin—three of whom have recently died, after eminent and useful lives as ministers of the gospel. Three others, who should have been with them, had left school to go as foreign missionaries—William Mylne to Africa, R. D. Davenport to Siam, J. L. Shuck to China. The classes which followed year after year were not unworthy of this first one, though they were constantly thinned by the withdrawal of young men eager to enter active life or to secure elsewhere the advantages of a fully-equipped college.

CHANGE OF NAME.

By Act of Assembly, passed March 4, 1840, thirty-seven gentlemen, therein named, were incorporated as trustees, to establish, "at or near the city of Richmond, a seminary of learning for the instruction of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, and the learned and foreign languages, which shall be called and known by the name of Richmond College." The charter conferred ample powers, and allowed the purchase of the property of the Education Society, but provided "that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize the establishment of a theological professorship in the said college." This proviso, according to authentic tradition, was inserted at the request of an eminent brother and influential member of the Legislature who was selected to offer the bill—Col. Edmund Broadus, of Culpeper; without it there would have been difficulty in getting a charter at that time. It was omitted from the amended charter of 1858, under which the college is now working.

The trustees spent two years in perfecting their plans and trying to raise means to carry them into effect. The work fell mainly to the lot of their president, Dr. Ryland, and his rare candor and supreme scorn for all shams made him unwilling to call the school a college until it

could do real collegiate work. The terms of transfer agreed upon in 1841 were, (1) that the college should admit free of charge, except for board, all ministers and candidates for the ministry who may be recommended by the Education Society or its board of managers [by common consent this has been extended to all such persons whether recommended by the society or not]; (2) that in case of failure to continue the institution, or to comply with the foregoing stipulation, the property, or its estimated value, $20,000, should revert to the Education Society; (3) that any vacancy in the trustees shall be filled from a list of not less than ten persons, named by the society, if it shall in due time furnish such list; and (4) that the transfer be made only after a permanent endowment of $50,000 had been secured. This last condition was withdrawn the next year, because, said the society, "we think that it will facilitate the collection of funds to change the institution at once into a college, and to conduct its operations in strict accordance with its resources." And so, on the 1st of January, 1843, grounds and buildings worth $20,000, a library of 700 volumes, 3 teachers, at salaries of $900, $600, and $500, and 68 students, 21 of them beneficiaries, were turned over from the care of a voluntary denominational society to the control of the legally incorporated trustees of Richmond College. The Education Society has continued its work of aiding young men recommended by the churches, in co-operation with it, in preparing for the ministry, by making arrangements for their board, leaving the care and the cost of their tuition to the college.

SECOND DECADE.

In 1842 we had a principal and two tutors, working ten months, at fixed salaries, with 68 pupils, divided into four classes, two-thirds of them engaged in preparatory studies; in 1851 we had a president and three full professors, paid partly from endowment, partly by tuition fees, a nine months' session, and 76 students, no longer classified as Freshmen, Sophomores, etc., but "admitted to any classes they are prepared to enter, and allowed to pursue the studies they may desire to prosecute." The steps by which these changes were introduced are too full of interest to be entirely omitted even in a brief sketch.

The principles which the youthful institution adopted for its guidance are shown in these memorable words, printed in the catalogue of 1842–43, and republished for several successive years:

"As the trustees are determined to avoid pecuniary embarrassment, they propose to conduct the college classes only so far as their resources may justify, taking care to have the students thoroughly taught as far as they shall go. It is not their purpose to confer degrees till they shall have afforded facilities for education equal to those of other chartered institutions. As the patronage of the community, and the proceeds of an endowment now being raised, shall increase their means, they will

continue to add to their corps of instructors, until they shall have procured a faculty sufficient to conduct the classes through the ordinary collegiate course. * * * It is far better to proceed cautiously—to live within our means—and to rise gradually, but surely, than by affecting a premature prosperity, to plunge the enterprise into the vortex of ruin."

In accordance with these principles additional professors were chosen only as the progress of the endowment would allow. Dr. Ryland, who had been professor of ancient languages, took, in 1845, the chair of moral science, which he continued to fill till 1861. George Frederick Holmes, now of the University of Virginia, filled the chair of ancient languages, 1845–47, and was succeeded by Heath Jones Christian. Charles L. Cocke, now of Hollins Institute, appears first as tutor, then as instructor in mathematics, and upon his resignation, in 1846, he was succeeded for three years by Thomas Bolling Robertson, then by John Lawson, and in 1850 by Lewis Turner, as professor of mathematics. S. C. Clopton, second tutor, went out as a missionary to China, and his duties as teacher in the academic department were devolved on John M. Murray for two years, S. E. Brownell one year, N. H. Massie two years, T. L. Snead one year, and B. Puryear one year. The academic department ceased for a time at least to have any separate existence upon the election of Mr. Puryear, in 1850, to the professorship of natural sciences. This chair had its beginning three years before in the appointment of N. B. Webster as lecturer on natural science. Mr. Turner was elected to the chair in 1849, but soon found that an exchange with Mr. Puryear would be better for all parties. For instruction in French provision had been made year by year with Messieurs Ansman, Guillet, Odenhall, and Michard, and in 1849 by the election of Prof. Arthur Frise, who, however, held the chair only one session. The division of tuition fees among the faculty was first made in 1849 "in proportion to the relative salaries they at present receive."

Up to 1842 the students were divided into four classes, as in the beginning of the seminary. From that time the third and fourth were designated as Freshman and Sophomore. In 1845 a Junior class was added, and in 1848 a Senior. During all these years, however, the proportion of irregulars, or students pursuing a select course, was constantly increasing, and every facility for such selection was provided. So that the year 1849, which witnessed the first award of the degree of bachelor of arts, saw also the abolition of the curriculum, and the substitution of a system of classification and advancement in each study according to the students' abilities and attainments. The attendance increased very little, because of the constant cutting off of the lower or sub-collegiate classes, which had been fullest, and the substitution of higher, and therefore smaller classes. Of the 68 catalogued in 1843, only 25 were in collegiate classes; the number, therefore, had really trebled by 1851.

Another notable change in the period under review was the discontinuance of theological instruction as a part of the course. This did not in any wise impair, it rather increased, the religious influence of the college, but it changed the main design, or as one might say, it shifted the centre of gravity. The seminary was designed especially for ministerial students and admitted others on payment of fees; the college aimed at a liberal education for any and all vocations, and granted certain privileges and exemptions to students preparing for the ministry. The seminary, moreover, was distinctively, in fact as in name, Baptist; the college, though unquestionably denominational, had from the first other denominations represented in its trustees and faculty, as well as in its students.

THIRD DECADE.

From 1851 to 1861 the college made large strides on the road to prosperity. By the agencies hitherto employed—among which the work of Rev. L. W. Allen in 1847–49 deserves particular mention—means had been gathered for current expenses, alterations and repairs of buildings, and an interest-bearing fund of $16,680. At the annual meeting in 1851 it was decided to raise $85,000 in bonds of $100 or over, payable in three annual instalments, the first to become due as soon as $60,000 had been secured. Rev. A. M. Poindexter was appointed agent, and all unpaid bonds and pledges hitherto given were turned over to him for adjustment. His success was so complete that on the 10th of June following he reported in bonds and cash $60,732.40; in unbonded subscriptions and pledges of less amount than $100, $3,696. This was counted as making the endowment $75,000, and the agent was requested to continue his labors and raise $25,000 more for endowment and $50,000 for buildings. At this he worked two years longer, and secured means to erect, in 1854, according to plans drawn by Thomas A. Tefft, architect, and at a cost of $25,500, the north wing of the present college building, devoted mainly to dormitories. The collection of bonds for endowment progressed fairly; the funds invested in public securities was, in 1854, $72,642; in 1859, $77,042.

Increase of funds enabled the college to give its professors better salaries and to increase their number. In 1851 the chair of ancient languages was divided, Mr. Christian retaining the Greek, and George E. Dabney being chosen professor of Latin and French. This faculty—Messrs. Ryland, Christian, Dabney, Turner, and Puryear—remained without alteration for six years. The chair of Greek was filled 1857–59 by Sidney H. Owens, then for one year by E. Adkins, and then by William P. Louthan and C. H. Toy. In place of Mr. Puryear, who resigned in 1858, William G. Strange was made professor of natural science; and in 1859 William S. Chase was made professor of modern languages. The academic department, revived in 1855, was conducted by Robert Hall, John C. Long, H. W. Reinhart, and A. B. Slocomb.

The number of students fluctuated considerably. The fervid eloquence of Poindexter stirred the people all over the State and the attendance increased rapidly, reaching its highest point (161) in 1855–56, coincident with the occupation of the new building and the re-opening of an academic department. From this it declined again till 1859–60 and 1860–61, in both of which sessions the number was 114.

Upon the establishment of a chair of modern languages, in 1859, the whole subject of degrees and awards was reconsidered, and it was decided that a "certificate of proficiency be given to a student who has satisfactorily completed the studies of any department;" the degree of A. B. for "proficiency in the departments of Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural science, and moral science," with the privilege of substituting one modern language or Hebrew for the calculus; and the degree of A. M. for proficiency in the whole course except Hebrew.

SUSPENSION AND LOSSES.

Inter arma silent leges. Silent also were the voices of art and literature. With the outbreak of war in 1861 the youth of the land flocked to the front, and the college record began to receive opposite many a promising name the sad entry "Died in Confederate service," or "Killed in battle." The buildings were occupied as barracks and as a hospital by the Confederates, and again as barracks by the Federal troops in 1865; the apparatus was broken up and the library was carted away by a United States surgeon "to save it from destruction" (he afterwards kindly returned the Patent Office Reports and such like volumes); the endowment, or rather so much of it as had been invested in bank stocks and city and railroad bonds, was sold in 1862 and converted into Confederate 8's. Thus the trustees found themselves in 1865 with desolated grounds, defaced buildings, $20,500 of State stock, and seven town lots in the suburbs of Chicago. Everything else had been swept away. They authorized Professors Ryland and Dabney to take charge of the premises for one year and open a private school.

REORGANIZATION IN 1866.

Antæus renewed his strength by falling back upon the bosom of his mother. The college was more fortunate in having both mother and sons to support and revive it in its time of prostration. The General Association, into which the Education Society had now been merged, met in Richmond June 7–11, 1866. In the body were fourteen graduates and about twenty-five other sons of the college. A few of these, with also two or three alumni resident in the city, held a consultation as to what could be done for *alma mater*, and appointed Messrs. John C. Long, George B. Taylor, and H. H. Harris to lay their views before the association. Mr. Long had already secured the appointment of a committee (T. G. Jones, A. Broadus, W. E. Hatcher, J. O.

Turpin, and W. R. McDonald, all former students) to consider and report on the interests of the college. The general feeling, however, was despondent, almost despairing.

On Monday morning, June 11, the education board presented a report, showing that they had during the year "collected no funds, assisted no young men, transacted no business," because of the suspension of the college and the depressed condition of the country. On this Drs. Burrows and Poindexter made burning appeals for the immediate resumption of ministerial education. Then Mr. McDonald presented the report of his committee, in two resolutions, recommending the immediate opening of the college, and on a scale worthy of its supporters. "The report was advocated by G. W. Samson, J. C. Long, G. B. Taylor, W. S. Penick, J. Thomas, Jr., A. M. Poindexter, H. H. Harris, T. W. Sydnor, J. E. Massey, M. L. James, C. C. Bitting, and J. B. Watkins." It will not be invidious discrimination to refer more particularly to three of the speakers. Mr. Long, in behalf of the alumni, with true filial devotion, made a pathetic plea for their dismantled college, pointed proudly to her past, and pictured with prophetic power a yet brighter future. He urged the propriety of using the remnant of endowment, if necessary, to re-open the college with full equipment. Mr. Taylor began more cautiously, advocating careful preservation of the existing fund as the nucleus of another endowment, but, warming up as he spoke, nobly seconded the appeal for early and complete resumption. The climax was reached when James Thomas, Jr., from his place near the centre of the church, briefly told how, as one of the trustees, he had protested against the change of investment, and when it was made in spite of all protest, had given up in despair, but added that "the enthusiasm of those young men" had touched him, and that he was ready to subscribe $5,000 for another endowment, and pending its collection to pay the salary of one professor. This thrilled the audience with hope and settled the question. Dr. Poindexter at once got permission to take other subscriptions, amounting in all to some $8,000. The association thereupon added a third resolution, tendering to the trustees the subscription just made, and requesting them to take steps to increase it to not less than $100,000. The trustees held a meeting the very next day, appointed J. L. Burrows, James Thomas, Jr., and J. B. Jeter a committee on new organization, and elected A. M. Poindexter agent to raise the proposed endowment.

In a subsequent meeting the trustees adopted a plan of organization, which provided for a president and four professors. Of those first chosen, July 5, 1866, two only accepted—H. H. Harris and B. Puryear. E. B. Smith and Edmund Harrison were elected August 4, and Dr. T. G. Jones was chosen president August 24. To meet the expenses of refitting the buildings and providing apparatus they authorized the sale of the Chicago lots, and so, on the 1st of October, the college was

reopened with an attendance, which, during the session, ran up to ninety—sixty-five non-resident and twenty-five resident students.

NEW FEATURES.

The committee on organization sought the aid of Drs. John A. Broadus, William D. Thomas, and C. C. Bitting, all of whom then resided in Greenville, S. C., and the plan drawn up by those gentlemen, with some modifications of detail, was approved by the trustees and by the faculty when elected. Some of its improvements on the former policy are worthy of special attention:

1. It proposed a system of *independent schools.* This increases the responsibility, and therefore the efficiency, of the professor, and enables the student, under proper advice, to select the course of study best suited to his wants, his ability, and his previous progress. The certificate, under the seal of the college, formerly awarded for "proficiency in any department" is now given for certain subsidiary subjects, and a mastery of the leading subjects taught in a school secures a diploma of graduation in that school. This feature had been long in operation in the University of Virginia, and the college, as we have seen, had heretofore approached it, but now, for the first time, adopted it fully.

2. The *English language* was put on its proper plane as of equal dignity with Latin or Greek, French or German. As early as 1856 the Albemarle Female Institute had established a school of English, and a year later the State University inaugurated its school of history and literature, but Richmond College claims to have led all the colleges of the land (except possibly one, of which we are in doubt) in doing appropriate honor to our peerless mother tongue. Many others have already followed the example.

3. In reference to *discipline*, the plan provided that it should be maintained, "not so much by minute regulations, as by cultivating among the students the sentiment of personal honor and responsibility." This allows the utmost freedom of social intercourse between pupils and teachers. It works more or less satisfactorily according to the age and character of the students, but, on the whole, yields far better results than any other system of college government.

4. *Attendance upon religious exercises* was made purely voluntary. This may diminish somewhat the apparent amount of external, formal religion, but greatly to the advantage of real vital piety.

5. Circumstances, rather than any deliberate purpose, introduced the *messing system*, which has since become popular, and has been taken up by other institutions. Among the resident students who came in 1866 were some inured to camp life, while through the country provisions were abundant and money scarce. Thus clubs were formed, to live mainly on supplies sent them from home, with small contributions for necessary purchases and for the cost of serving meals. Out of this the present system has been developed through successive changes dictated by experience.

ENDOWMENTS AND BUILDINGS.

The agency of Dr. Poindexter secured in two years bonds and subscriptions to the amount of $75,000. But to suit the condition of the country, just recovering from four years of war and still under military rule, the bonds were made payable in five annual instalments, and the donors were allowed to retain the principal so long as they paid the interest. A little more than one-third of the amount was paid in and added to the interest-bearing fund. The rest was swallowed in the whirlpool of general bankruptcy which soon followed, or merged into the memorial endowment mentioned below. To accommodate the increasing number of resident students, cottage A, with eight dormitories, was built in 1869, at a cost of $2,500, and the year following cottage B was erected by the liberality of Judge D. B. De Land, of Fairport, N. Y., who had already contributed handsomely to the endowment fund. His beneficence was the beginning of a rich stream of Northern gifts.

In 1872 the General Association of Virginia Baptists, on motion of C. H. Ryland, resolved to celebrate next year its semi-centennial, and, among other things, to raise "a fund towards the permanent endowment and buildings of Richmond College." The sum first proposed was $100,000, which, in the enthusiasm of the moment, was increased to $300,000. Dr. J. L. Burrows, who was selected to take charge of this "memorial movement," employed scores of volunteer agents, who traversed the State, and collected very nearly the amount named in cash, bonds, promises, and promiscuous donations of nominal value. Several thousands were collected in Northern cities, chiefly through Rev. Dr. George B. Taylor. Of the "memorial fund" about one-half has been paid in; its collection was cut short by the panic of 1873; the rest is of doubtful value. In 1873 the central portion of the present main building, containing chapel, lecture-rooms, and society halls, was erected according to plans drawn by A. Y. Lee, architect. This, with the alterations of the north wing to conform to the new style of architecture, cost about $50,000. In 1877 the trustees expended $24,000 for an addition to the grounds, giving a good front eastward. This makes the campus a rectangle, 686 feet from Broad to Franklin, and 800 feet from Ryland to Lombardy Streets.

Upon the death of Dr. J. B. Jeter (February 18, 1880), a life-long friend of the college and the president of its trustees, a self-constituted committee undertook to erect to his memory a library hall. When the scheme seemed likely to fail James Thomas, Jr., again came to the rescue with a subscription of $5,000, on condition that the hall be so planned as to complete the unfinished college building. By the agency of Dr. A. E. Dickinson some $35,000 more was raised, mostly in the North, and the committee, in June, 1884, handed the trustees the keys of a nearly completed building. The erection of this, according to the plans of Capt. A. Lybrock, architect, and some further modifications of previous

structures, have produced an edifice second in size and beauty to none in Virginia. The improvements to the old buildings, the introduction of water and of a complete system of drainage, and the grading of the grounds entailed an expenditure of $15,000, to which nearly as much more must be added before all will be complete. The main floor of the new wing—a splendid room 103 by 43 feet clear and 22 feet pitch—is fitted up with tasteful walnut cases for the Jeter Library Hall. The upper floor of the same size and pitch will be similarly fitted up as the Thomas Museum, in memory of our most liberal benefactor, who died October 8, 1882. Besides the two instances already mentioned, when he came to the rescue in times of crisis, he was constantly giving to the college. His last gift, made in 1881, was an endowment of $25,000 for one of the chairs; the school of philosophy was subsequently designated.

BEQUESTS.

The college in its earlier years received some small legacies, but they were not kept separate from other funds, and can not now be satisfactorily traced. Samuel Tunstall, a merchant of King and Queen County, Va., who died in 1876, devised property amounting to $8,200, now invested and held as the "Tunstall foundation." James Phillips, of Richmond City, died in 1878, leaving to the college $5,000, which has been invested, and a residuary legacy, which is expected to yield several thousand more on the final settlement of his estate. Several other bequests of considerable value are known to have been made and will in due time be realized. The trustees look to this as one important source of supply for the ever-increasing needs of a growing institution.

THE TRUSTEES.

Want of space prevents us from giving a full list of all who have been trustees with the dates of their appointment, and death or resignation. They meet twice a year, in December and in June, and frequently at other times. The committees on finance, on grounds and buildings, and on library and museum, as well as not a few others of the body, give to the affairs of the college much valuable time and earnest thought. All act without fee or reward, even paying their own expenses in attending meetings of the board.

Their secretary and treasurer, Rev. C. H. Ryland, D. D., was elected in December, 1873, to attend to the "collection, preservation, and increase of the funds of the college." He is also librarian and superintendent of grounds and buildings.

CHANGES IN THE FACULTY.

In 1869 the trustees abolished the office of president, and devolved its executive duties upon a chairman, to be nominated annually by the faculty. At the same time Dr. Jones resigned his connection with the college, since which Professor Puryear has been annually elected chair-

man of the faculty. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., was elected in 1868 professor of English, and filled the chair till 1881, when he became general agent of the Peabody Fund. During most of the time he taught also the school of philosophy. Rodes Massie, now of the University of Tennessee, was elected professor of modern languages in 1873, and resigned in 1882. Prof. W. W. Valentine, in Mr. Massie's absence, had filled the chair for the session of 1880–81. Since 1882 its duties have been divided between Professors Smith and Harris. In 1873 the school of natural science was divided, Professor Puryear retaining chemistry and geology, and Charles H. Winston being chosen professor of physics. In 1877–78 George S. Thomas filled the chair of Greek during the absence of the professor. Drs. William D. Thomas and A. B. Brown were elected to the chairs of philosophy and of English in 1881.

A preparatory department was established in 1867, and was taught for one year by Messrs. L. T. Gwathmey and E. C. Cabell, undergraduates, then by H. A. Strode, E. K. Murray, William T. Thom, and L. T. Gwathmey, ranking as assistant professors. It was discontinued upon the increase of the faculty in 1873, and the work of some preparatory classes was assumed by the several professors.

A commercial department was begun in 1867, under the charge of the professor of mathematics, and from 1868 was conducted for five years by Prof. G. Morris Nicol.

A class in physiology and hygiene was formed in 1871 by Dr. Z. B. Herndon, and was continued for four years.

A law school was established in 1870, and was conducted for two years by Profs. J. D. Halyburton and William Greene; for two years more by Profs. William A. Maury and James Neeson; and from 1877–82 by Prof. Samuel D. Davies.

ATTENDANCE OF STUDENTS.

The total number enrolled in 1866–67, as we have seen, was ninety. Comparatively few of them were really prepared to enter college, because the high schools and academies which once dotted the State, had been nearly all closed for five years. A preparatory department was for a while absolutely necessary. The situation of the college marked it also as a suitable place for a commercial course and for a law school. The addition of these adjuncts to the regular course and the revival of agricultural prosperity brought a rapid increase in numbers, followed by subsequent reductions in consequence of circumstances which affected all similar institutions. Latterly there has been a steady advance to the present number, 164, which is the largest attendance of collegiate students in our whole history.

For years the college has had a larger Virginia patronage than any other institution could boast, if we exclude professional schools. In the catalogue of this year are found students from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Louisiana, and Florida (1 each), 2 each from

Maryland, West Virginia, and Mississippi, 3 from Georgia, 4 from Tennessee, 4 from North Carolina, 7 from South Carolina, and 135 from Virginia, 43 of these being from Richmond City.

In age the students range from fifteen to thirty-five, the average being about twenty. Those who will take a degree must attend from two to six sessions, according to preparation and ability; seldom less than three, rarely over five.

LIBRARY.

The library, which had been gradually accumulating up to 1860, was robbed, as we have seen, in 1865 of all its valuable volumes. The accumulation of another, while the college was struggling for existence, has been slow. Every year, however, has seen some additions by purchase or by gift. Edward Jorworth Owen, LL.D., a native of Wales, resident in Saint Louis, in 1867 (two or three years before his death), presented his very valuable library of 2,597 volumes. Charles K. Francis, of New York, gave, in 1874–75, 162 "rare and valuable books." Mrs. L. H. L. Herndon, of Washington, D. C., gave in 1875–76 "nearly 200 volumes." A. P. Repiton, D. D. (one of the first graduates of the seminary) bequeathed in 1876 "over 100 volumes." Dr. J. B. Jeter, in 1881, left to the college over 500 volumes and his manuscripts. During the same year Mrs. Frazer, of Orange County, Va., sent about 100 volumes from the library of her late husband, Rev. Herndon Frazer. Hon. Isaac Davis, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass., gave, in 1882, $1,000, to be used in the purchase of historical works. The names of Drs. C. C. Bitting, of Philadelphia, and Edward Bright, of New York, appear in several successive years as donors of valuable books. Many others, too numerous to mention in detail, have lent their assistance. Upon the completion of the new hall, in 1884, the two literary societies turned over to the college their libraries, amounting to nearly 2,000 volumes.

Among the books thus gotten together, there were, of course, many duplicates, and some of little value. The librarian, with the assistance of Messrs. E. B. Pollard, W. A. Harris, and A. Bagby, spent a vacation in arranging and cataloguing them. There appeared as worthy of a place in the list over 9,000 volumes. The system of library management, adopted after consultation with many experts, is believed to be the simplest and best.

In prosecuting his agency for the Jeter memorial, Dr. A. E. Dickinson undertook to raise also a library fund of $50,000—one-half to be expended at once, the other to be invested, and the interest used from year to year. He has not yet collected the full amount, but has enough secured to warrant the committee in making large purchases, and to insure valuable additions every year.

In connection with the library, two reading-rooms have been opened—one in a public hallway, supplied with daily newspapers; another, more quiet, for the monthlies and quarterlies, as well as for examining books of reference.

MUSEUM.

In 1874 the two literary societies, working independently, began the collection of museums. Within a year they had the nucleus of a good collection, and while continuing to work for its increase, handed it over to the care of the faculty. No satisfactory catalogue has yet been completed, and until it is made, proper credit to donors can not be given. The number of contributors up to 1877 was about seventy-five, among them Rev. Dr. Bitting, Hon. B. O. Duncan, United States consul at Naples; Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Rome, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, are mentioned. The last named has been unremitting in his interest, and has added much more than any other one person to the value of the collection. Among many contributors, since 1877, may be mentioned Lieut. J. C. Gresham, United States Army (Indian curiosities), Mrs. T. P. Crawford, and Mrs. S. J. Holmes, of Tung Chow, China; Rev. W. J. David, of Lagos, Africa; Rev. R. H. Graves, D. D., of Canton (a large historical collection of Chinese coins and other articles); Col. William Townes, of Mecklenburg, Virginia (valuable collection of coins), and Rev. W. C. Bitting (numerous specimens from the Luray Cavern). In the fall of 1876 the trustees made a small appropriation, and sent Prof. C. H. Winston to Philadelphia, where he obtained, partly by gift and partly by purchase, many articles which had been exhibited in the Centennial Exposition. As soon as everything is mounted in the new hall, a complete catalogue, with full acknowledgments, will be prepared.

LITERARY SOCIETIES.

Very important adjuncts of the college are the two societies which meet weekly for debate and other literary exercises. The Mu Sigma Rho dates from 1846, its name and motto having been suggested by Dr. G. F. Holmes, then professor of ancient languages. The Philologian was organized in 1855. Each stimulates the other by a generous rivalry, and both work together, as in starting the museum, for the common good

MEDALS.

The Woods medal for excellence in declamation, awarded by a select committee after public contest, was founded in 1868 by a gift of $100, yielding $6 a year, from Hiram Woods, Esq., of Baltimore, Md. It is made in the shape of a crescent inscribed with the names of Chatham and Henry.

The Frances Gwin medal, awarded by the professor of philosophy to his best graduate, was established in 1872 by Rev. D. W. Gwin, D. D., then of Atlanta, Ga., in honor of his mother. On it is engraved the figure of a student kneeling, with the motto, *credo ut intelligam.*

The Steel medal, for excellence in reading, awarded by the faculty after competitive trial, was founded in 1875 by Dr. George B. Steel, of Richmond, who gave $200 so invested as to yield $10 a year.

The Tanner medal, awarded by the professor of Greek to his best graduate, was established in 1883 by the gift of $250, so invested as to yield $15 a year, from Col. William E. Tanner, of Richmond, in memory of his parents, John F. and Harriet L. Tanner. It is in the shape of a Grecian helmet inscribed with the figure of Athena presenting a crown and the legend, *οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου.*

SCHOLARSHIPS.

The First Baptist Church, of Richmond, Va., gave in 1876, $1,055 to found a scholarship. It pays the tuition of one student nominated by the church. About the same time other sums amounting to $1,645 were contributed to found scholarships for the benefit of sons of Virginia Baptist ministers. Still another, to be named in memory of Dr. A. M. Poindexter, has been undertaken by the Dan River Association, in which he long lived and labored. On it $300 have been paid.

In 1883 Hon. George A. Woolverton, of Albany, N. Y., proposed the raising of a scholarship fund of $10,000. He has paid $1,000 for his part and the rest has been subscribed and partly paid. As soon as it is completed due publication will be made of the names of other donors and of the conditions on which the benefits may be obtained. Hon. J. B. Hoyt, of Stamford, Conn., has recently paid over for a kindred purpose the sum of $5,000.

ALUMNI.

The plan of the college in requiring thorough mastery and rigid examinations in every school, and in allowing selection of studies with reference to the student's needs rather than to his graduation, limits the honor of its degrees to comparatively few persons. Many others are quite as much benefited by the instruction received and reflect quite as much honor on the institution. The list of over 2,000 students who have not taken a degree includes three college presidents, half a dozen professors, as many judges, six or eight editors, and scores of lawyers, doctors, teachers, preachers, and other influential men.

SOME GENERAL REMARKS.

The foregoing sketch shows that Richmond College is emphatically a growing institution. Its plan allows indefinite expansion and admits contraction without jar whenever required by stress of circumstances. It is therefore able, while holding firmly to whatever is good in the ideas and systems of the past, to adapt itself readily to the demands of the future. Firmly rooted in the affections of a great Christian denomination, and commanding the respect, the confidence, and, to no inconsiderable extent, the patronage of all denominations, including Israelites, it has grown by the combined labors and liberality of many.

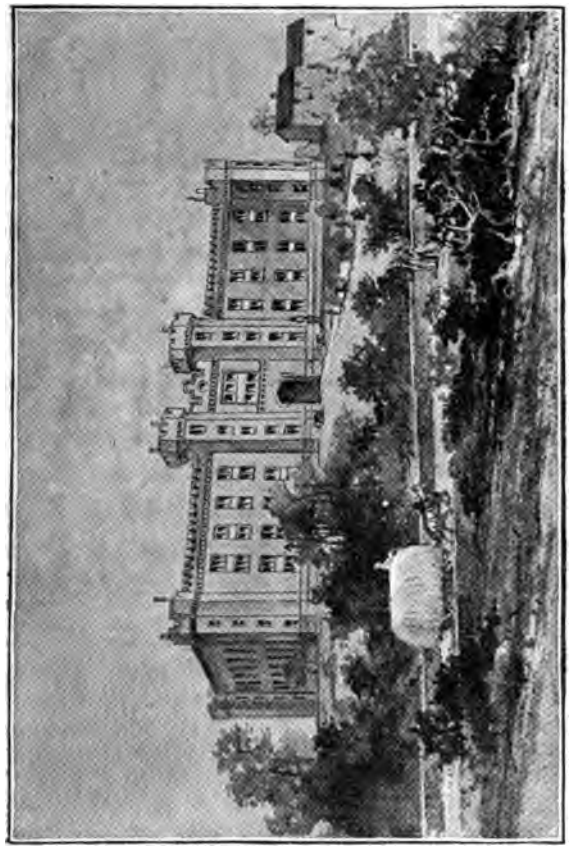
Its eight schools, equipped with all needful maps, charts, and apparatus and manned by seven professors, its buildings sufficient for the

accommodation of two hundred and fifty students, its library and museum, its aids and incentives, its general and special endowments, and its alumni, scattered from New York to California, and from the lakes to Texas, are no mean result from these years of toil. But it has not attained its goal, has not reached its purposed stature, it is but entering as if upon young manhood with bright visions of many victories yet to be won, great advances still to be made. All its traditions and all its hopes require that it shall offer the best facilities for getting a sound, liberal education at the lowest possible cost. The trustees have always carefully avoided debt, and cared more for solid worth than for mere show; the faculty have constantly insisted on honest industry, rigid examinations, and a high standard of graduation; the students have generously responded to the genius of the place, have aimed at real learning, and worked faithfully for its attainment; most of all, and best of all, the blessings of God have rested richly upon this outgrowth of the prayers and the self-sacrifices of His faithful servants.

The following additional information has been received from the chairman of the faculty of Richmond College: "Of the present faculty, Professors Thomas and Harris were students at Richmond College, obtaining their B. A. in 1851 and 1856, respectively. Professors Thomas, Smith, Winston, and Harris (in the order named), obtained the master's degree at the University of Virginia. Puryear and Harrison were students there but did not complete a degree-course. Pollard was educated at Columbian College, District of Columbia, and Hasseleff in Europe. Since the sketch was written we have considerably increased our endowment. It is about as follows:

Grounds, buildings, apparatus, etc	$350,000
Invested funds	250,000
Valued below market rates	600,000

"The increase of invested funds within the past twelve months has been $85,000."



VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEXINGTON.

CHAPTER XXI.

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.[1]

The Virginia Military Institute was established and is supported by the State of Virginia. It was organized in 1839 as a State military and scientific school, upon the basis of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and has been in successful operation for forty-seven years. The cadets admitted consist of two classes, State and pay cadets. The Institute supplies to the State cadet his board and tuition; and, in consideration thereof, he is required to teach two years after graduation. The pay cadet is at his own expense, which averages $360 per academic year, for every charge, including clothing. The State cadets are selected from those who are unable to pay their own expenses.

The State makes an annual appropriation for the support of the Virginia Military Institute of $30,000. This sum supplies tuition and board to the State cadets without charge, and supports—by the aid of the

[1] Reprinted from "The South" June, 1887. A brief but excellent sketch of the Virginia Military Institute may be found in the report of the superintendent of public instruction (Dr. W. H. Ruffner) of Virginia for 1872. A good sketch may also be found in the official register of the institute for 1886–87. The revised regulations for the Virginia Military Institute describe in minute detail its martial discipline and interior administration. The introductory address to the corps of cadets on the resumption of the academic exercises September 10, 1866, on "The Inner Life of the Virginia Military Institute Cadet," by General Francis H. Smith, LL. D., superintendent of the institute, gives a striking picture of cadet life in *ante-bellum* days. The following interesting letter is printed in the official register for 1886–87:

"HDQRS. FIRST BRIGADE, SECOND CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"*Centreville, October* 22, 1861.

"GENTLEMEN: Your circular of the 9th instant has been received, and I beg leave to say, in reply, that I only took the field from a sense of duty; and that the obligation that brought me into service still retains me in it, and will probably continue to do so as long as the War shall last. At the close of hostilities I desire to assume the duties of my chair, and accordingly respectfully request that, if consistent with the interest of the Institute, the action of the board of visitors may be such as to admit of my return upon the restoration of peace.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"T. J. JACKSON,
"*Prof. Nat. and Ex. Philosophy, V. M. I.*

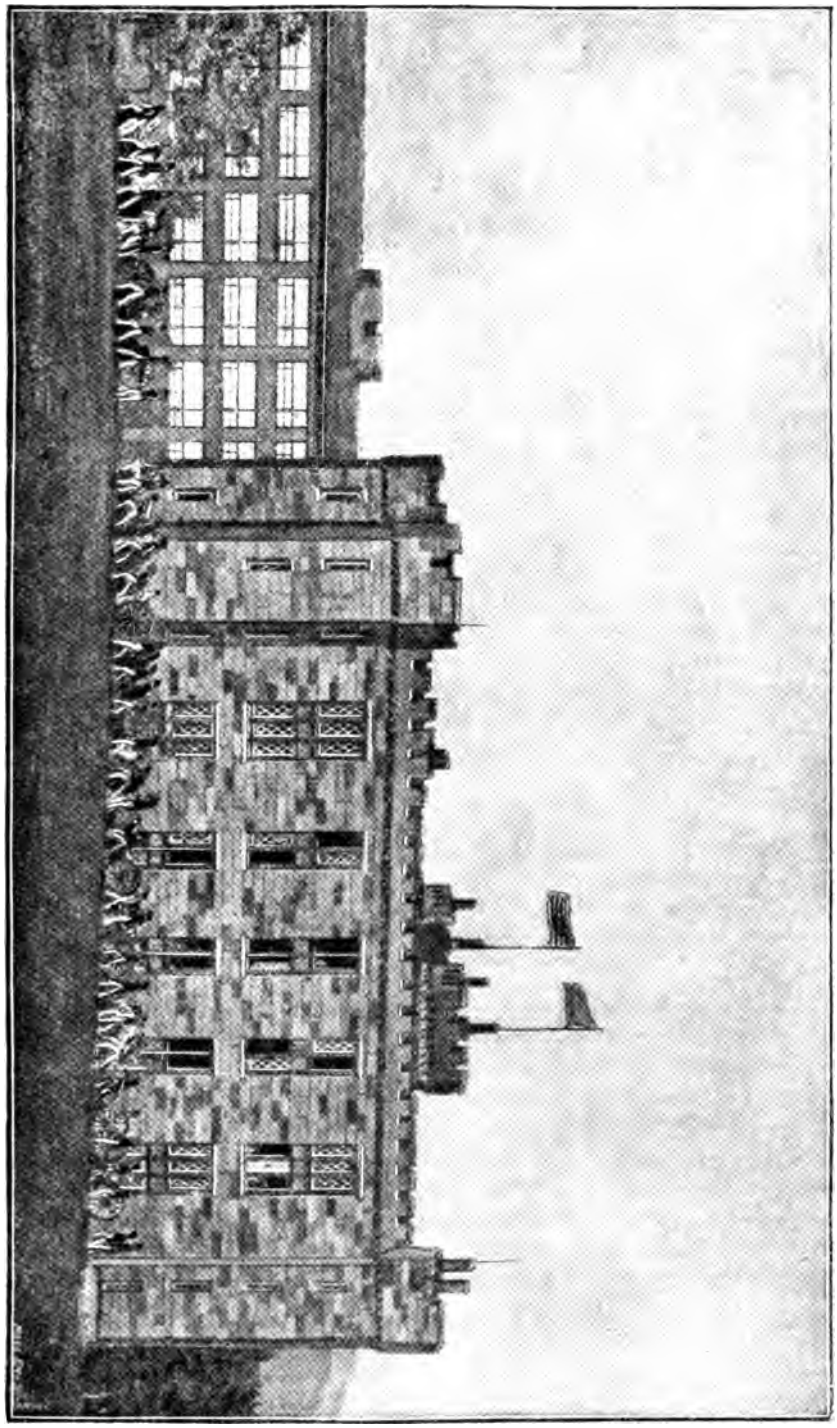
"To
"General WM. H. RICHARDSON,
"General T. H. HAYMOND,
"*Committee.*"

tuition fees, and the income from vested funds—the faculty. In 1860 a donation of $20,000 was made by General Philip St. George Cocke, for the endowment of the chair of agriculture, and in the same year a donation was made of $11,000 by Dr. William Newton Mercer, of Louisiana, to endow the chair of animal and vegetable physiology, applied to agriculture. A donation was made at the same time by Mrs. E. L. Claytor, of Virginia, of $5,000, to erect a hall of natural history.

The Virginia Military Institute had just placed itself before the public as a general school of applied science, for the development of the agricultural, mineral, commercial, manufacturing, and internal improvement interests of the State and country, when the army of General Hunter destroyed its stately buildings and consigned to the flames its library of 10,000 volumes, the philosophical apparatus used for ten years by "Stonewall" Jackson, and all its chemicals. The cadets were then transferred to Richmond and the institution was continued in vigorous operation until the evacuation of Richmond on the 3d of April, 1865.

On the 21st of September, 1864, the board of visitors met in Richmond to reorganize the institution. The War had made sad traces on the school, besides the destruction of its building, library, and apparatus. Three of its professors, Lieut. Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson, Maj. Gen. R. E. Rodes, and Col. S. Crutchfield, two of its assistant professors, Capt. W. H. Morgan, and Lieut. L. Crittenden, and 200 of its alumni had been slain in battle, and 350 others maimed. Considering, however, the great demand flowing from the general suspension of education in the South, and the special field of usefulness distinctly marked out for this school of applied science, the board of visitors proceeded with energy and resolution in their work, and having elected Gen. G. W. Custis Lee and Col. Wm. B. Blair, distinguished graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, to fill two of the chairs made vacant by the death of General Jackson and General Rodes, and at subsequent meetings appointed Commodore M. F. Maury, LL. D., late of the Observatory, professor of physics and superintendent of the physical survey of Virginia, and Capt. John M. Brooke, late of the Navy, to the new chair of practical astronomy, geodesy, physical geography, and meteorology, the Virginia Military Institute resumed its accustomed work amid its ruins at Lexington on the 17th of October, 1865, with some 50 cadets, organized in four classes, and prosecuted its work with earnestness and effect, and on the Fourth of July following, 10 cadets, constituting the first class, who had borne the hardships and perils of the institution during the whole of the War, were graduated, having completed a course of scientific and general study which will commend them to the confidence of the scientific scholar.

The Legislature of Virginia promptly responded to these evidences of vitality on the part of the school by providing for the payment of its annuity and the interest on its vested funds. This provision enabled the board of visitors to appoint the State cadets required by law to be



VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE—CADETS AT BATTERY DRILL.

admitted, and arrangements were at the same time in progress to restore the buildings; and on the 1st of July, 1870, they had the pleasure to report to the Governor the complete execution of this work, including a full equipment of the laboratories, engineering, and drawing departments of the institution. The Virginia Military Institute now numbers 1,334 graduates, 430 of whom were State cadets. There have been altogether 4,975 matriculates, and of these 813 were State cadets.

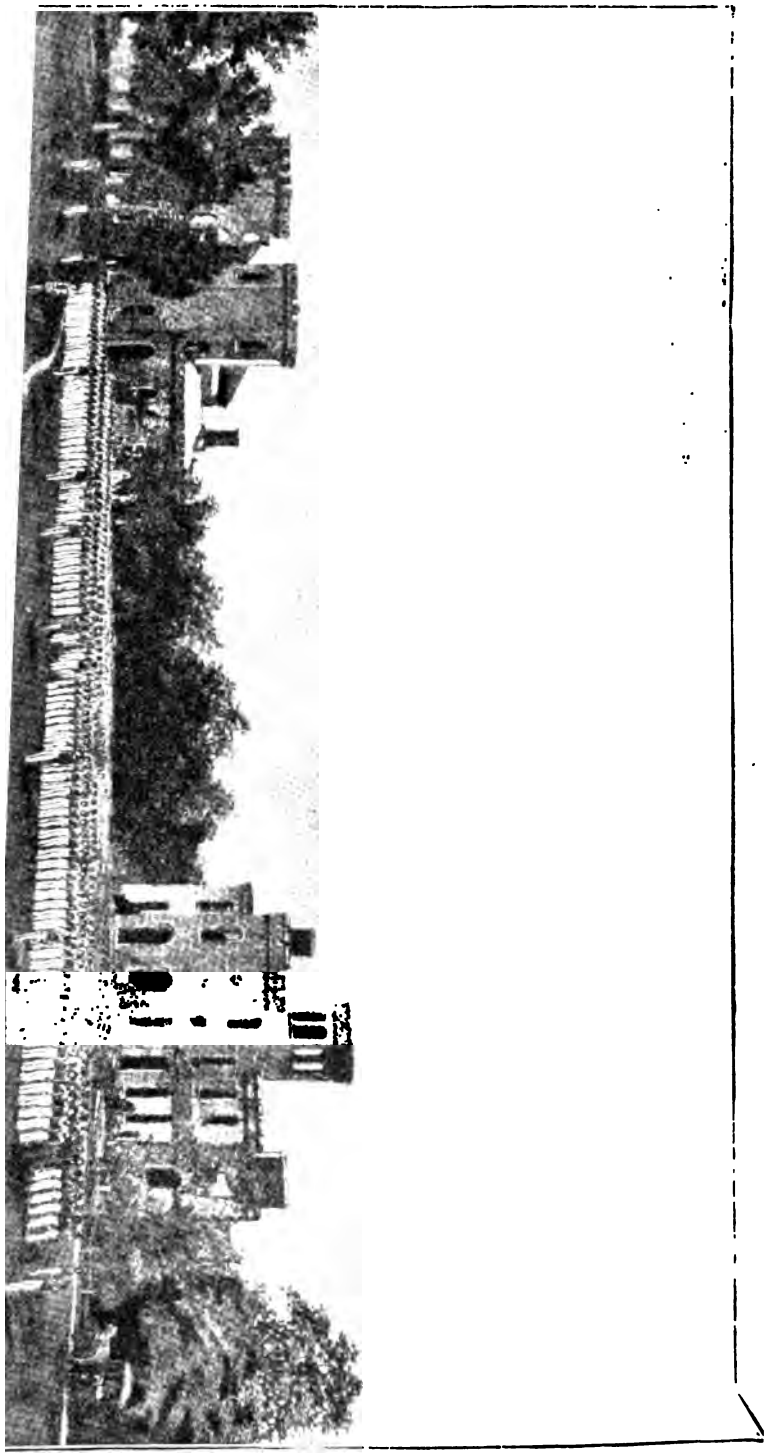
By the Act approved March 15, 1884, relief was given to the Virginia Military Institute, by providing substantially for the payment of the floating debt and the gradual retirement of the whole of its bonded debt; these debts resulting from the work of restoring the ruin of war.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION AND GOVERNMENT.

The system of instruction and government in the Virginia Military Institute is distinctive. and is founded upon that of the United States Military Academy at West Point. As soon as a young man enters this institution it assumes over him an entire control, and not only directs his moral and intellectual education, but provides everything required for his personal wants or comfort. A cadet may, if his parents desire it, remain in the charge of the institution for the entire term of four years, as the system of government keeps it always in operation. The months of July and August in each year are devoted exclusively to military exercises. Furloughs are granted to those who may desire it, in turn, during this period. The cadets are lodged and boarded in the institution, their clothing, books, and other supplies being provided by the quartermaster of the Institute at cost. The sick are under the special care of the surgeon, with hospital and other facilities for nursing.

The energy, system, subordination, and self-reliance which the military government of the Institute cultivates give a practical character to the education which it supplies. The high reputation which its alumni have established for the school is the evidence of its value. Attendance at church and Bible instruction are prescribed for each Sabbath. The government of the Virginia Military Institute, although military in its organization, is carefully arranged for the protection and development of the moral character of the cadets. Attendance on the public services of the sanctuary and regular Bible instruction on the Sabbath are positively enjoined by the regulations.

Appended to the report of the examining board, July, 1875, is the following remark: "In conclusion, your committee can not too highly commend what has seemed to them the marked and distinguishing features of this institution, the happy combination of the military system of instruction with the department of science and of literary culture, and the more ennobling culture of the heart and soul. Nowhere else have we seen this combination so complete and perfect. We can not speak of it too highly. It is such a system as fits a pupil for life and for death. Under its guidance he is sure to tread always the path of duty, virtue, and honor."



MEDALS AND SCHOLARSHIPS.

The Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M. P. for the University of Cambridge, England, acting as representative of the association which presented to Virginia the statue of "Stonewall" Jackson, by Foley, transmitted, in 1876, the sum of £243 16*s.* 1*d.*, being a surplus of the statue fund, to be invested as the foundation of a further memorial of the great Confederate soldier. By authority of the honored donors, and in execution of their wishes, this fund was dedicated to be invested and perpetuated as an inalienable and inviolable capital, the annual income from which shall be expended in procuring two prizes of gold, to be engraved and designated as "The First Jackson-Hope Medal," and "The Second Jackson-Hope Medal," respectively, and to be bestowed annually, as rewards of merit, upon the two most distinguished graduates of the Virginia Military Institute in the order of their distinction.

It was deemed most becoming that this fund should be dedicated to the institution of learning which Jackson, as instructor and disciplinarian, so long and conspicuously adorned, his official connection with which was severed only by his illustrious death; and it is equally appropriate that its designation shall forever associate the munificence of his English admirers with his imperishable name.

As long as the Virginia Military Institute stands it will prize, as one of its prerogative distinctions, the peculiar relation which it bears to the history of General T. J. Jackson. Here for a long time he labored as a professor. From her parade ground, in command of the corps of cadets, he made his first march in his career of glory, and when his career was closed by a soldier's death, to the corps of cadets was assigned the solemn charge of conducting his remains to the resting place selected by himself with his dying breath.

By the generosity of those English gentlemen, whose munificence presented to the Commonwealth of Virginia a majestic statue of her illustrious son, this distinction for the Institute has been signalized and rendered conspicuous and perpetual. The two costly medals provided for in the benefaction, to be bestowed hereafter, annually, upon the first and second distinguished graduates of the Institute, will connect their names with that of Jackson, and will be cherished heirlooms for their descendants.

Two scholarships have been established by the board of visitors on the endowment of General Philip St. George Cocke, for some time president of the board of visitors, and two on the endowment of Messrs. J. K. Gilliat & Co., of London, England. These scholarships entitle the holders to free board, tuition, and room-rent, and are valued each at the sum of $275.

CHAPTER XXII.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

By Professors White and Harris.

The history of Washington and Lee University is connected with the early settlement of the beautiful "Valley of Virginia." The lands lying contiguous to the headwaters of the James and Shenandoah Rivers were occupied, about a century after the settlement at Jamestown, by an energetic, adventurous, and brave race of people, distinguished for their devotion to civil and religious liberty. These hardy "Scotch-Irish"[1]

[1] Among these Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley of Virginia was Robert Alexander, a master of arts of Trinity, who settled in Augusta County, 1743. In the Historical Sketch of the Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University (1749–1888), it is said that the germ of this institution was "a mathematical and classical school, called the Augusta Academy, established in 1749 by Robert Alexander, and first located two miles south-west of the site of Greenville, in Augusta, and near the interlacings of the headsprings of the Shenandoah on the eastward and of the James River on the westward. It was the first classical school in the Valley of Virginia, and was continued by an uninterrupted succession of principals and assistant instructors, on successive sites, increasing in usefulness and influence, until it gradually developed into Washington College [now Washington and Lee University]." Robert Alexander is said to have been the predecessor of Dr. Brown and Mr. Graham, as principal of Augusta Academy. The early history of Augusta Academy is very obscure, and the editor of this report has been much perplexed by the varying accounts of recognized authorities, some of which he has endeavored to disentangle in the next chapter, on the "Bibliography of Washington and Lee University."

The following account of Scotch-Irish educational beginnings in Virginia and at the South has been taken, at the suggestion of the Commissioner of Education, from The Early History of the Scotch and Irish Churches, and their Relations to the Presbyterian Church of America, by Rev. J. G. Craighead, D. D.:

"The Presbyterian colonists of Virginia also made as ample provision for the education of their youth as their circumstances permitted. In most of their congregations pastors established classical and scientific schools. West of the Blue Ridge such a school was carried on at New Providence [in Augusta County] by the Rev. John Brown; while east of the Ridge [in Louisa County] a similar institution was conducted by the Rev. John Todd. * * *

"The first of these, after removals to Mount Pleasant, where it was known as Augusta Academy, and then to Timber Ridge as Liberty Hall, finally became Washington College. The widespread desire for literary institutions of a high order led the Presbytery of Hanover, as early as 1771, to take measures to establish an academy in Prince Edward County, which subsequently was chartered as Hampden-Sidney College. These institutions, so humble in their origin, awakened such a thirst for knowledge in the minds of large numbers of the youth of that State, that not a few

occupants of the Blue Mountains of Virginia were among the bravest of Revolutionary soldiers. In the darkest days of our struggle for independence General Washington expressed his confidence in their patriotism and courage; saying that, if all other resources should fail, he might retire with a single standard to Augusta, and rally a band of patriots who would meet the enemy on the line of the Blue Ridge, and there establish the boundary of a free empire in the West. Augusta embraced the fine country, in the heart of the valley, now bearing that name, and the neighboring counties of Rockbridge and Botetourt, lying southwest and immediately on the headwaters of the James. Two companies of soldiers from Augusta were with General Washington at Braddock's defeat and at the battle of the Great Meadows.

These valley people, distinguished as they were for patriotism, were not less devoted to the cause of religion and education, and had hardly established places of abode when they erected the temple of worship and the school-house, the men quarrying the stone and hewing the timber while their wives and daughters carried the sand, packed in sacks on horses, sometimes to the distance of six or eight miles.

William and Mary was the only college in Virginia at this early period, and as it was located in the lower portion of the State, the Scotch-Irish settlers of the valley determined to establish a high school in their section.

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of them afterward became eminent for their literary attainments, and were distinguished in the pulpit and at the bar.

"Classical schools of great excellence were organized by Dr. David Caldwell at Buffalo, and afterward at Guilford, N. C., in which many of the most eminent men of the South—lawyers, statesmen, and clergymen—were educated; by Dr. Samuel E. McCorkle, a thorough scholar and earnest student, whose school at Thyatira, N. C., bore the significant name of Zion Parnassus, and in which there was a department for the education of school teachers, and provision was made to have poor and pious young men taught free of expense, of whom 45 entered the pulpit; by the Rev. William Bingham, at Wilmington, and subsequently at Chatham and Orange; by Dr. Joseph Alexander, at Sugar Creek; by Dr. Alexander McWhorter, principal of 'Queen's Museum,' in whose hall the debates preceding the Mecklenburg Declaration were held, and which the Legislature of North Carolina afterward chartered under the name of Liberty Hall Academy. Other classical and scientific schools were taught by Rev. Dr. Robinson, at Poplar Tent; by Dr. Wilson, at Rocky River; by Dr. Hall, at Bethany; by the Rev. Henry Patillo, at Orange and Granville; and by Dr. Waddell, at Wilmington, under whose instruction some of the ablest civilians of the State were educated.

"A large number of Presbyterian families moved at an early day from Virginia and the Carolinas into Tennessee, who carried with them their love of education. The Rev. Samuel Doak, a graduate of Princeton College, opened a classical school in Washington County [Tenn.], which was afterwards incorporated under the name of Martin Academy, and finally became known as Washington College. This was the first literary institution established in the Mississippi Valley. The books that formed the nucleus of the college library were transported from Philadelphia over the mountains in sacks on pack-horses. After acting as president of the college for several years, Mr. Doak resigned and removed to Bethel, where he founded Tusculum Academy, and continued to be the active advocate and patron of learning, as he had ever been the decided friend of civil and religious liberty."

One of the earliest, if not the very earliest school established, was known first as Augusta Academy,[1] then as Mount Pleasant, and during the Revolutionary War as Liberty Hall. This school, after occupying other neighboring localities, was finally established in the vicinity of Lexington, Va., May, 1776, under the name of Liberty Hall Academy with William Graham, its virtual founder, as its rector. Mr. Graham was the son of a Pennsylvania farmer, who lived in Paxton Township, near the site of the city of Harrisburg, and was educated at Princeton, where he was a class-mate of General Henry Lee, familiarly known as "Light-Horse Harry," the confidential friend of Washington, and ancestor of Gen. Robert E. Lee, the late president of Washington and Lee University. There was thus, in some sort, an association between General Washington and the founder of Liberty Hall Academy. Liberal subscriptions, considering their scanty means, were made for the maintenance of their school by these good and true men, who gave sums ranging from 1 to 10 pounds sterling, and Mr. Graham made a northern tour as far as Boston, collecting 776 pounds and 18 shillings.

Among the pupils of Liberty Hall were Priestly, the distinguished teacher of Tennessee, and Alexander, of Princeton, whose descendants to the third generation are so widely known for their worth, talents, and learning.

Liberty Hall was seriously embarrassed in its operations, and almost disbanded during the struggle for independence then convulsing the country. When the General Assembly was driven from the low country towards the mountains by the British dragoons under Tarleton, the rector of the academy, with his boys and such of his neighbors as he could rally, marched to Rockfish Gap to dispute the passage of the Blue Ridge. What with the interruptions incident to the War, and the embarrassed condition of its finances in consequence of a depreciated currency, the academy was very much crippled, its entire property at this time being estimated at £2,000.

[1] "The Presbytery of Hanover, about the year 1773, determined to establish 'Augusta Academy,' and it was at first proposed to locate the institution at Staunton. At a meeting of Presbytery in April, 1775, persons were appointed to solicit subscriptions in behalf of the academy, among whom were William McPheeters and John Trimble at North Mountain; Thomas Stuart and Walter Davis at Tinkling Spring; Sampson Mathews at Staunton, and George Mathews, George Moffett, and James Allen in Augusta Congregation. In May, 1776, the Presbytery determined to locate the school on Timber Ridge 'as there was no one in Staunton to take the management and it was uncertain whether there ever would be.' At the same time the Rev. William Graham was elected rector, and a young man named John Montgomery his assistant. Mr. Graham was born in Pennsylvania in 1746, and was educated at Princeton College. Mr. Montgomery was born in Augusta, and graduated at Princeton in 1775. He spent the last years of his life as pastor of Rocky Spring Church in Augusta. Trustees were also appointed: Rev. John Brown, Rev. James Waddell, Thomas and Andrew Lewis, William Preston, Sampson Mathews, Samuel McDowell, George Moffett, and others. In 1779 the school was removed to Lexington and called 'Liberty Hall.' An act of incorporation by the Legislature was obtained in 1782, and the institution has now become 'Washington and Lee University.'" (Waddell's Annals of Augusta County, Va., pp. 184, 185.)

Liberty Hall Academy was chartered in 1782 by the Legislature of Virginia, and was the first literary institution incorporated by the State after the English colony became a Commonwealth.

In January, 1796, the rector called a meeting of the trustees, "to take into consideration some information that he had received, that the Legislature of Virginia had resolved that there should be a seminary in the upper part of the State, and that the President of the United States was about to bestow his 100 shares in the James River Company to aid in endowing the same."

Early in 1784 the Virginia Legislature chartered the first company to improve the navigation of James River. Soon afterwards they passed an act instructing the State treasurer to subscribe 100 additional shares in the company, "the said shares to be vested in George Washington, his heirs and assigns forever." This was not designed as a trust fund, but was a gift, as they expressed it in the preamble to the act, "out of the desire of the representatives of this Commonwealth to embrace every suitable occasion of testifying their sense of the unexampled merits of George Washington, Esquire, towards his country, and it is their wish in particular that these great works for its improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage, will be durable monuments of his glory, may be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country." On receiving a copy of this act, Washington wrote to the Governor declining to accept the donation designed for his private emolument, expressing, however, his "profound and grateful acknowledgments inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards himself." His reason for declining the gift is expressed in the following letter: "When I was called to the station with which I was honored, during the late conflict of our liberties, to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a firm resolution to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense; to this resolution I have invariably adhered; from this resolution (if I had the inclination) I do not feel at liberty to depart. But if it should please the General Assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund, vested in me, from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honor conferred on me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the Legislature."

The General Assembly, at the ensuing meeting in October, 1785, in compliance with this request, repealed the former act, and in its stead enacted, "that the said shares with the tolls and profits thereafter accruing from them, should stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature, in such manner and under such distributions as the said George Washington, Esquire, by deed during his life, or by his last will and testament, should direct and appoint."

During ten years of unfinished work the James River stock was unproductive, and Washington determined to defer the appropriation of his interest until it should appear whether any profits would accrue. Washington referred the decision of the object to the Legislature, who referred it back to him, with the suggestion that he should bestow the gift upon some seminary of learning in the upper country, as the lower country was adequately provided with academies and colleges. On learning that General Washington was left to determine the object of his bounty, General Andrew Moore, of Rockbridge, and General Francis Preston, of Washington County, both at that time Representatives in Congress from western Virginia, called the attention of the illustrious patriot to Liberty Hall Academy, as an object worthy of his donation. In September, 1796, General Washington officially communicated to Governor Brooke his decision in favor of Liberty Hall Academy. In recognition of this generous gift the authorities at Liberty Hall addressed the following letter to Washington:

"SIR: It was not earlier than September, 1797, that we were officially informed of your liberal donation to Liberty Hall Academy. Permit us, as its immediate guardians, to perform the pleasing duty of expressing those sentiments of gratitude which so generous an act naturally inspires. We have long been sensible of the disadvantages to which literary institutions are necessarily subjected, whilst dependent on precarious funds for their support. Reflecting particularly on the many difficulties through which this seminary has been conducted since the first moments of its existence, we can not but be greatly affected by an event which secures to it a permanent and independent establishment. Convinced as we are that public prosperity and security are intimately connected with the diffusion of knowledge, we look around with the highest satisfaction on its rapid advances in these United States, unfeignedly rejoicing that the citizen who has been long distinguished as the assertor of the liberties of his country, adds to this illustrious character the no less illustrious one of patron of the arts and literature. And we trust that no effort will be wanting on our part to encourage whatever branches of knowledge may be of general utility. That you may long enjoy, besides the uninterrupted blessings of health and repose, the superior happiness which none but those who deserve it can enjoy, and which arises from the reflection of having virtuously and eminently promoted the best interests of mankind, is the present prayer of the trustees of Washington Academy, late Liberty Hall.

"By order of the board,

"SAMUEL HOUSTON,
"*Clerk.*"

General Washington wrote in reply as follows:

"MOUNT VERNON, *June* 17, 1798.

"GENTLEMEN: Unaccountable as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the address with which you were pleased to honor me, dated the 12th of April, never came to my hands until the 14th instant.

"To promote literature in this rising empire, and to encourage the arts, have ever been amongst the warmest wishes of my heart. And if the donation which the generosity of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia has enabled me to bestow on Liberty Hall, now by your politeness called Washington Academy, is likely to prove a mean to accomplish these ends, it will contribute to the gratification of my desires. Sentiments like those which have flowed from your pen excite my gratitude, whilst I offer my best vows for the prosperity of the Academy, and for the honor and happiness of those under whose auspices it is conducted.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

The Washington donation at this day yields 6 per cent. interest on $50,000.

The foregoing details are derived mainly from an unpublished manuscript of the late Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., who was for many years president of Washington College.

The Association of the Cincinnati of Virginia was organized by the surviving officers of the Revolutionary War, with the view of perpetuating fraternal relations and to provide for the widows and orphans of their comrades in arms. When there had ceased to be any objects requiring relief from their treasury, the society resolved, influenced by the example of their illustrious chief, as they declared, to appropriate their funds to Washington Academy, and on 13th December, 1802, in the city of Richmond, adopted the following resolutions:

"1st. That a committee be appointed of thirteen to make an appropriation of the funds of the society to such objects as may be agreed upon by the present meeting, subject, however, to confirmation by a majority of the whole number composing the society at the next general meeting, in person or by proxy, appointed in writing or by letter to the president, and of which due notice shall be given in the public papers and by letter from the president.

"2d. That the object of the appropriation of the funds of the society be the seminary of learning in the county of Rockbridge, denominated Washington Academy (to which the shares of the James River Company, heretofore vested in our late illustrious leader and hero, General Washington, have by him been appropriated), subject to such charges of a charitable nature as have been or may be adopted by this society."

The fund, so generously conveyed, now yields to the institution that received it the interest on about $23,000.

John Robinson, of Rockbridge County, Va., a native of Ireland and a soldier under Washington, in imitation of the munificence of his commander, bequeathed to the school, now under a new charter styled Washington College, of which he was himself a trustee, his estate, which the authorities of the college made available as an endowment for about $40,000.

Founded in the opening of our eventful struggle for independence, generously sustained by its original friends, and at a later period in its history munificently endowed by Washington and his compatriots, Washington College became and continued to be a valuable seminary of learning, sending out a large number of alumni, who conspicuously adorned the various learned professions, the halls of legislation, both State and national, and the walks of private life.

Having on two occasions, in its earlier history, been the victim of fire, and having participated in and survived the struggle for American independence, the College during the late unhappy War suffered very seriously in the damage done to its buildings, its library, and philosophical apparatus, and in the temporary failure of any income from its endowment fund.

Notwithstanding this prostration of its material interests, the board of trustees met in the summer of 1865, and with a liberality highly commendable pledged their individual credit in negotiating a loan, by means of which they might repair the desolations and see again in operation the school that had been entrusted to their control.

General Robert Edward Lee, who it was known had declined all proposals that seemed to involve a compromise of personal independence, was tendered the presidency of Washington College, in the belief that he might accept a position which would give him honorable employment, the thing that he desired, and would at the same time be a channel through which he might do something for the intellectual and moral training of the young men of the country. The position was accepted by General Lee under the influence of these considerations, and in doing so he gave a new impulse to the old college of Washington, attracting a large number of students, reassuring its friends and enlisting in its behalf many generous benefactors in all parts of the country.

The course of instruction, academic and professional, was greatly enlarged under the energetic and wise administration of General Lee, who brought to the school, not only the weight of his elevated Christian character, which gave him unsurpassed influence over all who came within its sphere, but also a thorough and intelligent knowledge of what should be required in a leading institution of learning.

Washington College, up to 1865, had the organization of most American colleges—a fixed curriculum of four years, terminating in the degree of bachelor of arts. In 1865–66 the course of instruction was broken up into separate schools. This change was made in view of the heterogeneous character of the students and their varying aims and grade of preparation. As the inconveniences of this organization became more apparent there has been a gradual reversion to a curriculum, with a pretty wide election, so that the present organization is substantially the same as that of Yale or Princeton. The University at present embraces three courses for the degree of bachelor of arts; fuller and more thorough courses for the degree of master of arts; special courses

for doctor of philosophy, and schools of law and civil engineering. The present productive endowment of Washington and Lee University amounts to a little over $600,000, and its entire property is valued at about $800,000.

The course which General Lee proposed to pursue in the disturbed condition of the country at that time is shown by the following sentiments, expressed in his letter of August 24, 1865, addressed to the board of trustees, in which he indicated his acceptance of the presidency:

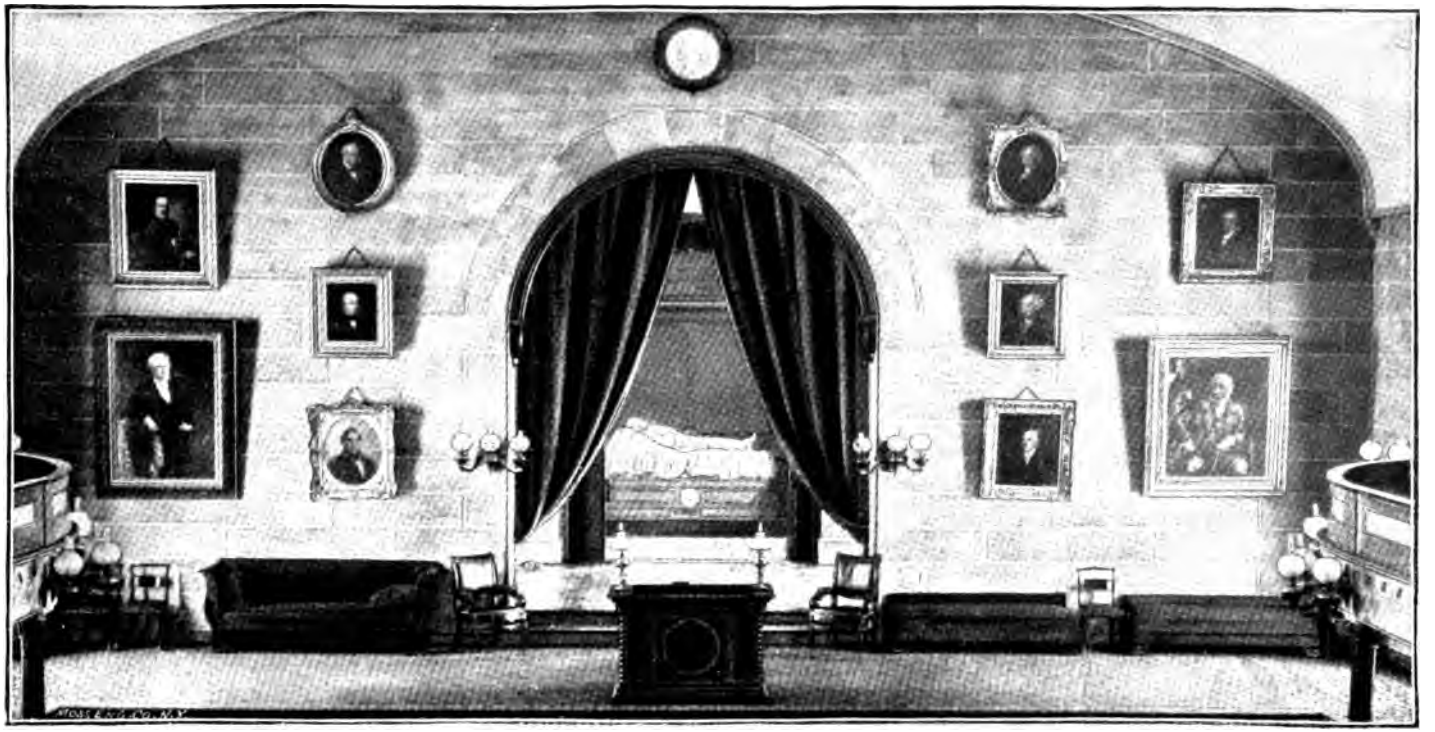
"I think it the duty of every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony, and in no way to oppose the policy of the State or General Government directed to that object. It is particularly incumbent on those charged with the instruction of the young to set them an example of submission to authority."

The work of fully organizing the professional, classical, and scientific departments was completed under the assiduous supervision of General Lee, and remains a monument to his faithful labor, and the effort to secure a more adequate endowment fund was progressing favorably, when, in October, 1870, Washington College was called to mourn the death of its honored president.[1]

The board of trustees at once assembled, and elected General George Washington Custis Lee to fill the office of president, made vacant by the death of his father, the name of the institution being changed by an act of the Legislature from Washington College to Washington and Lee University.

He was inaugurated in February, 1871, and has filled the presidency of Washington and Lee University for the period of seventeen years, during which the institution has received many signal testimonials of public favor, has sustained its reputation as a thorough school of learning, and now affords superior educational advantages to the young men of the country.

[1] General Lee is buried in the chapel of Washington and Lee University, standing in the foreground of the general view of the institution. This chapel, without the apse-like addition, was the first building erected under the direction of General Lee after he assumed the presidency of the University. The accompanying view of the interior of the apsis shows the monumental chamber, in which is placed Valentine's recumbent figure of General Lee. The lower story of the apsis contains the crypt or vault, in which the remains of General Lee repose. Adjoining the crypt and underneath the chapel is the room used as an office by General Lee during his presidency, and kept now precisely as he left it. The foreground of the picture represents the platform of the University chapel. The portraits upon the wall are of certain distinguished men: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Chief-Justice Marshall, General Zachary Taylor; and certain benefactors of the institution: W. W. Corcoran, Warren Newcomb, Thomas A. Scott, Dr. W. N. Mercer, and Vincent L. Bradford. The general effect is very striking, and illustrates the educational history of Virginia in a remarkable manner. Harvard University has its memorial hall, frequented daily by Cambridge students. Here is the shrine of Washington and Lee University, facing young Virginians as they meet for chapel service. These memorials are now historic, and they can be viewed with interest and profit by any historical student.



VIEW OF GENERAL LLE'S STATUE FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

BY THE EDITOR.

Manuscript History of Washington College, by Henry Ruffner, D. D.

This unpublished account of the early history of the college is by one of its former presidents, the father of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, who was for a long time superintendent of public instruction in Virginia. The editor of this report finds the Ruffner manuscript quoted in Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, p. 433, where the origin of the academy of Hampden-Sidney in 1774 (chartered as a college in 1783) is explained as a Presbyterian foundation, "established in Prince Edward, at a point convenient for the Presbyterians of Virginia and North Carolina." Howe quotes at some length from Dr. Henry Ruffner, not only upon the origin of Hampden-Sidney, but upon the origin of the other Presbyterian foundation in the State of Virginia, which Howe says was built upon Timber Ridge, near Fairfield, in Rockbridge County, 1776. (See Howe's Historical Collections, pp. 449, 454, and 455.) Howe's quotation from Dr. Ruffner is not very satisfactory, and students of Virginia educational history would be glad to see the original manuscript in published form. The historian's son, Dr. W. H. Ruffner, informs the writer that the manuscript is in the keeping of the secretary and librarian of Washington and Lee University, Mr. Jacob Fuller.

Foote's Sketches of Virginia. First Series, Chapters XX, XXI, pp. 438–489; and Second Series, Chapter VII, pp. 96–97.

This work is far more satisfactory than Howe's Collections upon the educational beginnings of Virginia. In fact, Foote is invaluable for students of Virginia local history and ecclesiastical biography. Foote finds the germ of Washington College, or Liberty Hall Academy, in a private grammar school, kept by the Rev. John Brown,[1] and adopted, in 1774 by the Presbytery of

[1] Rev. John Brown was a graduate of Nassau Hall, in the class of 1749, and a licentiate of the New Castle Presbytery.

He began his ministerial life in 1753, when he became the pastor of New Providence church, Augusta County, Virginia. He married Margaret Preston, the second daughter of John Preston and Elizabeth Patton, who emigrated from Ireland in 1740, and settled near Staunton, Va. After serving his congregation faithfully for forty-four years, weighed down with the infirmities of age, he resigned his charge of New Providence and followed his children to Kentucky, where he died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, 1803. His wife preceded him to the grave, dying, in 1802, in the seventy-third year of her age. They are both buried at Frankfort, Ky. They reared seven children: First, Elizabeth, who married Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, of Tennessee; second, John, who married Margaretta Mason, of New York; third, William, a physician, who died early, in South Carolina; fourth, Mary, who married Dr. Alexander Humphreys, of Staunton, Va.; fifth, James; sixth, Samuel, and seventh, Preston. Several of these sons reached distinction in the service of the country. Their descendants are now found throughout the Southern and Western States. (See Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 99.)

Hanover, then embracing all Virginia. The Presbyterian school was then intrusted to William Graham, under the supervision of the Rev. John Brown, and was removed in 1777 to Timber Ridge, from the region of Mr. Brown's home, near Fairfield. Liberty Hall Academy was chartered in 1782, and was endowed by George Washington in 1796. To him it owes the names, Washington Academy and Washington College.

History of Washington College, Virginia, in the American Quarterly Register, conducted by B. B. Edwards and W. Cogswell, and published by the American Education Society, Volume X, No. 2, November, 1837, pp. 145–150.

This invaluable repository of American educational, ecclesiastical, biographical, and local history contains interesting and important extracts from the original records of the Presbytery of Hanover, Virginia. It appears that the discussion of the project of "erecting a seminary of learning somewhere within their bounds" began as early as October 9, 1771. After various postponements, it was decided, October 4, 1773, at Rockfish Gap (where the site of the University of Virginia was afterward determined), "to fix the public seminary for the liberal education of youth in Staunton, Augusta County." On the 12th of October, 1774, it was agreed that the proposed institution should "be managed by Mr. William Graham,—a gentleman properly recommended to this Presbytery,—and to be under the inspection of the Rev. John Brown." It was stated that there was no person to take the management of the school "in the place first agreed on," that is, at Staunton. Committees were appointed to collect subscriptions: "Mr. Brown, in the Pastures, Providence, and the North Mountain; Mr. Rice, in Botetourt, on the south side of James River; Mr. Cummins, in Fincastle; Mr. Irvine, at Tinkling Spring, the Stone Meeting-House, and Brown's Settlement; Mr. Wallace, in the fork of James River; and Mr. Smith, at pleasure." This extract gives a local coloring to the efforts of those Presbyterian clergymen to establish an educational centre in the Valley of Virginia. An extract from the records of the Presbytery, dated April 15, 1775, shows that the institution was already developing under the direction of the Rev. John Brown. "As the Presbytery have now an opportunity of visiting the school under the direction of Mr. Brown, they accordingly repaired to the schoolhouse, and attended a specimen of the proficiency of the students in the Latin and Greek languages and pronouncing orations, with which they were well pleased." On the 27th of October, 1775, it was agreed that Mr. William Graham continue to have the care and tuition of the school, and that John Montgomery, "late from Princeton College," be his assistant. To understand the origin of Presbyterian colleges in the Southern States, one should know that Nassau Hall and the "log college" at Princeton, N. J., were the original points of departure. Those Scotch Presbyterian ministers who were so prominent in the educational upbuilding of Virginia and Kentucky were Princeton men. This current of influence is very marked. The log college in American institutional history is a pioneer type well worthy of careful investigation, and the man who undertakes it must study the records of Presbyteries. For example, the Hanover Presbytery, May 6, 1776, agreed to accept the offers of Capt. Alexander Stewart and Mr. Samuel Houston, in the congregation of Timber Ridge, who propose to give forty acres of land apiece for Augusta Academy if it is placed there, and "the neighbors have offered to build a house of hewn logs, 28 by 24 feet, one and a half stories high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring us of the probability that the firewood and timber for buildings will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." This is all as interesting and graphic as the

order of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, November 13, 1644, that the deputies and elders in every town should urge every family to give one peck of corn or twelve pence in money for the college at Cambridge (see Records of the Colony Massachusetts Bay, II, 86). The log college upon Timber Ridge was opened January 1, 1777. The rector had a framed house. "They both had well-walled cellars and stone chimneys. Both buildings are now (1836) standing, are likely to outlast the present generation, and remain as a memorial of the zeal and energy of the Hanover Presbytery." The above facts, which serve to place the original foundation of the Augusta or Liberty Hall Academy in a clear light, appear to have been drawn from the records of the Hanover Presbytery, from the Richmond Religious Telegraph for December 19, 1834, January 2, January 23, and February 6, 1835, and from the life of President Graham, in the Richmond Literary and Evangelical Magazine, 1821, p. 75 *et seq.*

Catalogue of the Alumni of Washington College. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1869.

This valuable catalogue, containing a list of the faculty, trustees, and students from the very beginning of the Academy, contains also a valuable historical sketch of the institution. The statement is therein made that "on the first meeting after the battle of Lexington, the trustees direct the record for the 6th of May, 1776, to be entitled 'Liberty Hall'—as this academy is hereafter to be called, instead of Augusta Academy." Many of the facts mentioned in the preceding note are recorded here, evidently from the records of the Hanover Presbytery. This catalogue of the alumni of Washington College will prove very helpful to the student who may wish to trace the influence of the institution upon Virginia and the South, for it gives not merely the names of alumni, arranged chronologically, but also their occupations.

Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University, 1749–1888. Baltimore: John Murphy. 1888. Pp. 245.

This revised edition is complete to date and is very satisfactory.

Peyton's History of Augusta County; Waddell's Annals of Augusta County; Proceedings of the Centennial of the Augusta Presbytery; Junkin's Historical Account of the New Providence Church; Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States (republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, Vol. XXIV, p. 155).

These authorities are deservedly commended by Col. John Mason Brown, of Louisville, Ky., as bearing upon the origin of Liberty Hall Academy and upon the beginning of higher education in the Valley of Virginia and in Kentucky.

Hugh Blair Grigsby's Address on the Scotch-Irish Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy, 1887.

Col. Bolivar Christian's Address before the Alumni Association, July 1, 1859, on the Scotch-Irish Settlers of the Valley of Virginia.

Rev. Archibald Alexander's Address before the Alumni Association of Washington College, 1843.

Rev. George Junkin's Inaugural Address [as president of the college], 1849.

Dr. W. H. Ruffner's Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1873, pp. 138–141.

John Mason Brown's Oration, delivered on the occasion of the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1882.

Prof. C. A. Graves' Historical Sketch of Washington and Lee University (illustrated), in the Richmond Dispatch, August 14, 1885.

Mrs. S. P. McD. Miller on A Virginian University Town, Overland Monthly, May, 1883.

This article contains a pleasantly written account of the Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley and of the beginnings of Augusta Academy. It describes happily the character of its early presidents and professors. Lexington in war time is graphically pictured, and the story of the "boy companies following their illustrious leader, 'Stonewall' Jackson," is well told. The Virginia Military Institute, the West Point of the South, where Jackson was professor of mathematics, holds no insignificant place in the University-town of Lexington. The Ann Smith Female Academy, in the same academic community, is one of the oldest establishments in the United States for the education of young women. It has flourished for nearly a century. The coming woman who writes the history of woman's education in this country should inquire about the Ann Smith Academy, in Lexington, Va., as well as about Smith College, in Northampton, Mass.

Lexington, Va., an article published in The South, June, 1887.

This is one of the most recent sketches of the "Athens of the Old Dominion," with its educational jewels and economic setting.

General Lee and Washington College, reprinted in the Educational Journal of Virginia, December, 1870, from the Old Dominion Magazine, November 15, 1870, pp. 673–676.

The latter magazine attempted to give a prominent place to the educational history of the State of Virginia. The fourth volume, now before the writer, contains a series of "Historical Sketches of Virginia. Literary Institutions of the State: University of Virginia." The latter was the only institution systematically treated. The Old Dominion Magazine, long since suspended, has a decided value on account of its educational articles and as a *post-bellum* repository of Southern literature, the evolution of which will some day attract historical attention.

Prof. E. S. Joynes, on General Lee as a College President, Old Dominion Magazine, April, 1871, Volume V, No. 4, pp. 209–220 (reprinted from the University Monthly, University Publishing Company).

Rev. J. L. Kirkpatrick, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, Washington and Lee University: Sketch of Gen. R. E. Lee as College President. Printed in Personal Reminiscences of General Robert E. Lee, by Rev. J. William Jones, D. D., 1874.

Newspaper articles and editorials on Washington and Lee University have appeared in Progress (edited by Col. John W. Forney), Philadelphia, June 18, 1881; Philadelphia Inquirer, June 9, 1881; Kansas City Times, October 30, 1870; Missouri Republican, October 26, 1870; and in the New York Evening Post, 1871 and 1880.

The Southern Collegian, nineteen volumes.

This student periodical, representing Washington and Lee University, was established in 1868, by S. Z. Ammen and C. R. Breckinridge. It is full of suggestive materials, illustrating the character and growth of the institution. With the second volume the name of the magazine was changed from the Collegian to the Southern Collegian, under the editorial direction of Charles A. Graves, now a professor of law in the above University. Volume IV contains the first literary efforts of Thomas Nelson Page, whose recent writings are characteristic of Southern life and thought, as well as of peculiar local dialects. In the commencement number for 1887 there is a remarkable address upon "The Old South," delivered by Mr. Page before the alumni association of Washington and Lee University, June 14, 1887. The main thesis of the address is that "the new South is really the old, with its energies directed in new lines."

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTER TO THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

The following interesting letter throws additional light upon the origin of Liberty Hall Academy[1] and upon the educational pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky.—EDITOR.

"LOUISVILLE, KY., *October* 17, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am obliged by yours of the 13th, and only regret that my information as to the organization and history of Augusta Academy, in Virginia, is quite limited. My great-grandfather, Rev. John Brown, came in his youth from County Limerick, Ireland, where his family, of English extraction, had long been settled. He entered Nassau Hall (Princeton), and graduated in 1749 in the second class turned out from the college. His diploma, which I found in his old papers, has been presented by me to Princeton College as a relic, and is now framed and hangs in the college library. The class consisted of only two, one being my great-grandfather, the other being the Rev. John Todd,[2] afterwards of Louisa County, Va., uncle and preceptor of that very extraordinary man Col. John Todd, killed at Blue Licks, in 1782. My great-grandfather, John Brown, after his academic graduation, studied theology and became a Presbyterian minister. In 1753 he took charge of the churches of New Providence and Timber Ridge, in Augusta County, Va., and continued in the pastorate of the former for forty-

[1] The ruins of old Liberty Hall are still standing on a hill about three-quarters of a mile west of Washington University, and in full sight of it. They are in an open field, some two hundred yards from the road, surrounded by a small grove of trees evidently younger than the building. The material is grey limestone, and the workmanship is admirable. Only the end-walls are standing. They show the building to have been three stories high, with low ceilings, rather small rooms, and the uppermost story apparently one large dormitory. The walls are very thick. The owner values this interesting relic as it deserves, and has protected it from spoliation. The photograph was taken by M. Miley, of Lexington, in the fall of 1885.

[2] See Collins' History of Kentucky, II, 183-4, and Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States, republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, XXIV, 125.

four years. He then followed his sons, who had long before settled in Kentucky, and died at Frankfort, in 1803. His wife was Margaret Preston, daughter of John Preston. At the commencement of his pastorate he opened an academy, to which he gave greater attention as his own sons came to need educational care. His home, or rather the home of his people, in County Limerick, had borne the name of Liberty Hall (I found the place still so called and still inhabited by Browns in 1877), and I think it is not a very strained conjecture that the early name of 'Liberty Hall,' which Washington and Lee College bore, may have had something of suggestion in the old man's memories of his youth. At all events, the germ of the college was his school, and his own home, the stone walls of which yet exist, was 'Liberty Hall.' When he came to Kentucky, he took charge of Pisgah Church, in Woodford, residing in the neighborhood. He actively promoted what was known as Kentucky Academy, at that place, and was to some extent an instructor, but chiefly an emeritus and advisor. The active principal was Mr. Moore. This Kentucky Academy, and another institution called 'Transylvania Academy,' were blended in 1798 into Transylvania University by a legislative act. I think with much satisfaction of my reverend ancestor as being a pioneer in educational matters in both Virginia and Kentucky. He has left a number of old papers, chiefly sermons, dull and hard to read. But among them is one preached in 1759, to his Calvinistic congregation, in which is sounded the first note of question of royal authority. It traces the origin of kings, the probable way in which hereditary right came to be claimed and recognized, and the fallacy of the claim, and concludes with the general proposition that governments and governmental institutions have no existence save in the consent of the people, and no right to exist except so far as they represent the will of the people. It was very bold language for that early day. Dr. John Todd[1] (class-mate of my great-grandfather) be-

[1] Rev. Dr. John Todd graduated at Nassau Hall in 1749, in the second class admitted to a degree. He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1750, and was sent to the colony of Virginia, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Davies. In the year 1751 he was ordained by the New Brunswick Presbytery, and on the 22d of April, 1752, obtained from the general court of Virginia the license required by law for a dissenting minister, and became the assistant of the Rev. Samuel Davies.

After Mr. Davies removed to Princeton, Mr. Todd became the leading minister in the Presbytery east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. During the Revolution he was a staunch Whig. For a number of years he superintended a classical school in Louisa County.

His nephews, John and Levi Todd, went from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and were educated at this school. They both became distinguished citizens of Kentucky. He preached in Virginia for forty-three years. In July, 1793, he attended the Presbytery in Albemarle County, and on Saturday, the 27th, after its adjournment, set out for home. Whether from the infirmities of age or in a fit of apoplexy, is not known, as he was alone, riding on horseback, but he was found in the road lifeless. His son, bearing his name, was licensed by the Hanover Presbytery, September 13, 1800.

For some time he supplied the churches left vacant by his father, but in the year 1809 removed to Kentucky with his family, leaving none of his name in Virginia. (See Sketches of Virginia, pp. 45–50.)

came also a Presbyterian minister, and conducted a famous academy in Louisa County, Va. It was at his instance that Dr. Gordon, of London, collected books and apparatus, to form, with Dr. Todd's additions, the library for Transylvania Academy in Kentucky.[1] This academy was, as I have said, united with Dr. Brown's Kentucky Academy in 1798 to form Transylvania University. Dr. Samuel Brown, son of my great-grandfather, was one of the first professors of Transylvania University. This Dr. Samuel Brown married Miss Percy, of Alabama. You are thus, by marriage with my cousin, allied to two educational pioneers, Rev. Dr. John Brown and Rev. Dr. John Todd, and their descendants may feel glad that their worthy names are to have a chronicler.

"I inclose a memorandum of some sources from which you may glean other bits of interesting information.

"Very truly, yours,

"JOHN MASON BROWN.

"Hon. N. H. R. DAWSON,
"*Washington, D. C.*"

FINAL NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Colonel Brown's valuable memoranda are incorporated with the bibliography of Washington and Lee University, appended to the historic sketch. An interesting notice of the Rev. John Todd may be found in John Mason Brown's oration, delivered on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the battle of Blue Licks, August 19, 1882, and published under the auspices of the Kentucky Historical Society. The worthy Presbyterian divine trained up at his famous classical academy in Louisa County, Va., a nephew, John Todd, who afterward became famous as a leader in border warfare, and as a pioneer of law, government, and education in Kentucky. Col. John Todd was one of the first two burgesses from the county of Kentucky (created out of Newcastle County, December 31, 1776). He was largely instrumental in persuading the Virginia Assembly and Patrick Henry, then Governor, to commission George Rogers Clark for the conquest of the Northwest Territory. Colonel Todd took part in that eventful campaign, which secured the Northwest to Virginia and the United States, and he succeeded Clark in command of the frontier, being commissioned "Colonel Commandant and County Lieutenant." He appeared in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1780, and was there the successful champion of a system of public education for Kentucky, a system based upon land grants. He was one of the earliest advocates of emancipation in Kentucky, and favored the exclusion of slavery from the North-west Territory. This noble pioneer of liberty, education, law, and order upon a

[1] See Collins' History of Kentucky, II, 183–4, and Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States, republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, XXIV, 125.

dangerous frontier; this friend of Daniel Boone, who with him and a few trusty companions first organized government under a great elm-tree at Boonesborough, lost his life in the battle of the Blue Licks, with the Indians, on the 19th of August, 1782. "In the blood of that day were cemented the solid foundations of a powerful State." The coming student of the educational beginnings of Kentucky, the daughter of Virginia, will learn more of those remarkable pioneers of Scotch Presbyterian ancestry. The Todds and the Browns were men of good blood and fine character. (See Foote's Sketches of Virginia, second series, 44–49, 94–99). Their descendants are numerous, and are now scattered throughout the Southwest from Kentucky to Louisiana. The Rev. John Brown, principal of Augusta Academy, married the daughter of John Preston,[1] of Staunton, himself the ancestor of a distinguished line. Among the first graduates of the old academy were the sons of the principal: John Brown, who became a member of Congress from Kentucky; James Brown, who became United States Senator from Louisiana and afterwards minister to France; Samuel Brown, who became a professor of medicine in Transylvania University, Kentucky; Preston Brown and William Brown, who both became physicians, the one in Kentucky, the other in South Carolina. Among the first students at the old academy was Archibald Stuart, afterwards a prominent lawyer, legislator, judge, and a member of the Virginia Convention in 1788. He married a sister of the Rev. John Brown, and was the ancestor of the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, the present rector of the University of Virginia. Blood is thicker than water in Virginia and Kentucky.

Collins, in his History of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 183, says that Transylvania University, the first literary institution of the West, was established in 1780 by the Legislature of Virginia; one-sixth of the surveyor's fees, formerly contributed to the College of William and Mary, with 8,000 acres of the first land in the then county of Kentucky, which land was to be confiscated, were granted for the endowment and support of the seminary.

Kentucky and Tennessee are fields of educational history which should be entered and explored. It will be pioneer work, but none the less profitable on that very account. The whole country will be glad to see educational inquiries pushed where they are most needed, into the North-west and South-west and beyond the Mississippi.

[1] John Preston was a native of County Derry, Ireland, and, with his wife Elizabeth Patton, came to America in 1740, and settled in Augusta County. John Preston died in 1747, leaving five children, all of whom were born in Ireland: William, who married Miss Susanna Smith; Letitia, who married Col. Robert Breckenridge; Margaret, who married Rev. John Brown; Ann, who married Francis Smith; and Mary, who married John Howard, all of whom, except William, emigrated to Kentucky, where they left a number of descendants, who have multiplied, and are now found in many of the Southern and Western States. (Peyton's History of Augusta County, p. 303.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.

EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS, PH. D.

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THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

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No. 2.

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BUREAU OF EDUCATION
CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION NO. 2, 1888

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY
EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

No. 3

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY

CHARLES LEE SMITH
FELLOW IN HISTORY AND POLITICS
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1888

17037—No. 2——1

"*Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, hermits with wives and children, resting on the bosom of nature, in perfect harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct. * * * Are there any who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the history of North Carolina; its inhabitants were restless and turbulent in their imperfect submission to a government imposed on them from abroad; the administration of the colony was firm, humane, and tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government but one of their own institution was oppressive.*" (George Bancroft.)

"*Almost invariably, as soon as a neighborhood was settled, preparations were made for the preaching of the Gospel by a regular stated pastor, and wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school.*" (Foote's Sketches of North Carolina.)

"*The progress of society and civilization depends upon the education and virtue of the people.*" (Hon. Bartlett Yancey, in 1810.)

"*In an ardent and increasing zeal for the establishment of schools and academies for several years past, we do not believe North Carolina has been outdone by a single State. * * * The number at present is nearly fifty, and is rapidly increasing.*" (North American Review, January, 1821.)

"*We can diffuse the blessings of education and become a virtuous if not a great people. I wish the State University were located in Raleigh, for I do not believe in that kind of education which is obtained in cloisters. The manners of boys should be attended to as well as their morals. The society of the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, is said to have been the most polished in America, and its college, William and Mary, has turned out more celebrated men than any other institution within my knowledge.*" (Nathaniel Macon, in North Carolina Constitutional Convention, 1835.)

"*The University does not lack the sanction either of the Constitution or of the people. Under the loving care of the people of the State, led by wise master-builders, much more than from the liberality of the General Assembly, the University grew in the lapse of nearly a century to be a great institution, the nursing mother of the ingenuous youth of the State without distinction of party or sect. Embracing all her children in her great catholic heart, she has always striven to allay sectional feeling, to moderate sectarian heat, to cultivate and encourage a broad, ardent love for the State, a veneration for her early history and traditions, an appreciation of the domestic virtues of her citizens, and a love of liberal learning.*" (Hon. John Manning, LL. D., professor of law, University of North Carolina.)

"*I remember in my young manhood the University of North Carolina was always spoken of with the greatest respect among men who knew anything about an American collegiate education. While the Universities of Virginia and Johns Hopkins have to some extent drawn attention away from it, I see no reason why its present Faculty should not give it a commanding position in the south-east of our Republic.*" (Hon. Andrew D. White, Ex-President of Cornell University.)

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LETTER.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., December 9, 1887.

The Honorable the SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In pursuance of the plan already approved by you for a systematic inquiry by the Bureau of Education into the educational history of the United States, I beg to recommend for publication the second of the series of State monographs in this direction edited by Dr. Herbert B. Adams, whose studies upon the College of William and Mary, and Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, with the monograph upon the Study of History in American Colleges and Universities, formed the introduction to this new line of inquiry.

The subject of the present monograph is the history of education in North Carolina. It is an original and valuable contribution, and deserves to be widely read. In this monograph Mr. Charles Lee Smith, who has been trained in historical methods at the Johns Hopkins University and now holds a fellowship in history and politics at that institution, gives the results of a thorough and careful study of the educational history of his native State.

For North Carolina this is pioneer work. The history of education in that State has hitherto remained unwritten. That the Old North State has failed to receive just recognition at the hands of some historians is due in great measure to the fact that many important phases of her early history have remained undeveloped by her own sons, to whom they were known, and who have allowed the prejudiced statements of early chroniclers, ignorant of the facts, to be accepted without contradiction as authoritative.

The writer has traced the genesis and development of education in North Carolina from the first settlement of that State to the present time. For this purpose he is the first to exploit the colonial records, the publication of which was begun last year, and the early laws of the State. He has also utilized early newspaper files, and all the published biographical and historical works relating to his State to be found in the public libraries of Raleigh, Washington, and Baltimore, besides certain private collections and personal correspondence.

In the study of education as a growth North Carolina affords peculiar advantages. The character of the early settlers, the objects of their

coming, and the results achieved by them in their struggle against oppressive government give the history of that State unusual interest. Bancroft says, "North Carolina was settled by the freest of the free," and the records of the colony show that a constant warfare was waged against oppression until freedom was won. This fact was emphasized and is illustrated in the proceedings of that meeting of patriots at Mecklenburg in 1775, which, without doubt, is one of the most memorable events of our Revolutionary period. This struggle was for civil and religious liberty, and Mr. Smith demonstrates how intimate was the connection between the liberties and the educational history of the people. The government is, perhaps, to be censured that schools were not earlier provided. It is an error, however, to suppose, as has been stated by some writers, that there were no good schools in the State previous to the Revolution, for it is shown that there were many creditable institutions, several having a wide reputation.

The higher education has been principally treated in this sketch, although the history of primary and secondary instruction has not been neglected. The influence of certain classes of immigration and of institutions outside the State, especially of Princeton, which previous to the establishment of the University of North Carolina was largely patronized by the young men of that State, is clearly shown. Many interesting facts concerning noted educators of the State are brought out. The sketch which is given of the University of North Carolina is the first full account of that institution which has ever been written. The writer thinks no institution of this country has a more honorable record, and it is claimed that in proportion to the number of its alumni it stands second to none in the number of the distinguished public men it has given to the State and nation.

The account which is given of its "influence upon the South" makes an admirable showing. As indicative of its wide-spread influence upon the country, a President, a Vice-President, many Cabinet officers, ministers to foreign countries, Senators, Governors, and other distinguished men are mentioned among its alumni.

President Andrew D. White said of this institution: "I remember in my young manhood the University of North Carolina was always spoken of with the greatest respect among men who knew anything about an American collegiate education. While the Universities of Virginia and Johns Hopkins have to some extent drawn attention away from it, I see no reason why its present Faculty should not give it a commanding position in the South-east of our Republic."

The subjects taught in the institutions for the secondary and the higher education are noted from time to time, thus showing the general educational development. The present status of education in North Carolina is well pictured. The work, while strictly historical, is both practical and suggestive. Hon. Henry Barnard, the first Commissioner of Education, once said that "no subject now interesting or im-

portant can be adequately understood or further investigated unless proper pains be first bestowed upon its history. * * * There is no department of human exertion, however, in which this preliminary historical knowledge is so necessary as in education. For this there is both a general and a special reason. The education of a people bears a constant and most pre-eminently influential relation to its attainments and excellencies—physical, mental, and moral. The national education is at once a cause and an effect of the national character; and, accordingly, the history of education affords the only ready and perfect key to the history of the human race and of each nation in it—an unfailing standard for estimating its advance or retreat upon the line of human progress.

"But the special reason just alluded to is yet more in point at this time. It is, that there is no department of human exertion whose annals are more brilliant with displays of industry, talent, and genius, whether successful or unsuccessful, and consequently none in which a reference to the past will afford such abundant materials for improvement in the present."

Urging, therefore, the publication of this monograph and the encouragement of this new line of educational inquiry to be continued by the Bureau of Education, not only in the South but in the North-west and South-west and beyond the Mississippi, where such inquiries are most needed,

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. H. R. DAWSON,
Commissioner.

Approved:
L. Q. C. LAMAR,
Secretary.

EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION DURING THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT—1663–1729.

INTRODUCTION.

During the first sixty-five years of the colonial history of North Carolina there were but few schools, and these were ill-attended. Compared with the New England colonies, a great difference is observed in the attention given to education during this period, and historians, without considering all the facts in the case, have reproached North Carolina with want of zeal in this direction. For this difference there are several causes. New England was peopled by colonies, and the establishment of towns was coeval with the settlements. The people were forced by circumstances to live together, and this tended to strengthen the bonds of union between them and to unite them in all objects relating to the common welfare. Then, too, the people of each community were generally of the same religious faith, and their preachers were at the same time the teachers of their schools.

Let us now see how it was with North Carolina. This province was occupied by individual families, and although the first permanent settlement was made about 1660, there was no town until Bath was located in 1704. The population was chiefly confined to the territory north of Albemarle Sound, west of the Chowan River, and the territory between the two sounds, Albemarle and Currituck. The people were scattered sparsely here and there along the shores of the sounds and on the banks of the water-courses. Bancroft says: "Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, hermits with wives and children, resting on the bosom of nature, in perfect harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct."[1]

As late as 1709 the Rev. William Gordon, writing to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, referring

[1] Bancroft's United States (1843), Vol. II, p. 154.

to the settlement on the Pamlico River, has this to say of the only town in the province: "Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve houses, being the only town in the whole province. They have a small collection of books for a library, which were carried over by the Rev. Dr. Bray, and some land is laid out for a glebe."[1] About this time Beaufort was laid out for a town, and a little later Newbern was settled by the Swiss. There were many differences in religious belief among the people, and sectarian disputes often led to serious difficulties. "The population of the colony in 1703," says Martin, "was composed of individuals of different nations, and consequently of various sects: Scotch Presbyterians, Dutch Lutherans, French Calvinists, Irish Catholics, English Churchmen, Quakers, and Dissenters; emigrants from Bermuda and the West Indies, which, from their late settlements, could not be places remarkable for the education of young people in Christianity and morality."[2]

North Carolina's best known historian says: "Under these circumstances, with families far removed from each other, with religious disputes flagrant, and indeed all the politics of the colony turning on religious dissensions, it is easy to see why there was but little progress made in establishing schools."[3] We thus see from the very nature of things that the village schools of New England were an impossibility here.

Schools were for a long time neglected, no provision for their maintenance being made by the Government. But it must not be understood that the inhabitants were in dense ignorance and wholly devoid of educational facilities. We are told that "there were many highly educated citizens scattered throughout the province, who lived with considerable style and refinement. Sturdy, honest, and hospitable agriculturists gathered around themselves elements of large future development, and their premises showed wealth, industry, and care."[4] Yet, notwithstanding this, it must be confessed that among the poorer classes there was a vast amount of ignorance. Wheeler says that there were not only men of learning, culture, and refinement in the colony, but also "men of means who contributed to found libraries, to erect churches, and to promote the welfare of the people. Moseley, Hyde, Swann, Porter, Lillington, Harvey, Sanderson, Pollock, Lowe, the son-in-law of Governor Archdale, and others too numerous to mention, were men who were not indifferent to education. If the facts could be unearthed, it would probably appear that there were many good schools in the province."[5]

Dr. Brickell, in his account of the Present State of North Carolina, written about 1730, after giving an account of the government, courts,

[1] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 717.

[2] Martin's North Carolina, Vol. I, p. 218.

[3] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 258.

[4] Vass's Eastern North Carolina, p. 21.

[5] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 259.

and the speedy manner of securing justice, enumerates some of the laws, and adds: "These, and many other good laws that are to be met with in this province, make it one of the best and mildest governments to live under in all America."[1]

The inhabitants are characterized as "good economists, remarkably kind to strangers and those in distress." Such a people could not have constituted the lawless, irreligious, apathetic, and ignorant community described by Mr. John Fiske in Harper's Magazine for February, 1883, in an article entitled "Maryland and the Far South in the Colonial Period,"[2] and by Lodge in his History of the English Colonies in America. Professor Fiske, in the article referred to, shows an ignorance of his subject which is inexcusable, and after other misrepresentations adds that, "Until just before the war for Independence there was not a single school, good or bad, in the whole colony. It need not be added that the people were densely ignorant." Lodge says: "There was scarcely any means of education, and no literature whatever. Printing was not introduced until 1764,[3] and at the time of the Revolution there were only two schools, lately incorporated at Newbern and Edenton, in the whole province. An act of the year 1770, to endow Queen's College at Charlotte, was repealed by proclamation, and even after the war for Independence, with the exception of a feeble academy at Hillsborough, in all relating to education North Carolina was far behind the other States." In this connection he adds that "The people were very lawless, and averse to order and government, although they had a keen perception of their own rights, as is shown by the passage of an act to secure the *habeas corpus* as early as the year 1715. They fell in eagerly with the movement against England, etc. * * * But it is a strong proof of the vigor and soundness of the English race that this lawless, apathetic people finally raised themselves in the scale of civilization, and built up a strong and prosperous State."[4]

To see how a greater historian views this same period of the history of North Carolina it is only necessary to add the following quotation from Bancroft: "Are there any who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the history of North Carolina; its inhabitants were restless and turbulent in their imperfect submission to a government imposed on them from abroad; the administration of the colony was firm, humane, and tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government but one of their own institution was oppressive."[5]

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[1] Brickell's North Carolina, p. 29.

[2] For reply to this article see the Introduction to Part III of Wheeler's Reminiscences: "North Carolina in the Colonial Period," by Daniel R. Goodloe, to which the writer is indebted for valuable suggestions.

[3] The first printing press was brought to the province in 1749, and the laws were printed at Newbern in 1752.

[4] Lodge's English Colonies, p. 157.

[5] Bancroft's United States (1843), Vol. II, p. 158.

A careful reading of the following pages will prove conclusively that the above statements of Fiske and Lodge are not warranted by the facts, and that North Carolina in her educational as in her Revolutionary history has reason to be proud of her record.

EDUCATIONAL BEGINNINGS—THE FIRST SCHOOLS.

In 1692 Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, determined to know more of the church in the colonies, and appointed Dr. Bray to be his commissary in Maryland. Dr. Bray gave North Carolina her first public library, established at Bath. On receiving the report of Dr. Bray, Bishop Compton went to the King and obtained from him a bounty of twenty pounds to every minister who would go over to America; but Carolina profited but little from this.[1]

The earliest account that we have of teachers in North Carolina is the report of Dr. John Blair, who came as a missionary to the colony in 1704. He states that the settlers had built small churches in three precincts, and had appointed a lay reader in each, who were supplied by him with sermons.[2] We know that these lay readers were schoolmasters, from the evidence of Dr. John Brickell, a naturalist of note who had travelled through the settlements in North Carolina in the early part of the eighteenth century, and published in Dublin, in 1737, the Natural History of North Carolina, with an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants. He says: "The religion by law established is the Protestant, as it is professed in England, and though they seldom have orthodox clergymen [he means those of the Church of England] among them, yet there are not only glebe lands laid out for that use commodious to each town, but likewise for building churches. The want of these Protestant clergy is generally supplied by some school-masters who read the Liturgy, and then a sermon out of Dr. Tillotson or some good practical divine every Sunday. These are the most numerous and are dispersed through the whole province."[3]

About 1705 Mr. Charles Griffin came from some part of the West Indies to Pasquotank, and opened a school which was patronized by all classes. Rev. William Gordon, who came from England as a missionary in 1708, in a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, written in 1709, alludes to the fact that the Quakers in Pasquotank were sending their children to the school of a lay reader of the church, named Griffin.[4]

Rev. Mr. Gordon established a church in Chowan Precinct, at the head of Albemarle Sound, in the settlement which afterwards became

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[1] Hawks's North Carolina, Vol. XI, p. 338; North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 571 *et seq.*

[2] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 601.

[3] Brickell's North Carolina, p. 35.

[4] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 716.

Edenton. Rev. James Adams having settled in Pasquotank, the school in that settlement was transferred to him, and Mr. Griffin, at the instance of Mr. Gordon, was elected lay-reader of the church and clerk of the Chowan vestry, and opened a school in that parish, text-books for the pupils being furnished by the rector, Mr. Gordon.[1]

In a letter to John Chamberlaine, Esq., of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated "Chowan, in North Carolina, July 25, 1712," the Rev. G. Rainsford, a missionary to the colony, says: "I had several conferences with one Thomas Hoyle, king of the Chowan Indians, who seems very inclinable to embrace Christianity and proposes to send his son to school to Sarum to have him taught to read and write by way of foundation in order to a farther proficiency for the reception of Christianity. I readily offered my service to instruct him myself, and having the opportunity of sending him to Mr. Garratt's, where I lodge, being but three miles distance from his town. But he modestly declined it for the present till a general peace was concluded between the Indians and Christians. I found he had some notion of Noah's flood, which he came to the knowledge of and expressed himself after this manner, 'My father told me, I tell my son.' But I hope in a little time to give the society a better account of him as well as of those peaceable Indians under his command. There's one Mr. Washburn who keeps a school at Sarum, on the frontiers of Virginia, between the two governments, and neighboring upon two Indian towns who, I find by him, highly deserve encouragement, and could heartily wish the society would take it into consideration and be pleased to allow him a salary for the good services he has done and may do for the future. What children he has under his care can both write and read very distinctly and gave before me such an account of the grounds and principles of the Christian religion that strangely surprised me to hear it. The man upon a small income would teach the Indian children gratis (whose parents are willing to send them could they but pay for their schooling) as he would those of our English families had he but a fixed dependency for so doing, and what advantage would this be to private families in particular and the whole colony in general is easy to determine."[2]

The above account represents the state of education under the rule of the Lords Proprietors. It is probable that there were other schools, but certainly none of higher grade. We are told by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., in his excellent history of this period, that among the higher classes many were educated in England. Governors, judges, councillors, lawyers, and clergy furnish evidence from their letters and other documents that there was no deficiency of education among the higher classes. Libraries at Bath and Edenton possessed many valuable books, showing that those who read them had cultivated minds. Gale, Little, Moseley, and Swann were fit associates for the most intelli-

[1] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 684, 714, 716. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 859.

gent men in any of the English provinces of their day. In determining the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia, Swann and Moseley proved themselves better mathematicians than the members of the commission from Virginia. The only author in the colony during this period, so far as is known, was the Surveyor-General Lawson, who wrote a history of the colony, which was published after his death in 1714.[1]

A careful examination of the records of the colony while under proprietary government shows only one instance in which help was afforded to literature. This was an act[2] for the preservation of the library given by Dr. Bray, to which reference has been made. This act provided that a librarian should be appointed, that catalogues should be prepared, and that, under certain conditions, books might be taken from the library. It was provided that if the books were not returned within a specified time fines should be paid. No further thought seems to have been given by the Government for the promotion of education.

EDENTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

As an evidence of the culture of some of the inhabitants, a catalogue of books presented to the public library at Edenton about 1725 is given. Their character, and it is to be supposed that they were suited to the comprehension of at least a portion of the inhabitants, is an evidence of higher education.

[*From North Carolina Letter-Book of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.*[3]]

"A catalogue of books humbly presented by Edward Mosely, Esq., to the Honorable and most August Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, towards a Provincial Library to be kept in Edenton, the Metropolis of North Carolina."

FOLIOS.	QUARTOS.
Pool's Synopsis Criticorum, 5 vols.	Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite.
T. Augustine Opera, 10 vols., Col. Agrip., 1616.	Buridani Questione in 8to. Libe Col. Aristolelis.
Tanti in quartour Libros Regum, etc.	Prideaux's Fascioulus Controv. Theologicarum.
Tanti in Jeremiam.	Cartwright's Harmonica Evangelica.
Tanti in Ezechuelem.	Notations in Totam. Scrip. Sacram.
Tyntagma Theologia Christianæ.	History of the Church of Great Britain.
Leigh's Body of Divinity.	Billson's True Difference between Christian Subjection, etc.
Deodati's Annotations on the Holy Bible.	Ball's Answer to Canns's two Treatises.
Ancient Histories of Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius.	Brickluck's Protestant Evidence.
Jimson's History of the Church.	

[1] Hawks's North Carolina, Vol. II, p. 370.

[2] Laws of North Carolina, Davis's Revisal (Newbern, 1752), p. 203.

[3] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. II, pp. 583, 584. The list has been copied as it appears in the records, though many mistakes may be noticed in the spelling of the names of titles and authors.

Rainoldi De. Rome: Ecclesia Idolotatria.
Pieres Sunior. Impleaded.
Hemsy, Sac Exercitad. Novo Testamentum.
Cartwright's Comment in Prov. Solomonis.
Usher's Brittanicarum Eccles. Antiquitates.
Ball's Friendly Trial of the grounds of Separation.

OCTAVOS.

Francisco Le Rees Cursus Philos., 2 parts.
Tertia pars Sum Philos and quarta.
Piccolominco Univeras Philos de Moribus.
Da Parci Exercital Philosophicarum.
Da Parci Systima Logica.
Lensden's Clavis Greeca novo Testamenti.
Baronij Metaphysica Generalis.
Dounams Comment Rami Dialect.
Iah. Regio Comment ac disput sojicarum.
Salij Ethica.
Buxtoy's Lexicon.
Dialogue in Answer to a Papish Catechism.
Augustini de Civitate Dei, 2 vols.
Greek Grammar.
Itimedonci De Scripts Dei Verbo, etc.
Itummis Comment in Evang—Secmat.
Eustachio a Sancto Paulo Sum Philos. quadripartitæ.
Scheiblus Libeo Comment Tapicorum.
Schickard's Hist. Hebreum.
Melanchoris Cronicon Curionis.
Calvin's Institutio Christ. Religionis.
Davidis Pares Corpus Doct. Christiana.
Aristotle's Organon.
Heckerman's Systima S. S. Theologia.
Buxtoyi Epit. Grammat. Hebrae.
Hyselbein's Thearia Logica.
Amesius de Divina Predestinatione.
Baronius Annales Ecclesiastico.
Hugo Gertius Defensio fidei Catholicae.
Augustini Confessionum.
Amesij medulla Theologica.
Amesij Rescript Scolastica ad pic Grevinchorij.
Amesij Tech no matria.
Wendelini Christianae Thedogia.
Lactantij Divinarum Institutionem.
Peh Cunai de Reb. Hebraorum.
Hebrew Psalter.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION DURING THE PROVINCIAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS BEFORE 1800.

GENERAL SURVEY.

At the date of the transfer of authority from the Lords Proprietors to the Crown the white population is estimated by Martin at about 13,000. During the first twenty years of royal rule the educational condition of the masses was but little changed. Throughout the colonial period it was the custom of gentlemen of means living in the country to maintain tutors for their children. In the Cape Fear section it seems to have been the custom from 1740 to the Revolution to send the young men to Harvard to be educated.[1] It will be remembered that this section was the seat of the New England colony which came to North Carolina about 1660. A writer in the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer says, "We remember to have heard that Mr. William Hill, the father of Hon. William Hill, came from Boston to the Cape Fear to attend the wedding of one of his classmates."

Wheeler says that the William Hill here referred to was graduated at Harvard in 1716, and came to North Carolina on account of his health, and settled at Brunswick, where he taught school. He became the ancestor of the distinguished Hill family on Cape Fear. His son, the Hon. William Hill, married a daughter of General John Ashe, and represented the Wilmington District in Congress from 1799 to 1803. The Hill and Ashe families were for many years patrons of Harvard. He adds, "It would seem that while the Cape Fear region largely patronized Boston, the north-eastern section sent her sons to England, and the Presbyterians of the interior sought higher education at Princeton."[2] The early Governors of the province had little desire to promote popular education, and as a rule it was the people, and not the Government, who promoted it to the extent to which it was carried. It is a pleasure to note an exception to this general rule.

FIRST EFFORTS FOR GOVERNMENTAL AID.

It is said that "Gabriel Johnston, who was appointed Governor in 1734, was the first who urged on the Assembly the importance of mak-

[1] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 257. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

ing some provision for schools. He was a native of Scotland and a literary man. Having been educated in the University of St. Andrews and afterwards professor of Oriental languages in that institution, he knew the value of learning and wished to see it promoted; but when appropriations were made for it, they were either wasted or taken to meet some other demands of the treasury."[1]

In 1736 Governor Johnston, in his address to the Legislature, said: "In all civilized Societys of men, it has always been looked upon as a matter of the greatest consequence to their Peace and happiness, to pollish the minds of young Persons with some degree of learning, and early to instill into them the Principles of virtue and religion, and that the Legislature has never yet taken the least care to erect one school which deserves the name, in this wide extended country, must in the judgment of all thinking men, be reckoned one of our greatest misfortunes. To what purpose, Gentlemen, is all your toil and labour, all your pains and endeavors for the advantage and enriching your families and Posterity, if within ourselves you cannot afford them such an education as may qualify them to be useful to their Country and to enjoy what you leave them with decency." He further asked them, among other things, to consider a country "where no care has been taken to inspire the youth with generous sentiments, worthy Principles, or the least tincture of literature," and then added, "lay your hands upon your hearts and consider how you can answer it to God and your own consciences, how you can answer it to your country or your Posterity, if you either neglect this opportunity of pursuing such valuable ends, or are diverted from it by the trifling arts of designing men."[2]

The General Assembly in their reply to the address of the Governor said: "We lament very much the want of Divine Publick worship (a crying scandal in any, but more especially in a Christian community) as well as the general neglect in point of education, the main sources of all disorders and corruptions, which we should rejoice to see removed and remedyed, and are ready to do our parts towards the reformation of such flagrant and prolifick evils."[3] Although so much was said about the encouragement of education and the establishing of schools, no provision was made nor bill introduced looking to that end at this session of the Assembly.

FIRST SCHOOL LEGISLATION.

The first account we have of legislative enactment for the promotion of schools is to be found in the legislative journals of the General Assembly held in Newbern, April 8–20, 1745. On April 15th, "Mr. Craven brought in a Bill for an act to Impower the Commissioners for the town

[1] Caruthers's Life of Caldwell, p. 77.
[2] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. IV, pp. 227, 228.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

of Edenton to keep in repair the Town fence, & to erect and build a Pound Bridges Public Wherf & to erect and build a school house in the said Town and other purposes, which he read in his place." On April 19th this bill had passed its several readings, and was sent to the Council for approval, receiving the Governor's assent the following day.[1]

The first act establishing a free school by the Government was passed in 1749.[2] This would seem to discredit the statement made by various historians of the State that the first school of any kind established by the Government was at Newbern, in 1764.

SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION—MARKED EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT.

There was no marked educational advancement manifested till the arrival of the Scotch-Irish, who began to settle in the State in large numbers about 1736; this immigration continued till 1776, the new comers bringing with them in a great measure the same spirit and the same principles that prompted the establishing of Icolumkill and Lindisfarne.

The history of the introduction of this people into North Carolina is concisely stated by the Rev. J. Rumple, D. D., in the Home Magazine of March, 1881, as follows: "In June, 1736, Henry McCulloch, from the province of Ulster, Ireland, secured a grant from George II of 64,000 acres in the present county of Duplin, and introduced into it between three and four thousand emigrants from his native county. These were the Scotch-Irish descendants of the Scotch settlers whom James I had induced to move to Ireland and occupy the immense domains that escheated to the Crown after the conspiracy of the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone in 1604. About the same time (1730–1740) the Scotch began to occupy the lower Cape Fear, and after the fatal battle of Culloden Moor, in 1746, great numbers of Highlanders implicated in the rebellion of 'Prince Charlie' emigrated to America, and occupied the counties of Bladen, Cumberland, Robeson, Moore, Richmond, Harnett, and parts of Chatham and Anson. Thus it happened that the Scotch obtained the ascendency in the region of the upper Cape Fear, and have retained it till this day.

"In the meantime thousands of Scotch-Irish from the province of Ulster, Ireland, laboring under disabilities in consequence of their religion, began to seek homes in America. Most of them landed at Philadelphia and a few at Charleston. The northern stream first flowed westward to Lancaster County, Pa., and the Alleghany Mountains, and as the French and Indian War, about the time of Braddock's defeat (1755), rendered frontier life dangerous in Pennsylvania, multitudes changed their course and moved down parallel to the Blue Ridge through Virginia and North Carolina, till they met the other stream of their countrymen that was moving upward from Charleston along the

[1] North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. IV, pp. 783, 788, 790. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 977.

banks of the Santee, Wateree, Broad, Pacolet, Ennoree, and Saluda Rivers. And this was the way the Scotch-Irish came into this region, beginning to arrive about 1736 and continuing to the opening of the Revolution in 1776, during forty years."

From the arrival of these immigrants dates the impulse for the establishment of schools throughout the State. It is to the Presbyterian Church that North Carolina owes the establishment of her first classical schools, and during the second half of the eighteenth century the history of education in this State is inseparably connected with that of this denomination. Rev. Dr. Rumple, in writing of this period, says: "And so the Presbyterian Church of this age has regarded it as indispensable to her welfare to maintain schools where her sons should learn to read the Latin tongue, the language of western Christianity, and the Greek, in which the New Testament was written, as well as the mathematics and the liberal sciences—the 'Trivium' and the 'Quadrivium.'"

About 1745 the New York and Pennsylvania Synods of the Presbyterian Church began to send missionaries to North Carolina. Numerous churches were established, and in nearly every instance a school was planted by the church. "Almost invariably," says Foote, "as soon as a neighborhood was settled, preparations were made for the preaching of the Gospel by a regular stated pastor, and wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school,—as in Sugar Creek, Poplar Tent, Centre, Bethany, Buffalo, Thyatira, Grove [Duplin County], Wilmington, and the churches occupied by Patillo in Orange and Granville [Counties]."[1]

THE INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

In North Carolina, as in several other States, the higher education owes its first impulse to the Presbyterian Church and Princeton College.

Presbyterian missionaries, graduates of Princeton, sent to this State in the first half of the eighteenth century by the Pennsylvania and New York Synods, gathered the scattered families of their faith into churches, and by the side of the church was planted a classical school.

For more than half a century Princeton influence was predominant in North Carolina. Many of the leading divines, teachers, and politicians were alumni of that institution, as is demonstrated by the following list of native and adopted sons of the State who were graduated by that institution in the eighteenth century. The first of these to make his home in North Carolina was the Rev. Hugh McAden, class of 1753, a native of Pennsylvania, who came as a missionary in 1755. His biographer says he was one of the chief founders of the Presbyterian Church in the Southern States.

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[1] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 513.

One of the most prominent public men of this period was Alexander Martin, class of 1756, whose father came from New Jersey to this State. He was a colonel in the Revolutionary War. In 1782, and again in 1789, he was elected Governor of the State. From 1793 to 1799 he was in the United States Senate. His *alma mater* conferred the degree of LL. D. upon him in 1793.

Among the ablest of those who came from New Jersey was the Rev. Alexander McWhorter, class of 1757, who organized several churches and rendered valuable service to the cause of education. In later life he returned to his native State.

In 1777 Samuel Spencer, class of 1759, a native North Carolinian, was elected one of the judges of the superior court at the first election under the Constitution.

The services of Joseph Alexander, class of 1760, and Rev. David Caldwell, class of 1761, as pioneer promoters of education in the State, are referred to in the sketches of Queen's College and Caldwell's School.

The Rev. John Close, class of 1763, is remembered as an earnest promoter of religion and education.

A well-known name in the history of the State is that of Waightstill Avery, class of 1766, a native of Connecticut. In 1769 he began the practice of law in Charlotte, where he did much to advance the cause of education and literature. He was the first attorney-general of the State, being elected to that position in 1777.

Ephraim Brevard, class of 1768, was a leading spirit of the Revolution, and one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

The class of 1768 had two representatives from North Carolina—Adlai Osborne and Thomas Reese. The former was one of the original trustees of the State University and a man of wide influence. The latter won distinction in another State.

Isaac Alexander, class of 1772, was at one time president of Liberty Hall Academy. The Alexander family has furnished several noted educators to the State, and has at this time a representative in the Faculty of the University.

The Rev. James Templeton, class of 1772, labored for several years in this State.

A native Carolinian, Andrew King, class of 1773, after graduating, made his home in New York, where he became prominent.

North Carolina is interested in four members of the class of 1774—the Rev. Stephen Bloomer Balch, a native of Maryland, who came to this State in early life; Rev. James Hall, a Pennsylvanian, an account of whom is given in the sketch of Clio's Nursery; David Witherspoon, a son of President Witherspoon, of Princeton, who became prominent as a member of the bar in Newbern; and John Ewing Calhoun, who entered college from North Carolina, but afterwards won distinction in South Carolina.

The Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, class of 1775, was a native of North Carolina, but about 1781 he made Tennessee his home. He was one of the founders of Davidson Academy, which afterwards became Nashville University, and was its first president.

In 1790 Spruce McCay, class of 1775, was appointed a judge of the superior court. The Rev. James McRee, D. D., of the same class, was an earnest friend of education and did much for its promotion.

The class of 1776 gave two Governors to the State,—Nathaniel Alexander and William Richardson Davie. The latter was a native of England. He was a prominent soldier of the Revolution, and a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, though his absence at the time it was signed prevented his name being affixed to it. In 1799 he was elected Governor, and soon after that was appointed by the President envoy from this country to France. In the sketch of the University, reference is made to his efforts in behalf of education.

Edward Graham, class of 1786, was a successful lawyer.

Evan Alexander, class of 1787, was a member of the State Legislature from 1797 to 1803, and of Congress from 1805 to 1809.

For twenty-five years David Stone, class of 1788, was prominent in the political affairs of the State. He was an able champion of the University, and was at different times a member of the Legislature, judge of the supreme court, Governor, member of Congress, and United States Senator.

The Rev. Thomas Pitt Irving, class of 1789, was principal of the Newbern Academy from 1790 to 1812. He was an Episcopal clergyman, and was regarded as one of the best Greek scholars of his day.

Sketches of Robert Hett Chapman, class of 1789, and Joseph Caldwell, class of 1791, early presidents of the University, are given in the history of that institution.

In the class of 1792 were graduated John McKnitt Alexander, M. D., one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and Charles Wilson Harris, one of the first professors of the University.

One of North Carolina's most distinguished sons, William Gaston, was graduated in 1796. He represented his district in Congress from 1813 to 1817. Daniel Webster, when asked "Who was the greatest of the great men of the 'War Congress?'" is said to have replied, "The greatest man was William Gaston." In 1834 he was elected one of the judges of the supreme court of North Carolina, which position he held till his death, in 1841. The opinions which he rendered while on the bench "are not only monuments of legal learning, but models of elegant literature." The degree of doctor of laws was conferred on him by the University of Pennsylvania, 1819; Harvard, 1826; University of New York, 1834; and Princeton, 1835.

Frederick Beasley, class of 1797, was a distinguished Episcopal clergyman, and was at one time provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

James W. Clark, of the same class, was prominent in State politics. In 1815 he was elected a member of Congress, and in 1828 was appointed chief clerk in the Navy Department.

The last North Carolinian to graduate at Princeton in the eighteenth century was Frederick Nash, class of 1799, who became a distinguished lawyer and chief-justice of the supreme court of the State. Prominent among those who studied at Princeton but did not graduate was Nathaniel Macon, member of the National Congress from 1791 to 1828, and several times speaker of the House and president *pro tem.* of the Senate. Many Carolinians of note have studied there during the present century, but since the establishment of Davidson College by the Presbyterians the student attendance from this State to that institution has almost ceased.

The first two presidents of the University were graduates of Princeton, and as far as practicable they copied the curriculum of their *alma mater.* The first president of Davidson College was graduated at the University during the Caldwell administration, so it is evident that early collegiate education in North Carolina was greatly influenced by the College of New Jersey.

EARLY CLASSICAL SCHOOLS—TATE'S ACADEMY AND CROWFIELD ACADEMY.

The Rev. James Tate, a Presbyterian minister from Ireland, was among the first to establish a classical school in the State. Foote says that he established his school in the city of Wilmington about 1760.[1] At that time this place could have had but a few hundred inhabitants. This school was maintained by Mr. Tate for about eighteen years, but so pronounced and violent were his Whig principles, that the proximity of British power rendered it unsafe for him, so he removed into the interior, making Hawfields, in Orange County, his home.

In 1760 Crowfield Academy was opened in Mecklenburg County, in the bounds of Centre Presbyterian Church congregation, about two miles from where Davidson College now stands, of which institution this school may be considered the germ, and on that account is worthy of note. Many of the leading spirits of the Revolution, the Davidsons, Osbornes, and others, got part of their classical training in this academy.[2] Mr. Leazar, in a recent address at Davidson College, said that this was the first classical school in the State, and that it was conducted by some of the most learned men of the time,—"the Rev. David Kerr, graduate of the University of Dublin, and afterwards professor in the University of North Carolina; Dr. Charles Caldwell, later a distinguished professor in a medical school in Philadelphia, and others of like character." Among those who studied here he mentions "Dr. McKee, the scholarly divine; Dr. James Hall, the learned and military parson; Dr. Samuel E. McCorkle, one of the foremost educators of his genera-

[1] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 178.
[2] Rumple's Rowan County, pp. 84-85.

tion; Col. Adlai Osborne, the wise counsellor and able defender of the people's rights; Dr. Ephraim Brevard, author of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; and, probably, Hugh Lawson White, the most distinguished citizen of our daughter, Tennessee, during the first part of this century." Some young men from the West Indies studied at this school.

DR. DAVID CALDWELL'S SCHOOL—ITS INFLUENCE UPON NORTH CAROLINA AND THE SOUTH.

The most illustrious name in the educational history of North Carolina is that of the Rev. David Caldwell, D. D. For many years "his log cabin served for North Carolina as an academy, a college, and a theological seminary."[1] An able Presbyterian divine, the Rev. E. B. Currie, says that "Dr. Caldwell as a teacher, was probably more useful to the church than any one man in the United States." In 1766 or '67 Dr. Caldwell established his classical school in Guilford County, at that time the north-eastern part of Rowan County, about three miles from where Greensborough now stands.[2] It soon became one of the most noted schools of the South, and we are told that to have passed through the course of study given here, with the approbation of the teacher, was a sufficient recommendation for scholarship in any section of the South.

Dr. Caldwell was a full graduate of Princeton, and such was his reputation as an instructor and disciplinarian, that in his school were students from all of the States south of the Potomac. It is claimed that he was instrumental in bringing more men into the learned professions than any other man of his day, certainly in the Southern States. While many of his students continued their studies at Princeton, and at the University of North Carolina after the establishment of that institution, the larger number, and several of those who became the most distinguished in after-life, never went anywhere else for instruction, nor enjoyed other advantages for higher education than those afforded at his school. His biographer says: "Five of his scholars became Governors of different States; many more members of Congress, some of whom occupied a high standing, and still (1842) occupy it; and a much greater number became lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers of the gospel. It would be a credit to any man to have been the instructor of such men as Judge Murphey, Judge McCoy, and many others who, in the same road to honor and usefulness, fell very little, if any, behind them; and to one who knew the value and importance of religion as he did, it must have been a matter of very pleasant reflection that he had been instrumental in bringing into the gospel ministry such men as the Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle, D. D., and the Rev. John Anderson, D. D., who died a few years since in Wash-

[1] The early classical schools of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina, Virginia, and New Jersey were called "log colleges."

[2] Rumple's *Rowan County*, p. 84.

ington County, Pa., and many others who were burning and shining lights in the world."[1]

DAVID CALDWELL—HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK.

Dr. Caldwell's life presents many valuable lessons, and a short sketch of this patriot and scholar can but prove interesting. David Caldwell, the son of a sturdy Scotch-Irish farmer, was born in Lancaster County, Pa., March 22, 1725. In early youth, after receiving the rudiments of an English education, he was apprenticed to a carpenter, and until his twenty-sixth year he worked at the bench. He then decided to enter the ministry, and his first steps were to obtain a classical education. For some time he studied in eastern Pennsylvania at the school of Rev. Robert Smith, the father of John B. Smith, so favorably known in Virginia as president of Hampden-Sidney College, and of the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., at one time president of Princeton College.[2] Before entering college he taught school for one or more years.

It is not certainly known what year he entered Princeton, though he was graduated in 1761. At the time he became a student the requirements for admission were as follows: "Candidates for admission into the lowest or Freshman class must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and the four Evangelists in Greek; and by a late order (made in Mr. Davies's administration) must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic. Candidates for any of the higher classes are not only previously examined, but recite a fortnight upon trial, in that particular class for which they offer themselves; and are then fixed in that, or a lower, as they happen to be judged qualified. But, unless in very singular and extraordinary cases, none are received after the Junior year."[3]

His assiduity as a student may be gathered from the following incident related by Dr. Caruthers: "An elderly gentleman of good standing in one of his (Caldwell's) congregations stated to me a few weeks since that when he was a young man Dr. Caldwell was spending a night at his father's one summer about harvest, and while they were all sitting out in the open porch after supper, a remark was after some time made about the impropriety of sitting so long in the night air, when he (Dr. Caldwell) observed that, so far as his own experience had gone, there was nothing unwholesome in the night air; for while he was in college, he usually studied in it and slept in it, during the warm weather, as it was his practice to study at a table by the window, with the sash raised, until a late hour, then cross his arms on the table, lay his head on them, and sleep in that position till morning. This was not very far behind the most inveterate students of the seventeenth century, whether in Europe or America, and a man who had strength of constitution to

[1] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 31.

[2] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 232.

[3] Maclean's History of the College of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 272.

pursue such a course of application, though of moderate abilities, could hardly fail to become a scholar."[1]

The character of the instruction given at Princeton is shown by the following extract from an account of the college by President Finley, published in 1764; and as Dr. Caldwell was graduated in 1761, it is to be supposed that the courses are substantially the same as while he was a student. After taking his degree in 1761 he taught for a year at Cape May, when he again returned and took a graduate course and at the same time acted as tutor in languages, so it is certain that he had the system of instruction as it was under Dr. Finley's administration. In his account of the courses and methods President Finley says: "As to the branches of literature taught here, they are the same with those which are made parts of education in the European colleges, save only such as may be occasioned by the infancy of this institution. The students are divided into four distinct classes, which are called the Freshman, the Sophomore, the Junior, and the Senior. In each of these they continue one year, giving and receiving in their turns those tokens of respect and subjection which belong to their standings, in order to preserve a due subordination. The Freshman year is spent in Latin and Greek languages, particularly in reading Horace, Cicero's Orations, the Greek Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, and Xenophon's Cyropedia. In the Sophomore year they still prosecute the study of the languages, particularly Homer, Longinus, etc., and enter upon the sciences, geography, rhetoric, logic, and the mathematics. They continue their mathematical studies throughout the Junior year, and also pass through a course of natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, chronology, etc.; and the greater number, especially such as are educating for the service of the church, are initiated into the Hebrew. * * * The Senior year is entirely employed in reviews and composition. They now revise the most improving parts of Latin and Greek classics, part of the Hebrew Bible, and all the arts and sciences. The weekly course of disputation is continued, which was also carried on through the preceding year. They discuss two or three theses in a week, some in the syllogistic and others in the forensic manner, alternately, the forensic being always performed in the English tongue." Besides the above there were public disputations on Sundays on theological questions, and once each month the Seniors delivered original orations before a public audience. Members of the Senior and lower classes were also required from time to time to declaim.[2]

Such was the course of instruction taken by Dr. Caldwell, and such the educational system which prevailed in the first institutions for higher education established in North Carolina.

At a meeting of the Presbytery held at Princeton in September, 1762, David Caldwell was received as a candidate for the ministry. He was licensed to preach in 1763. In 1764 he labored as a missionary in North

[1] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 20.

[2] Maclean's History of the College of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 286.

Carolina, returning to New Jersey in 1765, being ordained to the full work of the ministry at the Presbytery held at Trenton in July of that year. He immediately returned to North Carolina, where he labored as missionary, until on March 3, 1768, he was installed as pastor of the Buffalo and Alamance congregations.

At this time there were but few Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina, and Dr. Caldwell was one of the very first to make the State his permanent home. His history is more identified with the moral and educational history of North Carolina than is that of any other one man of the eighteenth century. In 1766 he married the daughter of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, and as the salary from his churches was not sufficient for the support of a family, it became necessary for him to supplement it by teaching a school. At this time schools for primary education existed in various parts of the colony, but to him is due the honor of having established the first institution for the higher education that achieved more than local fame. Mention has already been made of the reputation which this school acquired. The average attendance of students was from fifty to sixty, which was a large number for the time and the circumstances of the country. The exercises of the school were not interrupted by the war till 1781, at that time nearly all his students having taken service in the American Army. The exercises of the school were resumed as soon as circumstances permitted, "though the number of students was small until peace, and with it incipient prosperity, were restored to the country." Dr. Caldwell continued his labors as a teacher till about 1722, when he was forced by the infirmities of age to retire from active work.

Judge Archibald D. Murphey, in an address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina in 1827, referring to the facilities for higher education before the opening of the State University in 1795, has this to say about the Caldwell school: "The most prominent and useful of these schools was kept by Dr. David Caldwell, of Guilford County. He instituted it shortly after the close of the War, and continued it for more than thirty years. The usefulness of Dr. Caldwell to the literature of North Carolina will never be sufficiently appreciated, but the opportunities for instruction in his school were very limited. There was no library attached to it; his students were supplied with a few of the Greek and Latin classics, Euclid's Elements of Mathematics, and Martin's Natural Philosophy. Moral philosophy was taught from a syllabus of lectures delivered by Dr. Witherspoon, in Princeton College. The students had no books on history or miscellaneous literature. There were indeed very few in the State, except in the libraries of lawyers who lived in the commercial towns. I well remember that after completing my course of studies under Dr. Caldwell I spent nearly two years without finding any books to read, except some old works on theological subjects. At length I accidentally met with Voltaire's History of Charles XII, of Sweden, an odd volume of

Smollett's Roderick Random, and an abridgment of Don Quixote. These books gave me a taste for reading, which I had no opportunity of gratifying until I became a student in this University in the year 1796. Few of Dr. Caldwell's students had better opportunities of getting books than myself; and with these slender opportunities of instruction it is not surprising that so few became eminent in the liberal professions. At this day [1827], when libraries are established in all our towns, when every professional man and every respectable gentleman has a collection of books, it is difficult to conceive the inconveniences under which young men labored thirty or forty years ago."

The Rev. Dr. Caruthers says: "But the most important service he (Dr. Caldwell) rendered as a teacher was to the church or to the cause of religion, for nearly all the young men who came into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church for many years, not only in North Carolina but in the States south and west of it, were trained in his school, many of whom are still living (1842); and while some are superannuated, others are still useful men, either as preachers or as teachers in different institutions of learning."[1]

It is said that his mode of discipline was peculiar to himself, and while it did not admit of imitation, yet it was so successful that it could not be surpassed. His students were bound to him with bonds of affection, and an approving word from their "Dominie" was eagerly sought for. If the course of instruction at his school was not very extended it was thorough, as is testified by those who were prepared by him for future usefulness. Governor John M. Morehead, one of North Carolina's most distinguished sons, who studied under Dr. Caldwell and was prepared by him for the Junior class half advanced in the University of North Carolina, gave him the highest praise as a teacher, though at the time he was under his instruction Dr. Caldwell was between eighty-five and ninety years old.

Dr. Caldwell's services to his country in the hour that "tried men's souls" deserve to be mentioned here. He had his full share of the troubles of the times. It was the delight of both the Tories and the British to persecute him. He was driven from his home, and to keep from falling into the hands of his enemies was forced to spend many nights in the forest. His library and the many valuable papers which he had prepared were destroyed with great wantonness. An effort was made to seduce him with British gold, but neither money nor persecution could shake his loyalty to the cause he had espoused.

Alexander says: "The first bloodshed of the Revolution was not at Lexington, but on the Alamance, in North Carolina, May 16, 1771, in an engagement between Governor Tryon's troops and the Regulators, as they were called. These Regulators were not adventurers, but the sturdy, patriotic members of three Presbyterian congregations, all of them having as their pastors graduates of Princeton. Mr. Caldwell was

[1] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 36.

one of them, and on the morning of the battle was on the ground, going from one side to the other, endeavoring to prevent the catastrophe."[1]

Dr. Caldwell was a member of the State convention of 1776, which drew up the "Bill of Rights" and framed the Constitution. He was also a member of the convention to consider the Constitution of the United States in 1778, where he took a decided stand as an advocate of States' rights; but in the party conflicts preceding the second war with Great Britain he was on the side of the Federalists.

Such was the esteem in which he was held by his State, and such his reputation for scholarship, that on the establishment of the State University the presidency was tendered him. On account of his years the honor was declined. In 1810 this institution conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity.

This great and good man died August 25, 1824. It is a fit testimonial of his many virtues that "time-worn veterans in the service of their country, men who have stood firm against the intrigues of ambition and the assaults of power, men who have fought the battles of freedom and maintained the rights of the people in the halls of our National Legislature, year after year, until they have grown gray in the service, have been known to shed tears at the mention of his name when passing in public conveyance by the place where his remains lie buried, and by the church in which he preached and they were hearers from Sabbath to Sabbath, while preparing under his instruction for future distinction and usefulness in the world."[2]

QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

The most celebrated institution for higher education in North Carolina during the colonial period was Queen's College, also known as Queen's Museum, located at Charlotte, and its history is interesting to the friends of literature as a bold and vigorous effort made for its promotion under the most discouraging circumstances.

The beginnings of this institution are found in the classical school established in 1767, by the Rev. Joseph Alexander,[3] a graduate of Princeton of the class of 1760, and a Mr. Benedict, at the Sugar Creek Presbyterian church, near Charlotte.[4] The community in which this school was located was noted for its intelligence. The school flourished, and to meet the demands of a growing and prosperous community it was decided to enlarge its scope. Queen's College became the successor of Alexander's school. An act entitled "An act for founding,

[1] Alexander's Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century, p. 70.

[2] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 36.

[3] After a few years Dr. Alexander removed to South Carolina, where he was as active in the cause of education as he had been in his native State. In 1797 the South Carolina Legislature bestowed a charter upon Alexandria College, named in his honor.

[4] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 194, 513.

establishing, and endowing of Queen's College, in the town of Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County," was passed by the Assembly which met in Newbern on December 5, 1770.[1] It was twice chartered by the Legislature, and twice repealed by royal proclamation. It has been truly said that "No compliments to his Queen could render Whigs in politics and Presbyterians in religion acceptable to George III. A college under such auspices was too well calculated to insure the growth of the numerous democracy." The royal Government, as a rule, favored no institutions not under the control of the Church of England. To this the Presbyterians of this section would not assent. It is said that the notorious Col. David Fanning offered to secure a charter with himself as chancellor and the Rev. Joseph Alexander as head teacher. But the people of Mecklenburg, whose capital city, Charlotte, was termed by Lord Cornwallis the "hornet's nest of the Revolution," were as much opposed to such a chancellor as was the King to an institution that would not receive his minions. But, notwithstanding royal disfavor, Queen's College continued to flourish. Dr. Caruthers, referring to the people of Mecklenburg, says: "Man might as well attempt to lay his interdict upon the coming forth of vegetation, when the powers of nature are warmed and refreshed by genial influences from above, as to arrest the progress of such a people in knowledge and improvement."[2]

We are told by Vass that "the King's fears that the college would become the fountain of republicanism were, perhaps, quickened into reality by his repeated rejection of the charter, for Queen's Museum became the rallying point for literary societies and political clubs preceding the Revolution; and in its halls were held the significant and decisive debates preceding the adoption of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," on May 20, 1775.[3]

It is probable that the name of the institution was changed from Queen's College to Liberty Hall Academy in 1775.[4] It is not probable that the trustees cared to have a royal name upon an institution to which the British authority had refused a charter. The coveted charter came at last, but it was under the blessing of liberty, and was conferred by the Legislature of North Carolina as the representatives of the sovereign authority of a free and independent State. On May 9, 1777, the first year of American independence, an act was passed incorporating Isaac Alexander, president, Col. Thomas Polk, Col. Thomas Neal, Abraham Alexander, Waightstill Avery, Adlai Osborne, John McKnitt Alexander, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, Rev. David Caldwell, Rev. James Hall, Rev. James Edmonds, Rev. John Simpson, Rev. Thomas Reese, Samuel McCorkle, and Rev. Thomas H. McCaule, as president and trustees of Liberty Hall Academy. All the trustees were Presbyterians, and the school

[1] Davis's Second Revisal of Laws of North Carolina (Newbern, 1773).

[2] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 193.

[3] Vass's Eastern North Carolina, p. 46; see also Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 514.

[4] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 230.

was under the supervision of Orange Presbytery, at that time covering the whole State. The preamble of the act of incorporation reads as follows: "*Whereas*, The proper education of youth in this infant country is highly necessary, and would answer the most valuable and beneficial purposes to this State and the good people thereof; and *whereas*, a very promising experiment hath been made at a seminary in the county of Mecklenburg, and a number of youths there taught have made great advancements in the knowledge of the learned languages and in the rudiments of the arts and sciences, in the course of a regular and finished education, which they have since completed at various colleges in distant parts of America; and *whereas*, the seminary aforesaid, and the several teachers who have successfully taught and presided therein, have hitherto been almost wholly supported by private subscriptions; *in order*, *therefore*, that said subscriptions and other gratuities may be legally possessed and duly applied, and the said seminary, by the name of 'Liberty Hall,' may become more extensive and generally useful for the encouragement of liberal knowledge in languages, arts, and sciences, and for diffusing the great advantages of education upon more liberal, easy, and general terms, *be it enacted* by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, etc."[1]

The only authoritative account of this institution to be found is in a manuscript volume, written by Adlai Osborne, and deposited in the library of the University of North Carolina, from which the following extracts (quoted in Caruthers's Caldwell) are taken:

"The regulations respecting the steward and boarding were singularly excellent and calculated to give general satisfaction. In April, 1778, the laws formed by Dr. Isaac Alexander, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, and Rev. Thomas H. McCaule, the committee chosen at the last meeting, were adopted without any material alteration. The course of studies and the distinction of classes were nearly the same as those pointed out by the trustees of the University of North Carolina, but more limited, and the honors conferred were the same, except that instead of degrees of Bachelors and Masters the trustees had only the right of giving a certificate of their studies and improvements. At this meeting overtures were made to Dr. Alexander McWhorter, of New Jersey, to accept the presidency, but he could not comply with their request owing to the derangement of his affairs from a long absence during the Revolutionary War, having been appointed by Congress to preach up liberty and independence to the inhabitants of the Southern States. Mr. Robert Brownfield was then appointed to the office, and he agreed to accept for one year, as Dr. Alexander had thought proper to resign. Several gentlemen of great literary talents were successively invited without success. Dr. Ephraim Brevard and the Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle were then sent to New Jersey with a second invitation to Dr. McWhorter, with instructions, if he should think proper again to decline, to solicit

[1] Laws of North Carolina, p. 35 (James Davis, Newbern, 1777).

the advice of Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Houston, of Princeton, in the choice of some other gentleman of eminence in the republic of letters. Dr. McWhorter, after settling his affairs, removed to Charlotte, and was about to take charge of Liberty Hall when the whole business relating to it was suspended, never to be resumed. This took place about the 15th of February, 1780."

The following is a copy of the diploma received by Dr. John Graham, who was prominent in the early history of the State, and afterwards president of a college in South Carolina:

"STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
"*Mecklenburg County:*

"This is to certify that Mr. John Graham hath been a student in the Academy at Liberty Hall, in the State and county above mentioned, the space of four years preceding the date hereof; that his whole deportment during his residence there was perfectly regular; that he prosecuted his studies with diligence, and made such acquisitions both in the languages and scientific learning as gave entire satisfaction to his teachers.

"And he is hereby recommended to the friendly notice and regard of all lovers of religion and literature wherever he may come.

"In testimony of which this is given at Liberty Hall this 22d day of November, 1778.

"ISC. ALEXANDER,
"*President.*
"EPH. BREVARD,
"ABE'M ALEXANDER,
"*Trustees.*"

It is said that this institution was the most celebrated seminary of learning, except William and Mary, south of Princeton. Its able presidents, Rev. Dr. McWhorter and Dr. Ephraim Brevard, were both graduates of Princeton. The Revolutionary War closed its halls, and they were desecrated by Cornwallis's troops, who burned them when his retreat upon Wilmington commenced.[1]

In October, 1784, by an act of the Legislature, Liberty Hall Academy was transferred to Salisbury, the name being changed to Salisbury Academy.[2]

Rev. S. C. Caldwell, after the closing of Liberty Hall Academy, maintained for many years a classical school of high grade at Sugar Creek, near Charlotte, where young men from the neighboring counties were prepared for the University of North Carolina and Princeton.[3]

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[1] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 256. Foote says that Liberty Hall was used by Cornwallis as a hospital, and was greatly defaced and injured, but does not say that it was burned.—Sketches of North Carolina, p. 516.

[2] Martin's Collection of Private Acts, p. 142 (Newbern, 1794).

[3] Rev. J. Rumple, D. D., in North Carolina Presbyterian.

After peace was declared between this country and Great Britain, Dr. Thomas Henderson, a physician of note, who had been educated at Liberty Hall Academy, opened a high school, which he carried on with great reputation for a number of years.[1] Since that time excellent institutions for both males and females have been maintained at Charlotte.

REV. HENRY PATILLO'S SCHOOL.

Rev. Henry Patillo, a contemporary of Rev. Dr. Caldwell, for many years maintained a classical school in Orange County. Although this school is mentioned by writers as one of the best schools in the province, no detailed information concerning it can be obtained. Mr. Patillo studied at Princeton during the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Davies, so noted in the religious controversies in Virginia during the first half of the eighteenth century, and who afterwards did so much to establish the reputation of Princeton and put it on a firm financial basis. Such was Mr. Patillo's reputation as a scholar that in 1789 the degree of A. M. was conferred on him *causa honoris* by Hampden-Sidney College, of Virginia.

Like many of the other Presbyterian ministers of his day, he took a prominent part in the political questions in which the colony was involved. In 1775 he was a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, being at the same time chaplain of the body. He had the honor of being the chairman of this Congress in committee of the whole in considering the arrangements for confederation. The reputation made by some of the students of his school during the first years of the history of the State after independence had been achieved evidences that "he was a faithful and successful teacher," and his services to his country during the war of the Revolution will entitle him to a high place in the history of North Carolina when it is written as it deserves to be, and the records of her patriotic sons are made known and become a part of the history of our whole country.[2]

GRANVILLE HALL.

In October, 1779, "Granville Hall," Granville County, was incorporated. This school was liberally supported, and for many years was one of the leading educational institutions in the State.

The preamble to the act of incorporation reads as follows: "*Whereas*, The proper education of youth in this State is highly necessary and would answer the most valuable and beneficial purposes to the good people thereof; and *whereas*, the county of Granville, from its situation both pleasant and healthy, well watered and abounding with provisions, is a fit and proper place to erect buildings for a seminary of learn-

[1] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 477, 517.

[2] For an interesting sketch of the life of Rev. Henry Patillo, see Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 213–230.

ing; and *whereas*, large sums of money have already been subscribed to promote and encourage such a laudable and beneficial establishment, which together with such other sums as may be given in donations and otherwise will answer all the expense attending the same, *Resolved*, etc."

The following trustees were appointed: Governor Richard Caswell; Abner Nash, Speaker of the Senate; Thomas Benbury, Speaker of the House of Commons; John Penn, Rev. George Micklejohn, Rev. Henry Patillo, Thomas Person, Edmund Taylor, John Taylor, Memucan Hunt, Philemon Hawkins, Jr., Howell Lewis, Robert Lewis, Charles Rust Eaton, John Young, and Samuel Smith. They were instructed to purchase five hundred acres of land and erect suitable buildings.[1]

For several years the Rev. Henry Patillo was principal of this institution.

CLIO'S NURSERY AND THE ACADEMY OF THE SCIENCES.

Clio's Nursery, located on Snow Creek, Iredell County, was opened about the beginning of the Revolutionary War. For many years the Rev. James Hall, D. D., a patriot, scholar, and divine of western North Carolina, was the superintendent of this institution, where so many whose memory North Carolina now delights to honor studied. But the school is remembered chiefly on account of the history of its superintendent, James Hall, who was born at Carlisle, Pa., August 22, 1744, but in early youth made North Carolina his home. In 1774 he was graduated from Princeton, where he stood first in his classes. As a student he especially distinguished himself in the exact sciences, and such was the reputation he made in those studies that soon after his graduation President Witherspoon proposed to have him appointed teacher of mathematics in Princeton. Mr. Hall declined this honor, feeling that duty called him to labor in North Carolina. The Orange Presbytery licensed him to preach in 1776, and two years later he became pastor of churches within the bounds of that presbytery.

He was an earnest advocate of the cause of liberty, and the following tribute to his memory is worthily bestowed: "A full account of the actions of Mr. Hall during the Revolutionary War would fill a volume. His active, enterprising spirit would not let him be neuter; his principles, drawn from the Word of God and the doctrines of his church, and cultivated by Dr. Witherspoon, carried him with all his heart to the defence of his country. To that he gave his powers of mind, body, and estate."[2] His appeals during the opening years of the war did much to fire the hearts of North Carolinians for the cause of liberty. When Cornwallis was devastating South Carolina Mr. Hall called the people of his section together and addressed them with great fervor. A cavalry company was immediately organized, and by general consent he was demanded for their leader, which post he accepted. He was at the

[1] Martin's Collection of Private Acts, p. 93.

[2] Alexander's Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century, p. 176.

same time the captain of a company and the chaplain of a regiment. General Greene tendered him a commission as general, which he declined on the grounds that there were others who could fill the position with ability equal at least to his, while he had pledged his life to the work of the ministry.[1]

After the war Doctor Hall again resumed his duties in the "log college" mentioned above. In connection with his duties as principal of Clio's Nursery, he opened at his residence an "academy of the sciences," which was supplied by him with some philosophical apparatus, and of which he was the sole professor. This was the first scientific school in the State. A large number of men who afterwards became distinguished received their scientific education there while pursuing their classical studies at Clio's Nursery. Besides a number of ministers who studied under his direction, there were President Waddell, of Athens College, and Judge Lowrie, of Georgia; Andrew Pickens and Governor Israel Pickens, of Alabama; and George W. Campbell, Secretary of the Treasury in 1841 and afterwards minister to Russia, and Judge Williams, of Tennessee. Many of the students of these institutions came from Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and other States.

The great want of the schools of this time was elementary text-books. To meet this need he wrote a treatise on English grammar, which was copied and circulated in manuscript, and afterwards printed and largely used in the schools of North Carolina and neighboring States.

Doctor Hall died July 25, 1826, but the school of which he was the principal survived him many years, and finally gave place to Davidson College, founded by and under the direction of the Presbyterians of North and South Carolina.[2]

SCIENCE HALL.

In 1779 Science Hall, at Hillsborough, Orange County, was incorporated, with William Hooper, Alexander Martin, and others as trustees. They were given the same privileges as the trustees of Liberty Hall Academy.

The Legislature in 1784 accorded this institution the privilege to raise money by means of a lottery, and also gave the school the old Episcopal church, built in colonial times by taxation, for recitation halls, reserving the right of holding sessions of the Legislature in it when the General Assembly should convene in Hillsborough.[3]

ZION PARNASSUS.

Zion Parnassus, a classical school established by the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, a native of Pennsylvania, at Thyatira, on the road be-

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[1] Alexander's Princeton College, pp. 175, 176.

[2] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 330, 331.

[3] Martin's Collection of Private Acts, p. 87.

tween Salisbury and Statesville, in 1785, is noted as the first institution, certainly in North Carolina (and President Battle, of the University of North Carolina, thinks in America), having a distinct normal school attachment. At this school worthy young men needing assistance were given their tuition and furnished with the necessary text-books. Dr. McCorkle was a graduate of Princeton, class of 1772, and his course of instruction was modelled after the course of that college. We are told that a high standard of scholarship was maintained in Zion Parnassus, and that the idle and vicious were excluded. That so large a proportion of his students became useful in the liberal professions is due to the fact that he only encouraged those to pursue advanced courses who manifested decided talent. It is said that forty-five of his pupils became ministers of the Gospel. Six of the seven first graduates of the University of North Carolina were prepared for that institution by Dr. McCorkle. At the establishment of the State University Dr. McCorkle was elected first professor, and given the chair of moral and political philosophy, which was declined. Alexander says: "He was a thorough scholar, and kept up his acquaintance, not only with the Latin and Greek classics, but with mathematics, philosophy, and every important branch of learning." The degree of D.D. was conferred on Dr. McCorkle by Dartmouth College in 1792. He was a man of fine conversational powers, of noble physique, and is said to have much resembled Thomas Jefferson in appearance and gait.[1] After Dr. McCorkle's death, in 1811, the school which he had so successfully conducted was suspended, but was soon re-opened in Salisbury, and with few intermissions has continued till the present as the Salisbury High School.

OTHER PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOLS.

In 1791 the Rev. David Kerr, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Fayetteville, opened a classical school under the direction of a board of trustees in that town. Mr. Kerr was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and in his day was considered one of the best scholars in the State. In July, 1794, he was elected a professor in the University of North Carolina, and some incidents in his life will be noted in the sketch of that institution.[2] From that time to this the people of Fayetteville have, with but few interruptions, maintained an excellent classical school.

The last of the Presbyterian schools of the eighteenth century in North Carolina, whose names are known to the writer, of sufficient importance to deserve mention here, were the Providence Academy, about twelve miles from Charlotte, established by the Rev. James Wallis in 1792, and the Poplar Tent Academy, in Cabarrus County, established about 1778[3] by the Rev. Robert Archibald, who was graduated at Princeton in 1772. "Mr. Archibald," says Alexander, "was a man

[1] Alexander's Princeton College, p. 156; Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 361.
[2] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 490.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 442, 482.

of talent, of an amiable disposition, and considered a good classical scholar."[1]

These schools were continued through nearly the first half of this century, but finally gave place to other institutions, the last principal of Providence Academy becoming the first president of Davidson College, and the last principal of Poplar Tent being made president of the board of trustees of that institution.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR EDUCATION.

In 1760 Governor Dobbs recommended the subject of education to the Legislature, and proposed that the vestry in each parish should raise a limited sum to pay a parish clerk and register, who should be qualified to act as school-master and, in the absence of the clergyman, as reader. The sum so raised was afterwards borrowed for military purposes, to be paid back by a direct tax upon the people. This tax was never laid, and consequently the school money was never refunded.

In his address to the General Assembly, which met in Wilmington in 1764, Governor Dobbs deplored the great want of clergymen. In their reply, the Lower House admitted the "want of clergymen," but added, "sufficient provision was already made in proportion to the ability of the people, and there were large sums appropriated for the establishment of schools and for the purchase of glebes, under a suspending clause, until the King's pleasure was known, which had been borrowed for the service of the late war, and since in part for contingencies."[2]

It was at this session of the Legislature that an act was passed for the erection of a school-house and a residence for the master in the town of Newbern, which was the first effectual aid given by the Government for the encouragement of literature. Half of two lots which had been appropriated to the church in 1740 was set apart for these purposes.[3]

INCORPORATED SCHOOLS—NEWBERN ACADEMY.

The Newbern school was incorporated in 1766, being the first incorporated academy in the State.

The act is entitled "An act for establishing a school-house in the town of Newbern," the preamble reading as follows: "*Whereas*, a number of well-disposed persons, taking into consideration the great necessity of having a proper school or public seminary of learning established, whereby the rising generation may be brought up and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion and fitted for the several offices and purposes of life, have at great expense erected and built, in the town of Newbern, a convenient house for the purposes aforesaid; and being

[1] Alexander's Princeton College, p. 148.
[2] Martin's North Carolina, Vol. II, p. 180.
[3] Davis's First Revisal, Laws of North Carolina, p. 351.

desirous that the same may be established by law on a permanent footing, so as to answer the good purposes by the said persons intended: *Be it enacted* by the Governor, council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same, etc." It was then provided that trustees should be elected, the same being incorporated into a body politic and corporate by the name of the "Incorporated society for promoting and establishing the public school in Newbern," and by that name to have perpetual succession and corporate seal.

It was furthermore provided "That no person shall be admitted to be master of the said school but who is of the Established Church of England, and who, at the recommendation of the trustees or directors, or the majority of them, shall be duly licensed by the Governor, or Commander-in-chief for the time being."

In addition to taking the several oaths of government and subscribing to the Test, the trustees had to take the following oath: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will duly and faithfully, to the best of my skill and ability, execute and discharge the several powers and authorities given me by an act of Assembly for establishing a school-house in the town of Newbern; and that in all things for the well-ordering and good government thereof, I will do equal and impartial justice to the extent of my understanding. So help me God."

It was also enacted "That a duty of one penny per gallon on all rum, or other spirituous liquors imported into (?) the river Neuse, be paid, for and during the space of seven years, from and after the passing of this act, by the importers thereof, for and towards raising a fund for the education of ten poor children in the said school (to be chosen by the trustees), whose parents may be unable to pay for the same; and that the said duty be part of the common stock of the said school, and to be appropriated as aforesaid, and towards giving a salary of twenty pounds per year to the master of said school, towards enabling him to keep an assistant, which said duty shall be collected, accounted for, and paid to the treasurer of the said school, in the same manner, and under the same penalties and restrictions as the duty of four pence per gallon on spirituous liquors is now paid and collected."[1]

Owing to the fact that prior to the Revolutionary War this school was under the control of the Established Church, it was not favorably regarded by dissenters, many of them sending their sons to the Presbyterian schools of piedmont Carolina, to be educated.[2]

In his account of this school Vass says: "The first large and commodious building, erected at great expense, was burned down accidentally in 1795, when, by an act of Assembly, a room in the Palace was used for the school-room. The present old brick academy was erected in 1806; the corner-stone of the additional elegant graded school building was laid in 1884, just one hundred and twenty years after the first act

[1] Davis's Sec. Revisal (Newbern, 1773), p. 359.
[2] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 30.

of the Legislature already mentioned. In that older building Gaston, Stanly, Badger, Spaight, Hawks, and many other distinguished sons of Carolina were educated for future careers of honor and usefulness."[1]

The North Carolina Gazette of July 24, 1778, contains the following advertisements, which show that even during the Revolution education was not wholly neglected in Newbern:

"Mr. Joseph Blyth has opened school in the public school-house, and will teach Latin, English, arithmetic, geography, geometry, trigonometry, and several other of the most useful branches of the mathematics, according to the best and most approved methods. Gentlemen and ladies who favor him with their children may depend he will be diligent and pay proper attention to their education.

"NEWBERN, *July* 24."

In the same paper Mr. George Harrison advertises a school for instruction in the English and French languages.[2]

EDENTON ACADEMY.

In 1770 an act was passed "for vesting the school-house in Edenton in trustees." The preamble is as follows: "*Whereas*, the inhabitants of the town of Edenton, for the promoting the education of youth and encouragement of learning, have, by voluntary subscription, purchased two lots and erected a convenient school-house thereon in an agreeable and healthy situation in the said town: *Therefore*, etc." The charter provides, like that of the Newbern Academy, that the principal must be a member of the Established Church.[3]

INNIS ACADEMY.

Of the academy founded in Wilmington by James Innis and incorporated by the Legislature in 1783, not much is to be learned. Wheeler, in referring to Mr. Innis, says: "Much interest is connected with this name, since from his will, duly proved in 1759 before Governor Dobbs, the 'Innis Academy' had its origin.. In April of that year the Legislature passed an act incorporating the academy, with Samuel Ashe, A. McLain, William Hill, and others as trustees. Before the academy building was completed, a theatrical corps had been organized in Wilmington, and an arrangement was made between them and the trustees that the lower part of the building should be fitted up and used exclusively for a theatre. This arrangement was carried out by a perpetual lease made to the 'Thalian Association.'

"The name of Colonel Innis is frequently met with in the history of the State. He was born in Scotland, and lived at Point Pleasant, on the north-east branch of the Cape Fear River, about seven miles from

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[1] Vass's Eastern North Carolina, p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[3] Laws of North Carolina, Davis's Sec. Revisal (Newbern, 1773), p. 478.

Wilmington. He had been an officer of rank in the British army, and was distinguished in the expedition against Carthagena, in South America. He was considered a man of mark, and possessed of considerable estate."[1]

Mr. Wheeler is evidently mistaken as to the date of the establishment and incorporation of this school. In Martin's Collection of the Private Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, published at Newbern in 1794, we find that the Innis Academy, for the establishment of which Colonel Innis had bequeathed his home, known as Point Pleasant, and other plantations, and his negro slaves, was incorporated by the Legislature in April, 1783. It was provided in the act of incorporation that "the rector, professors, and tutors of this academy, and all other academies and public schools in this State established by law, shall be exempt from military duty during their continuance in those offices, provided the number of teachers in any of the said academies or public schools shall not exceed three; provided, also, that all scholars and students entering into said academy, or any other public school and being of the age of fifteen years or under at the time of entering, shall, during their continuance thereat, be exempt from all military duties."

MARTIN ACADEMY—NOW WASHINGTON COLLEGE, TENNESSEE.

In 1783 the Legislature of North Carolina incorporated Martin Academy, in Washington County, N. C. (now Washington County, Tenn.), which was the first literary institution that was established in the great valley of the Mississippi. John Canson, president, and Hezekiah Balch, Samuel Doak, William Heuston, James Heuston, Thomas Stewart, Daniel Kenady, Landon Carter, and Robert Irwin were incorporated into a body politic and corporate as president and trustees of Martin Academy, "with the same powers, authorities, and privileges" as were accorded the president and trustees of Liberty Hall Academy, in Charlotte.[2] This school became Washington College in 1795. Rev. Samuel Doak, a native of Virginia, educated at Princeton College and at one time a tutor in Hampden-Sidney College, was the president of this school from its incorporation in 1783 till 1818. Foote says: "He procured for his institution a small library in Philadelphia, caused it to be transported in sacks on pack-horses across the mountains, and thus formed the nucleus of the library at Washington College. The brick buildings overlook the site of the log college; but long must it be before the enlarged institution can equally overshadow the usefulness of the log academy and college that for a time supplied the opportunities for education for ministers, lawyers, and doctors, in the early days of Tennessee, and still is sending out its stream."[3]

[1] Wheeler's Reminiscences, p. 308.

[2] Martin's Collection of Private Acts, p. 119; also see Phelan's History of Tennessee, Dedication, and page 233.

[3] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 311.

MORGAN ACADEMY.

Morgan Academy, Burke County, one of the most noted schools in that part of the State then called the District of Morgan, was incorporated in 1783 with James Temple, president, and Waightstill Avery, Charles McDowell, William Moore, Alexander Irwin, James Greenlie, Benjamin Ellage, Abraham Denton, and David Vance as president and trustees.[1]

OTHER INCORPORATED INSTITUTIONS.

The following list includes all the incorporated schools of the eighteenth century in North Carolina which have not been previously mentioned. The date of incorporation is given in each case. It will be seen that at the close of the Revolutionary War much interest was manifested in the promotion of education:

Smith's Academy, Edenton, Chowan County, 1782.

The General Assembly, in 1783, passed an act establishing two public schools in Onslow County, one in the village of New Town, at the mouth of White Oak River, and the other at the Richlands of New River. By the same act the name of New Town was changed to Swansborough.[2]

Davidson Academy, Davidson County, 1785.—Two hundred and forty acres of State land were given this school.

Grove Academy, Duplin County, 1785.—The North Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette, of January 3, 1791, contains the following advertisement of this institution, which gives an idea of its scope and character:

"Gentlemen who wish to encourage literature in this part of the State are hereby informed that the Grove Academy in this county will, on the second Monday in January, again open; where the Greek and Latin languages will be taught, and also the sciences. Boarding may be procured on as moderate terms as can, from the present price of produce, be expected. We also presume that the order and regulation here observed, and the progress made by those who have been members of it, is equal to any which have been made in any private institution.

"The assistance and encouragement of generous and patriotic gentlemen will be kindly received.

"By order of the trustees.

"THOMAS ROUTLEDGE,
"*Vice-President.*"

"DUPLIN COUNTY, *December* 24, 1790."

Dobbs Academy, Kinston, Dobbs County (now Lenoir County), 1785.

Franklin Academy, Franklin County, 1786.

Pitt Academy, Martinborough, Pitt County, 1786.—By the same act the name of Martinborough was changed to Greenville.

Pittsborough Academy, Chatham County, 1786.

Richmond Academy, Richmond County, 1786.

Warrenton Academy, District of Halifax (now Warren County), 1786.—Prominent among the trustees were Nathaniel Macon, Benjamin Hawkins, and Rev. Henry Patillo. The treasurer of the board was bound in a bond of £5,000. The institution could confer certificates of proficiency, but not degrees.

Currituck Seminary of Learning, Currituck County, 1789.—Trustees were appointed to take charge of property and gifts to the institution, and to attend to the "build-

[1] Martin's Collection of Private Acts, p. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

ing or purchasing of suitable and convenient houses, purchasing a library and philosophical apparatus, and supporting and paying the salaries of the provost and such number of professors and tutors as to them shall seem necessary."

Onslow Academy, Onslow County, 1791.

Lumberton Academy, Robeson County, 1791.

Stokes Seminary, Wadesborough, Anson County, 1791.

Stokes Seminary, Henderson, Montgomery County, 1797.

Bladen Academy, Elizabeth, Bladen County, 1797.

Seminary in Salisbury, Rowan County, 1798.

Smithville Academy, Brunswick County, 1798.—The trustees were authorized by the act of incorporation to raise $7,000 by lottery for the school.

Unity Meeting-House Academy, Randolph County, 1798.

Adams Creek Academy, Craven County, 1798.

Fayetteville Academy, Cumberland County, 1799.

Moore County Academy, Moore County, 1799.

Some of the above institutions had existed several years before being incorporated.

LOTTERIES FOR SCHOOLS.

In the eighteenth and in the early part of the present century, it was common in North Carolina, as in other States, for the Legislature to grant to schools the right to raise funds for building and other purposes by means of lotteries. The University of North Carolina was assisted in this way several times.

The following act, passed by the General Assembly in 1797, will show how these lotteries were conducted:

"AN ACT to authorize the trustees of the Pittsborough Academy to raise the sum of seven hundred dollars, by way of lottery.

"*Whereas*, The trustees of the academy aforesaid have represented to this General Assembly that the raising of the above sum of seven hundred dollars would be of great benefit to said institution:

"I. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That the trustees of the academy aforesaid shall have leave to raise by way of lottery the sum aforesaid, and that John Ramsey, James Taylor, Charles Chalmers, John Henderson, James Bradley, John Dabney, and William Warden shall be, and they are hereby, appointed commissioners for the purpose of opening and completing a scheme of a lottery calculated to raise the sum aforesaid, in the following manner:

3,500 tickets at two dollars each, is $7,000.

1	Prize of four hundred dollars is	$400
2	Prizes of one hundred dollars is	200
4	Do. of fifty dollars is	200
8	Do. of thirty-five dollars is	280
18	Do. of twenty-five dollars is	450
200	Do. of ten dollars is	2,000
490	Do. of three dollars is	1,470
400	Do. of five dollars is	2,000
1,123	Prizes	$7,000
2,377	Blanks.	

3,500 Tickets at two dollars each, is $7,000.

"And the said commissioners, or a majority of them, shall be managers of said lottery, and shall be accountable for the prizes and profits thereof.

"II. *And be it further enacted*, That when three-fourths of the said tickets are sold, that the drawing of the said lottery shall commence, under the management of the said commissioners, they giving thirty days' notice in the Fayetteville Gazette.

"III. *And be it further enacted*, That all prizes shall be paid in four weeks after the drawing is finished upon demand of a possessor of a fortunate ticket, which prize shall be subject to a deduction of ten per cent.; and if such prize is not demanded within six months after the drawing is finished, of which public notice shall be given in some public paper in this State, the same shall be considered as relinquished for the benefit of said academy, and the produce of said lottery shall be vested in the trustees aforesaid."

Sections IV and V of the act provide for the bond of the treasurer, and for the collection of the bond in case he should fail to perform his duty.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION—THE MORAVIANS.

Of the 30,000 Germans who left their country in the early part of the eighteenth century to find homes in America, 18,000 are said to have eventually settled in North Carolina. Baron De Graffenried with his Swiss and Palatines settled in Newbern in the eastern part of the State. Later German emigration settled principally in the Piedmont section.

In 1751 the religious sect known as the Unitas Fratrum, commonly called Moravians, purchased 100,000 acres of land in western Carolina, and in 1753 began their settlement, which from that time to this has been noted as one of the most moral, prosperous, and intelligent communities in the State.

These Germans were, as a class, men of fair education and refinement, especially in the Moravian settlements. The latter, even before homes for all had been provided, erected a church and school-house in their settlement.

One of the most noted of the early Moravian settlers in Carolina was John Jacob Fries, who came to the colony in April, 1754. Mr. Fries was a native of Denmark, where, previous to his coming to America, he had officiated as an assistant minister and had acquired a wide reputation as an accomplished scholar, especially in the Hebrew language. He was one of the pioneer teachers of North Carolina, in which vocation he continued till his death in 1793.[1]

Salem, one of the most beautiful towns in the State and the principal settlement of the Moravians, was laid out in 1765. The first permanent school-house for boys was built in 1794. An account of the Moravians,[2]

[1] *Vide* Reichel's History of the Moravians in North Carolina.

[2] Supposed to have been written by Bishop Reichel, of the Moravian Church, and published in Martin's North Carolina, Vol. I, Appendix.

written about 1800, contains the following: "The male children of the inhabitants of the town and of the other members of the congregations living in the neighborhood receive from their sixth to their twelfth or fourteenth year instruction in reading and writing, German and English, ciphering, history, geography, and some of them in the rudiments of the Latin language, drawing, and music."

The Salem Female Academy, one of the best equipped and most widely known institutions for higher female education in the South, was founded in 1802. Its history is valuable and interesting. Until the late Civil War it was the most noted female school in the South, and one of the best in the Union, and up to that time its influence on the higher female education in other States was marked. The total number of students who studied here between 1804 and 1856 was 3,470, from seventeen States. This school throughout its entire existence has been noted for the competent and successful teachers it has sent forth. It is patronized by every denomination, and the most distinguished men of the country have sent daughters there to be educated.

THE LUTHERANS.

Previous to the Revolutionary War the Lutheran congregation in the State was under the supervision of the Consistory of Hanover and the University of Göttingen, which not only gave pecuniary aid, but also sent over pastors and teachers, who were men of ability and scholarship. Gottfried Arndt was one of the most noted of these. After the Revolutionary War the North Carolina congregation was made subject to the Julius Charles University of Helmstadt, in the Duchy of Brunswick. The Lutherans have ever maintained good schools, and at this time have under their control North Carolina College in Cabarrus County, Concordia College in Catawba County, and Gaston College in Gaston County.[3]

STATE OF EDUCATION IN 1795.

The state of education in North Carolina during the closing years of the eighteenth century may be judged from the following extract from a very interesting and instructive work written by Rev. W. Winterbotham, which is entitled, A View of the United States of America, published in London, 1796. After giving an account of the State University, which had just been opened, he adds: "There is a very good academy at Warrenton, another at Williamsborough, in Granville (County), and three or four others in the State of considerable note."[2] The principal of the Warrenton Academy, Professor George, was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin.[3]

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[1] *Vide* Bruebeim's History of the German Settlements in North Carolina and South Carolina.

[2] American Journal of Education, Vol. XVI, p. 156.

[3] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 543.

An announcement in the North Carolina Journal of June 22, 1795, written about the time of Dr. Winterbotham's visit to the United States, reads: "We have the pleasure to announce to the public that the academy at Thyatira, erected and conducted by Dr. McCorkle; the Warrenton Academy, under the management of the Rev. Mr. George; and the Chatham and Newbern Academies, are all in a very flourishing state. The high reputation and great experience of the gentlemen who have the direction of these seminaries will insure their establishment and success, and furnish annually a large number of students prepared to enter at once upon the higher branches."

The State was now ready for a university. Men like Caldwell, Patillo, and Hall had prepared the people for a higher and more thorough education than could be obtained in the log colleges. It was through their efforts that constitutional provision was made for the establishment of the University, and now at the beginning of the nineteenth century we find it the leading institution for higher education in North Carolina.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE STATE OF EDUCATION AND SOCIETY BEFORE 1810.[1]

In Caswell County.

The following account of education in one of the northern central counties of the State is taken from an article by that distinguished North Carolinian, the Hon. Bartlett Yancy [now written Yancey], first published in the Raleigh Star, in August, 1810, and republished in the North Carolina University Magazine for November, 1860.

Mr. Yancy says: "The progress of society and civilization depends upon the education and virtue of the people; great improvements, therefore, have been made since the first settlement of the county. From 1750 to twenty-five years after, it is computed that not more than one-third of the inhabitants could read, and scarcely half that number could write a legible hand; from 1775 to 1800 what was then called a common English education, viz, 'to read, write, and cipher as far as the rule of three,' was given to a little more than half of the inhabitants, but from 1800 up to the present time (1810) the progress of civilization and literature has been greater than for perhaps fifty years antecedent to that time. The great revival of religion about that period seems to have contributed much to the dissemination of morality, sound principles, and good order in society; but, as naturalists have observed, every calm is succeeded by a storm, and accordingly many of the inferior classes of society appear now more depraved than ever.

"For the progress of literature in the inferior branches of an education, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, since 1800, the people of this county are much indebted to Mr. Robert H. Childers. Greater improvement in writing could not have been expected by any man. At

[1] See foot-note, p. 51.

least one-half of the youth of the county who write well were taught, either directly or indirectly, by this excellent penman.

"Situated within a quarter of a mile of the court-house is Caswell Academy. The plan of Caswell Academy was first conceived and brought to view in the winter of 1801. Early in the succeeding year between $500 and $600 was subscribed, and during the year 1803 it was completed for the reception of students. The Rev. Hugh Shaw and Bartlett Yancy were the teachers for the first two years; the number of students was from 55 to 65 each year. From that period the institution was not in a very flourishing state until 1808, since which time it has prospered much under the direction of Mr. John W. Caldwell, a gentleman educated in Guilford County by his father, the Rev. David Caldwell, well known in the State for his services in disseminating literature, morality, and religion among his fellow-citizens. The funds of the academy at present are low; it is now, and always has been, dependent on the liberality of the trustees of the institution and a few other public-spirited gentlemen of the county for a support. No library of consequence is yet established; a plan has, however, been suggested, and is now going into operation, by which it is hoped a good library will be procured in a few years. The number of students at present is 38.

"Hico Academy, situated near the Red House, in Caswell, was erected, it is believed, in 1804, by a number of public-spirited gentlemen in that part of the county. Mr. Shaw, after he left Caswell Academy, became the teacher in this academy for two or three years, during which time, it is believed, it had between 30 and 40 students. It has since been on a decline, and about the middle of last month it was consumed by fire. * * * The trustees have, however, determined to rebuild it of brick, upon a more extended plan.

"Since the establishment of these institutions the progress of virtue and of science in the county has exceeded the most flattering hopes of the friends of literature. * * * The inhabitants generally are more enlightened; men who thirty and forty years ago were considered the best informed and most learned among us are now scarcely equal in point of information to a school-boy of fifteen years."

Mr. Yancy then mentions some honored citizens of North Carolina and Virginia who were fitted for the University at these institutions.

He tells us that there were two societies in the county, constituted for intellectual improvement, their exercises being mostly polemical. In 1808 some gentlemen of Person and Caswell Counties organized a society for the encouragement of the arts and agriculture, but, at the time he writes, but little had been done for its promotion.

As a further index to the condition of society in this section of the State, the following facts are drawn from Mr. Yancy's admirable sketch:

At that time (1810) there were in Caswell County five practising physicians—John McAden, William S. Webb, Samuel Dabney, James Smith,

and Edward Foulks; and three lawyers—Bartlett Yancy, Edward D. Jones, and Solomon Graves.

The state of religion may best be estimated by the number of churches and communicants: "There are four Baptist churches and about 300 communicants; four Presbyterian congregations and about 200 or 250 communicants; three or four Methodist societies and 250 or 300 communicants."

We are told that "the amusements of the polite part of society consist in balls, tea-parties, and visiting parties. Those of an inferior class consist of Saturday-night frolics, now become almost obsolete; shooting-matches and horse-racing afford amusement to the better sort of men, and now and then may be seen a party with an old, rusty pack of cards, amusing themselves for whisky. The only sporting club in the county is the 'Jocky Club' of the Caswell turf."

In Edgecombe County.

In 1811 the Raleigh Star published a sketch of "Edgecombe County in 1810," by Jeremiah Battle, M. D., who was one of the first students of the State University. At this time he was a practising physician in Tarborough, Edgecombe County (in eastern North Carolina), but he afterwards removed to Raleigh, where he died in 1825. The North Carolina University Magazine for April, 1861, republished Dr. Battle's article, and it is from this that the following data are obtained:

"The progress of learning for twenty-five years back has been slow, and perhaps has not more than kept pace with the population, till within these two or three years. The people now manifest some disposition to diffuse learning, perhaps from their finding the means of obtaining it more accessible now than heretofore. The custom at the public schools, and in some towns, among those who are desirous of intellectual improvement, has found its way here. Societies have been formed, and kept up with a tolerable degree of spirit, greatly to the benefit of the members thereof, both in talents and morals. * * * Some attempts have been made to procure libraries, but this, for some of the above reasons, was never effected, except by a society that was in existence about fifteen years ago. On the dissolution of that body the books were scattered abroad, or divided among those who contributed to the establishment. The agricultural society has appropriated a sum of money to procure an agricultural library. Some donations are made of books for this purpose. On the fourth day of July, 1810, proposals were made for the establishment of a society for the promotion of agriculture and the arts. The plan has succeeded so far as to go into operation. It has now upwards of thirty respectable members, whose public spirit is thus manifested, greatly to their benefit, and it is to be hoped to the benefit of the country. * * *

"It is believed that about two-thirds of the people generally can read, and one-half of the males write their names, but not more than

one-third of the women can write. The girls not at school are learning and are very desirous to write; it is deemed a more important accomplishment in that sex among the common people now than formerly. * * *

"There are seventeen county schools in the county, at which there are about four hundred scholars; nothing more is attempted to be taught in them than the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and but few of the teachers are qualified to do justice to those. Notwithstanding this apparently infant state of literature, we may easily discover that it is progressing; for fifty years ago there was not more than one or two schools in the whole county. For want of an academy in this county several have been sent to those in the adjacent ones, viz, at Westrayville and Vine Hill. It is in contemplation to establish an academy at Mount Prospect, in this county, and we can not account for the delay otherwise than from the general indifference with which learning is still viewed."

Dr. Battle, in the article q uoted from above, says that there was but one lawyer and few physicians in the county in 1810, but that quacks were abundant.

The only religious denominations were the Baptists and Methodists. The former had several churches and numbered about five hundred and twenty communicants. The Methodists were not strong numerically, but had several places of worship.

Amusements were not pursued to any great extent. The principal out-door sports were hunting, fishing, shooting-matches, course-racing, and quarter-racing. There were no "sporting clubs." Dr. Battle says: "Card-playing is an amusement confined to a few; and they are not much disposed to make the winning and losing any great object. Gambling under the name of amusement has nearly ceased. The ladies have never been known to play for money. Balls and family tea-parties afford the principal amusements in which the ladies participate, and those are not so common as formerly."[1]

[1] It must not be understood that the above accounts represent the general educational condition of North Carolina in 1810. They are true for the counties of which they treat, but, as has been shown, those parts of the State in which Presbyterians were influential, good classical schools had existed since about the middle of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNIVERSITY.

North Carolina was one of the first States to make constitutional provision for the higher education. To the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians occupying Central and Piedmont Carolina is due the lasting honor of having established the first academies in the Province, and it is said that it was through their influence that the clause providing for a university was inserted in the initial Constitution of the State. It is worthy of note that the men of Mecklenburg County, whose capital, Charlotte, was termed by Cornwallis "the hornets' nest of the Revolution," instructed their delegates, John Phifer, Robert Irwin, Zaccheus Wilson, Hezekiah Alexander, and Waightstill Avery, to use their endeavors for the establishment of a college and its endowment and maintenance. In the efforts to promote education, privileges which the British Government had accorded other colonies had been denied this, and, doubtless, the refusal of the King to grant a charter to Queen's College, in Charlotte, on conditions similar to those of Harvard and Princeton, fired the resentment of the Revolutionary patriots, and quickened their action under the blessings of liberty and the protection of the new-born Republic.

It was one of the darkest hours of the Revolution when the representatives of the people met at Halifax, November 12, 1776, to throw off their provisional government and adopt a permanent constitution. The recent defeat of the Continental Army at Long Island and the capture of New York filled the country with gloom and despondency, but these sturdy sons of Carolina had hearts full of stern resolution and abiding faith. On the 18th of December a State Constitution was adopted, and it is in obedience to a clause of Section XLI that the University owes its establishment.[1]

In the annual address before the Alumni Association of the University of North Carolina, which convened in Raleigh on January 26, 1881, President Kemp P. Battle thus alluded to the members of the convention: "They not only framed a constitution of surpassing wisdom, but

[1] It is worthy of note that this clause is almost identical with Article XLIV of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which was adopted by the Convention which met in Philadelphia from July 15 to September 28, 1776.

SECTION OF LIBRARY—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

with faith approaching sublimity, when bullets were being moulded and soldiers were marshalling, and the roar of cannon was echoing among the hills, they provided for the interests of unborn children. Their clear vision looked through the murky present, and discerned the needs of the distant future. They knew that their children would not be capable of freedom without education. They knew there could be no education without teachers. They knew that teachers could not be procured without institutions of higher learning, and while providing for the education of the masses they made the requirements of the University a part of the fundamental law. They coupled common school education with the education of the University. Hear these golden words written amid storms and thundering, to be made good when the sun shone brightly on a free and united people: 'A school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities.'"

The conventions of 1835, 1861, 1865, and 1868 left the requirements of the University in the Constitution. The people, in 1873, by a separate vote, indorsed the University, and intrusted its management to the General Assembly. The convention of 1875 re-enacted the University provisions, and its action was ratified by the people in 1876. Thus the University, born of the Constitution of 1776, has continued the child of the State.

The present Constitution provides, in Article IX, Sections 6, 7, and 14, that "The General Assembly shall have power to provide for the election of trustees of the University of North Carolina, in whom when chosen, shall be vested all the privileges, rights, franchises, and endowments thereof, in anywise granted to or conferred upon the trustees of said University; and the General Assembly may make such provisions, laws, and regulations, from time to time, as may be necessary and expedient for the maintenance and management of said University.

"The General Assembly shall provide that the benefits of the University, as far as practicable, be extended to the youth of the State, free of expense for tuition; also that all the property which has heretofore accrued to the State, or shall hereafter accrue, from escheats, unclaimed dividends, or distributive shares of the estates of deceased persons, shall be appropriated to the use of the University.

"As soon as practicable after the adoption of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall establish and maintain in connection with the University, a department of agriculture, of mechanics, of mining, and of normal instruction."

The Hon. John Manning, LL. D., professor of law in the University of North Carolina, in an address before the University Alumni Association in 1884, after emphasizing the constitutional claims of the University for State aid, said: "So that the University does not lack the sanction

either of the Constitution or of the people. Under the loving care of the people of the State, led by wise master-builders, much more than from the liberality of the General Assembly, the University grew in the lapse of nearly a century to be a great institution, the nursing mother of the ingenuous youth of the State without distinction of party or sect. Embracing all her children in her great catholic heart, she has always striven to allay sectional feeling, to moderate sectarian heat, to cultivate and encourage a broad, ardent love for the State, a veneration for her early history and traditions, an appreciation of the domestic virtues of her citizens, and a love of liberal learning."

THE UNIVERSITY CHARTERED.

While the war for independence was progressing, the mandate of the Constitution respecting education lay dormant; but when peace was restored, the people again turned their attention to the promotion of learning.

In November, 1789, North Carolina adopted the Constitution of the United States, and on the 11th of December following the University was chartered. The preamble to the act for its establishment reads as follows: "WHEREAS in all well regulated Governments, it is the indispensable Duty of every Legislature to consult the Happiness of a rising Generation, and endeavor to fit them for an honorable discharge of the social duties of life, by paying the strictest attention to their Education:—And whereas an University supported by permanent funds, and well endowed would have the most direct tendency to answer the above purpose: 1st, *Be it therefore enacted*," etc. The corporators named in this act as trustees were forty of the most distinguished men in the State. In the list are to be found the names of many of North Carolina's early Governors, judges, Senators and Representatives in Congress. Let us call the roll of these friends and promoters of the higher education: Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, Charles Johnson, Hugh Williamson, Stephen Cabarrus, Richard Dobbs Spaight, William Blount, Benjamin Williams, John Sitgreaves, Frederick Hargett, Robert W. Snead, Archibald Maclaine, Samuel Ashe, Robert Dixon, Benjamin Smith, Samuel Spencer, John Hay, James Hogg, Henry William Harrington, William Barry Grove, Samuel McCorkle, Adlai Osborne, John Stokes, John Hamilton, Joseph Graham, John Williams, Thomas Person, Alfred Moore, Alexander Mebane, Joel Lane, Willie Jones, Benjamin Hawkins, John Haywood, Sr., John Macon, William Richardson Davie, Joseph Dixon, William Lenoir, Joseph McDowell, James Holland, and William Porter.

A SITE CHOSEN.

At a meeting of the board of trustees held in Newbern on January 2, 1792, a committee was appointed "to view and examine the most eli-

OLD EAST BUILDING—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

gible situations whereon to fix the University in the counties of Wake, Franklin, Warren, Orange, Granville, Chatham, and Johnston."

The trustees met in Hillsborough August 1, 1792, to decide on a location and to provide for the erection of buildings. On August 3 ballots were taken for the selection of a point the centre of a circle of 15 miles radius, within which the University should be located, the place to be determined by a committee of the board constituted of one member from each judicial district. The fact that the charter provided that the site should not be within five miles of the permanent seat of government or any court-house, prevented any of the leading towns from being chosen. Many places were put in nomination, but finally Cypritz Bridge, over New Hope River, in Chatham County, was selected as the point within 15 miles of which the university buildings should be placed.

On November 1, 1792, the committee met at Pittsborough, Chatham County, to make a final decision as to location. Several handsome offers of land and money were made to secure the election. Eleven hundred and eighty acres were offered at a place called New Hope Chapel Hill, and on the 9th of November the committee decided in its favor by a unanimous vote.

The trustees at their next meeting ratified the report of the above committee. On motion of Governor Davie commissioners were appointed to lay off a town and superintend the erection of university buildings. It was provided that the first to be erected should accommodate fifty students, the cost not to exceed $5,000.

LOCATION AND BUILDINGS.

The University is located in Chapel Hill, Orange County, twenty-eight miles from Raleigh, the capital of the State. In colonial times a chapel of the Church of England was built there, which was known as New Hope Chapel Hill, and from this circumstance the village takes its name.

The location was wisely chosen. It is not far from the geographical centre of the State, and is noted for its beauty and healthfulness. One can scarce imagine a more inviting spot than the campus. The buildings are surrounded by a grove of old forest trees, chiefly oak and hickory, which completely hide them from the rest of the village. The grounds, about 50 acres, are beautifully undulating. Adjoining the campus is a magnificent forest of several hundred acres. Here the young academic may find that monastic quiet and seclusion which used to be thought so essential to student life.

The village of Chapel Hill was laid off, the first lots sold, and the corner-stone of the old east building was laid on the 12th day of October, 1793.

President Battle, in the address before the alumni in 1881, said: "We have fortunately an account of the proceedings of this day, so memorable, written by Davie himself, the chief actor. I will endeavor to

take the veil off this picture of long ago, and wipe off the dust which obscures it.

"The Chapel Hill of eighty-eight years ago was vastly different from the Chapel Hill of to-day. It was covered with a primeval growth of forest trees, with only one or two settlements and a few acres of clearing. Even the trees on the East and West avenue, named by the Faculty, in recognition of the wise and skilful superintendence of the extensive repairs of our buildings prior to the re-opening in 1875, Cameron, after our president [of the association], were still erect. The sweet-gums and dog-woods and maples were relieving in the autumnal sun, with their russet and golden hues, the general green of the forest. A long procession of people for the first time are marching along the narrow road, afterwards to be widened into a noble avenue. Many of them are clad in the striking, typical insignia of the Masonic fraternity, their Grand Master arrayed in the full decorations of his rank. They march with military tread, because most of them have seen service, many of them scarred with wounds of horrid war. Their faces are serious, for they feel that they are engaged in a great work. They are proceeding to lay the foundations of an institution which, for weal or woe, is to shape the minds of thousands of unborn children; whose influence would be felt more and more, ever widening and deepening as the years roll on, as one of the great forces of civilization. * * *

"The tall, commanding figure most conspicuous, in the Grand Master's regalia, is that of William Richardson Davie. He is no common man. He had been a gallant cavalry officer in the Revolution. He had been a strong staff on which Greene had leaned. He had been conspicuous in civil pursuits, an able lawyer, an orator of vast influence. With Washington and Franklin and other great men he had assisted in evolving the grandest Government of all ages—the American Union—out of an ill-governed and disintegrating confederacy. He was beyond his times in the advocacy of a broad, generous education. His portrait has been drawn by a masterly hand, Judge Archibald Murphey, one of the most progressive and scholarly men our State has known. In his speech before the two societies at Chapel Hill he says: 'Davie was a tall, elegant man in his person, graceful and commanding in his manners. His voice was mellow and adapted to the expression of every passion; his mind comprehensive yet slow in its operations, when compared with his great rival [Alfred Moore]; his style was magnificent and flowing; he had a greatness of manner in public speaking which suited his style, and gave to his speeches an imposing effect. He was a laborious student, arranged his discourses with care, and, where the subject merited his genius, poured forth a torrent of eloquence that astonished and enraptured his audience.'

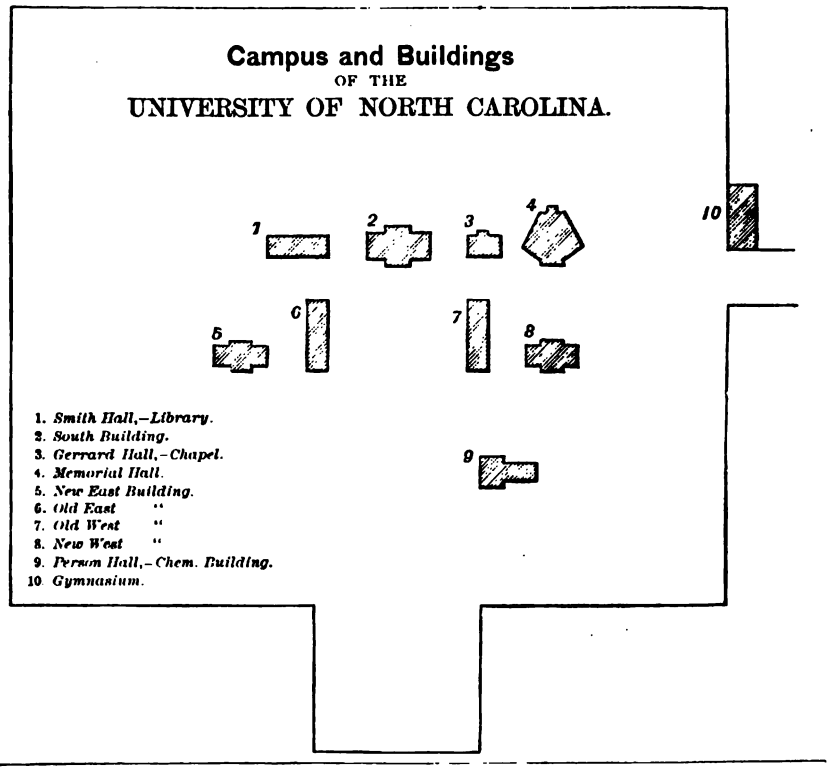
"Judge Murphey says: 'I was present in the House of Commons when Davie addressed that body upon the bill granting a loan of money to the trustees for erecting the buildings of the University, and although

more than thirty years have since elapsed, I have the most vivid recollection of the greatness of his manner and the powers of his eloquence on that occasion.' General Davie was afterwards Governor of the State; an envoy of the United States to the court of France. I find him styled in the journal of the University, in 1810, 'the founder of the University,' and he well deserved the title."[1]

Other trustees present on this occasion were Alfred Moore, afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; William H. Hill, member of Congress; John Haywood, for forty years treasurer of the State; Alexander Mebane, member of Congress; Thomas Blount, member of Congress; John Williams, one of the three judges first appointed under the State Constitution of 1776; Frederick Hargett, State Senator; and Dr. Samuel E. McCorkle, one of the most noted teachers in the State.

Dr. McCorkle delivered the address on the occasion. The report of it which has been preserved is evidence that the high estimate which was placed on his ability by his contemporaries was well deserved.

The 12th of October is annually observed as "Foundation or University Day," when an address is delivered by some well-known alumnus.



[1] Proceedings of the Alumni Association, 1881, pp. 22-23.

The university buildings are ten in number. The following list, furnished the writer by President Battle, gives the dates of erection, together with the purposes for which they are now used:

1, 2. Old east (1795) and old west (1826) buildings, each three stories, 36 by 120 feet, used for dormitories, with the exception of two rooms about 36 feet square in each, used, one as a museum, the others for lecture-rooms.

3. Person Hall (1796), 36 by 54 feet, one story, once used for religious as well as other exercises, hence often called "Old Chapel." It is now the lecture room of the professor of chemistry, and contains also the industrial museum. A chemical laboratory 70 by 30 feet, has been recently added to this building.

4. South building (1814), three stories, 50 by 116 feet, used for dormitories, except two rooms 28 by 36, and three rooms 20 by 30, of which one is set apart for the Young Men's Christian Association and the others for lecture-halls.

5. Gerrard Hall (1827), 45 by 66 feet, one story, used for religious as well as general exercises, hence often called "New Chapel."

6. Smith Hall (1852), 35 by 122 feet, one and a half-story. The basement is divided into a qualitative and quantitative laboratory. The main room above contains the University library.

7, 8. New east (1859) and new west (1859) buildings, the former four, the latter three stories, each 40 by 116 feet. The former has four lecture and laboratory halls, the hall of the Philanthropic Literary Society, established 1795, and the Philanthropic library, each 36 by 54 feet. The latter has three lecture and laboratory halls, and the hall of the Dialectic Literary Society, established 1795, and the Dialectic library, each 36 by 54 feet. Dormitories are in both of these buildings.

9. The University Memorial Hall (1885), a very handsome design for an auditorium. It is 136 by 128 feet, with a ceiling 52 feet high. It has 2,000 seats on the floor, 200 chairs on the rostrum and 250 chairs in the music gallery. On the walls are many marble tablets commemorating the eminent officers and alumni of the University. On four large tablets are the names of all the sons of the instituti on who lost their lives in the Civil War.

10. Gymnasium Hall (1885), 110 by 45 feet, one story, is fitted up with the most approved appliances for physical culture.

The total value of the lands and buildings is estimated at over $350,000.

ENDOWMENT AND INCOME.

An act entitled "An act for raising a fund for erecting the buildings, and for the support of the University of North Carolina," was passed by the General Assembly in 1789.

This endowed the institution with all the arrearages due to the State from receiving officers up to the 1st of January, 1783, and with all property that had theretofore, or should thereafter, escheat to the State. This grant of escheats, though not of immediate was finally, by the energy and good management of the trustees, of great value. This, with private benefactions, constituted the fund for the erection of buildings and the principal part of the endowment.

At the first meeting of the board of trustees, held in Fayetteville, November, 15, 1790, James Hogg, Esq., in behalf of Colonel Benjamin Smith (who had been an aid of General Washington and subsequently Governor of the State), o 1Brunswick County, presented the University

with 20,000 acres of land located in Obion County, Tennessee. About the year 1835 this land was sold for $14,000.

In 1791 the General Assembly voted a loan of $10,000, which was afterwards converted into a gift.

On the location of the University in 1792 the citizens of Chapel Hill presented $1,596 in cash and 1,180 acres of land. After reserving sufficient land for the institution, $3,068 were realized from the sale of lots in the village.

In 1797 Major Charles Gerrard, of Edgecombe County, gave 1,300 acres of land, from the sale of which about $40,000 were realized.

In 1797 General Thomas Person, the old chief of the "Regulators," gave $1,025 in cash towards the erection of the buildings.

The gifts of Smith, Gerrard, and Person were the earliest, and for that reason the most important benefactions to the University.

In 1803, $5,080, the profits of two lotteries granted by law, were added to the funds of the institution.

The following extract from a memorial presented to the General Assembly in 1867, by Governor Jonathan Worth, in behalf of the trustees of the University, shows the condition of the endowment at that time:

"The moneyed endowment on December 10, 1862, was ascertained to be, over and above its liabilities, $148,520.26. This endowment was derived from escheated and derelict property and remnants of doubtful debts transferred to the institution by the charter; by a direct grant from the public treasury of $10,000 in 1791; from the gift in 1789 of 20,000 acres of Tennessee land, by the late Governor Smith; a still more valuable donation by the late Major Charles Gerrard, and by smaller gifts from hundreds of patriotic men and women in every section of the State.

"The General Assembly, in February, 1859, chartered the bank of North Carolina and, with a view to promote the interests of the University, provided in the second section 'that the State shall be entitled to subscribe the amount of the literary fund now invested in the bank of the State as part of the capital stock, and the trustees of the University of North Carolina also, as part thereof, a sum not exceeding $200,000.' The trustees made the subscription accordingly. The General Assembly of 1860–61 and the convention of 1861–62 secured an arrangement with the several banks of the State which subjected all their available means to public control. The convention of 1865, on October 19th, repudiated the War debt thus created, broke the bank in whose stock the funds of the University were invested, annihilated, and more than annihilated, the entire moneyed endowment of the University.

"The General Assembly, at the last session, appropriated $7,000 for the temporary relief of the institution, and this sum, together with the above-mentioned sum of $10,000, making the aggregate amount of $17,000, are the only direct grants ever made from the public treasury."

In 1867 the General Assembly transferred to the University the land scrip granted by the General Government, a history of which is subjoined.

The General Assembly, in 1881, voted an annual appropriation of $5,000, which in 1885 was increased to $20,000. This, added to the interest paid on the certificate of indebtedness issued for the land scrip, gives to the University an annual appropriation of $27,500 from the State treasury.

THE LAND-SCRIP FUND.

The General Government, by an act approved July 2, 1862, granted to the several States and Territories land scrip to the amount of 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress, in trust, to be applied to the endowment and maintenance of one or more colleges. "the leading object of which should be, without excluding other literary and scientific studies (and including military tactics), to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes."

Among the conditions of the grant were these: "If the principal or the interest of the fund should, by any action or contingencies, be diminished or lost," the State should restore it; if the college should not be established, the State should repay to the General Government the entire amount of the sales of the scrip; and that no greater expenditure than 10 per cent. of the fund should be made for the purchase of lands, erection of buildings, etc.; the remainder of the fund to be vested in some safe stock, yielding not less than 5 per cent. per annum, and the amount thus funded to be preserved intact and intangible forever.

By a joint resolution of the General Assembly, adopted February 22, 1866, North Carolina's quota of 270,000 acres of scrip was accepted in behalf of the State. By an act of the Legislature, passed February 11, 1867, this scrip was transferred to the trustees of the University of North Carolina to be used by them in accordance with the terms of the grant; at the same time it was provided that the commissioners of each county should have the authority to select and have at all times in the University one student from the county, without the necessary means to defray his expenses, who should receive tuition and room rent free.

The trustees sold the scrip at the then market price, 50 cents per acre, realizing $135,000. Of this $10,000 were used for building purposes, etc.

In 1868 a new board of trustees came into office under the reconstruction acts, and the land-scrip fund, $125,000, passed into their hands. This fund their treasurer invested in North Carolina securities, part of which were valid, but bearing no interest. The larger part was in special-tax bonds, which the General Assembly declared to be void and worthless, owing to the illegality of their issue.

In 1874, the trustees appointed in 1868 having been removed by an amendment to the Constitution, a board of trustees was elected by the General Assembly. This board reported on the condition of the fund, and asked the assistance of the Legislature in carrying out the provisions under which the scrip had been accepted by the State. The General Assemby of 1874–75 directed the State treasurer to issue to the trustees of the University a certificate of indebtedness for $125,000, bearing interest from January 1, 1875, at 6 per cent., payable semi-annually.

By act of the General Assembly, session of 1887, it was ordered that the interest arising from this fund should be transferred from the University to the College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts as soon as the latter should be ready to begin the work of instruction.

PLAN OF EDUCATION.

The first action taken by the trustees looking towards the literary character of the University was the adoption of a report, submitted by Samuel McCorkle at a meeting of the board held at Pillsborough, in November, 1792. This report is interesting and valuable, as showing what studies these early promoters of the institution thought most essential in a liberal education. It provided that on the opening of the University the attention of the student should be confined to the following subjects: "The study of languages, particularly the English; the acquirement of historical knowledge, ancient and modern; the study of belles-lettres, mathematics, and natural philosophy; the improvement of the intellectual powers, including a rational system of logic and moral philosophy; information in botany, to which should be added a complete knowledge in the theory and practice of agriculture best suited to the climate and soils of this State; the principles of architecture." It will be seen from this that it was intended to provide a liberal and comprehensive curriculum. Both literature and science were to be provided for, and the course here outlined will compare favorably with that provided in the colleges of to-day.

The report further recommended "that steps be taken to procure apparatus for experimental philosophy and astronomy. In this they [the committee] would include a set of globes, barometers, thermometers, microscope, telescope, quadrant, prismatic glass, air pump, and an electrical machine. A library, your committee are also of opinion, should be provided, but the choice of books will perhaps come more immediately within the province of the faculty of the University." More liberal ideas of what was requisite for a well-rounded education could not have been expected at that early day.

ELECTION OF A PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY.

The committee appointed by the trustees to prepare a "plan of education" reported December 21, 1793. The report specified that the exercises of the institution should commence on January 15, 1795; that

the first commencement should take place on July 10 following, to be succeeded by a vacation of one week only, and that the students should live at commons. Tuition in the English department was fixed at $8 per annum; for instruction in the Latin, Greek, and French languages tuition was $12.50; and for the higher branches of science it was $15. The committee recommended that one person be employed under whose care the University should be placed. He was to be styled "Professor of Humanity," and to receive a salary of $300 per session and two-thirds of all tuition fees. An assistant was to be appointed at a salary of $200 and one-third of the tuition money. Neither of these was to be regarded as having any right or claim to the presidency. The report was adopted. The election of teachers was postponed until January 10, 1794, when the Rev. David Kerr, of Fayetteville, was chosen "Professor of Humanity."

OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The University was opened for students in February, 1795, and from that time to this it has been the recognized head of the higher education in North Carolina. It is one of the few institutions of the State which has traditions reaching back to the foundation of the Government. Truly, it may be called the child of the State, and its history is inseparably connected with that of the parent. Its influence in North Carolina can not be estimated; nor has this influence been confined within the limits of the State, but especially has it been felt in the Southern and South-western States. It is doubtful whether any other university in this country can show a list of alumni of which so large a percentage has achieved so many and such honorable successes in all the avenues of life. It would be difficult to name a place of trust or honor within the gift of the people of the State or nation that has not been filled by an alumnus of the institution, and thus its history becomes an integral part of the history of the higher education in the United States. To confirm this statement it is only necessary to mention the names of James K. Polk, William R. King, John Branch, John Y. Mason, William A. Graham, Thomas H. Benton, Willie P. Mangum, Aaron V. Brown, Jacob Thompson, Judges Pearson, Moore, and Dick, and Bishops Green, Otey, Polk, and Hawks. Scores of others whom the State and nation has honored could be named. It is a pleasant duty to trace the development of such an institution, and its history will now be considered.

FIRST REGULATIONS, 1795.

On the opening of the University, in February, 1795, it was provided by the trustees that there should be four literary classes entered upon annually, distinguished by the appellation of first, second, third, and fourth. In order to enter a higher class it was necessary to pass an examination on the studies of the preceding class.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

To enter the first class the applicant was required to "pass a competent examination" on Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust, Ovid or Virgil, "or other Latin books equivalent," and the Greek grammar. This class was to devote the year to the study of English grammar, Roman antiquities, and the Latin classics. The second class studied arithmetic, book-keeping, geography, Grecian antiquities, and Greek classics. The third class devoted the whole time to mathematics, including geometry, surveying, navigation, algebra, natural philosophy, and astronomy. The fourth class had logic, moral philosophy, principles of civil government, chronology, history, ancient and modern, the belles-lettres, "and the revisal of whatsoever may appear necessary to the officers of the University." It was also provided that those who wished to study only the sciences and the English branches "be either formed into a class called the scientific class, or else arranged with some of the literary classes when they shall be studying the sciences." In addition to the annual examinations, three quarterly examinations were given.

The students were required to attend daily both morning and evening prayers, morning prayers being held at sunrise. From then until 8 o'clock the time was devoted to study. One hour was given to breakfast. Then followed three hours of study and recitations. After an intermission of two hours came another period of work, which lasted till 5 o'clock. Evening prayers were then held, and the student was allowed his freedom from that time till 8 o'clock, when he was required to repair to his lodgings, which were not to be left without the consent of a teacher till prayers the next morning. A monitor was appointed for each class, who reported absences and disorderly conduct.

Every Saturday morning the students were required to speak, read, and exhibit compositions, the afternoon being given them for recreation.

From the opening until about the close of the Caldwell administration there was a steward's hall connected with the University, and the students "boarded at commons," being seated at the table according to classes. The following picture of student life is taken from an address delivered at the University in 1859 by Dr. William Hooper, who entered that institution in 1804. He said: "Coarse corn bread was the staple food. At dinner the only meat was a fat middling of bacon, surmounting a pile of cole-worts; and the first thing after grace was said (and sometimes before) was for one man, by a single horizontal sweep of his knife, to separate the ribs and lean from the fat, monopolize all the first to himself, and leave the remainder for his fellows. At breakfast we had wheat bread and butter and coffee. Our supper was coffee and the corn bread left at dinner, without butter. I remember the shouts of rejoicing when we had assembled at the door, and some one jumping up and looking in at the window, made proclamation: 'Wheat bread for supper, boys!' And that wheat bread, over which such rejoicings were raised, believe me, gentlemen and ladies, was manufactured out of what

we call *seconds*, or, as some term it, *grudgeons*. You will not wonder if, after such a supper, most of the students welcomed the approach of night, as beasts of prey, that they might go a-prowling and seize upon everything eatable within the compass of one or two miles; for, as I told you, our boys were following the laws of Lycurgus. Nothing was secure from the devouring torrent. Bee-hives, though guarded by a thousand stings, all feathered tenants of the roost, watermelon and potato patches, roasting ears, etc.—in fine, everything that could appease hunger was found missing in the morning. These marauding parties at night were often wound up with setting the village to rights." Dr. Hooper then relates some amusing and characteristic student exploits.

THE FIRST PROFESSORS.

At the opening of the University no president was appointed. As has been before noted, the Rev. David Kerr, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who had been conducting a classical school at Fayetteville, N. C., was elected "Professor of Humanity" and had the general management of the institution. He had charge of the department of ancient languages. Mr. Charles W. Harris, a citizen of the State and a graduate of Princeton, was appointed professor of mathematics. Mr. Samuel A. Holmes had charge of the preparatory department.

In a few years the entire *personnel* of the faculty had changed. In 1796 Mr. Kerr resigned. He demitted the ministry, removed to Mississippi, and began the practice of law. In 1802 he was appointed to a judgeship in that Territory by President Jefferson. After the resignation of his professorship in 1796, Mr. Harris entered upon the practice of law, and before his death in 1803 he had won an enviable reputation in his profession. He was regarded as one of the most promising young men in the State. The last of the trio, Mr. Holmes, resigned in 1798.

Mr. Harris was succeeded in the professorship of mathematics by the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, whom he had known at Princeton. Mr. Caldwell became first professor, and, from this time till his death in 1835, his history is a part of that of the University.

AN INTERESTING LETTER.

The writer, while exploiting the manuscript records of the University, came across some correspondence of Prof. Charles W. Harris, which shows the practical tendency of the higher education, gives an insight into the workings of the University, and pictures the state of society at Chapel Hill at that time.

The letter, from which the following extract is taken, is addressed to Dr. Charles Harris, Cabarrus County, and is dated "University, April 10, 1795." Professor Harris says:

"We have begun to introduce, by degrees, the regulations of the

University, and as yet have not been disappointed. There is one class in Natural Philosophy and Geography, and four in the Languages.

"The Constitution of this college is on a more liberal plan than that of any other in America, and by the amendments which I think it will receive at the next meeting of the trustees, its usefulness will probably be much promoted. The notion that true learning consists rather in exercising the reasoning faculties and laying up a store of useful knowledge, than in overloading the memory with words of dead languages, is becoming daily more prevalent. It appears hard to deny a young gentleman the honour of a college after he has with much labour and painful attention acquired a competent knowledge of the Sciences, of composing and speaking with propriety in his own language, and has conned the first principles of whatever might render him useful or creditable in the world, merely because he could not read a language two thousand-years old. Though the laws at present require that the Latin and Greek be understood by a graduate, they will in all probability be mitigated in their effect. These old forms which have been sanctioned by time but not by utility ought to be dispensed with. I have lately found many good hints on education in a book entitled the rights of woman—a book of very great merit, the production of an original genius, and penned in such a strong, manly style that you would scarcely believe it to be the work of a woman. For we are taught by many able writers and tolerably accurate observers of mankind that the natural weakness of a woman's body extends to her mind and becomes characteristic of her thoughts and words as well as of her actions. Miss Mary Wollstonecraft is the lady born effectually to rectify these misrepresentations from which so much evil has sprung. Miss' intention is to bring about a total reform in the education of women, but she takes occasion to speak of the error in the present plan of teaching young men and boys in Europe. 'The memory,' says she, 'is loaded with unintelligible words to make a show of, without the understanding acquiring any distinct idea; but only that education deserves emphatically to be termed cultivation of mind, which teaches young people how to begin to think.' She effectually overthrows Chesterfield's plan of bringing up boys. The amendments which she proposes are two numerous to be detailed in a letter, but are such as do the greatest honour to the authoress and may be beneficial to mankind. That there is much wrong in the old manner of educating is plain and whatever alterations will be made in our University will be made by those who can be actuated by no other principle than general utility. At present we find much difficulty in procuring books; the trustees have ordered two hundred dollars to be expended for that purpose, but it is very uncertain when the books will arrive. Dr. Williamson is commissioned to purchase and he is so totally engaged about his own book which he is preparing for the press, that he may forget others of less importance. Col. More presented us with

globes; Mr. Beneham with an air pump as soon as it can be procured. We will shortly have an electrical machine and other trifles.

"Our society is not so good at this place as we could wish. My only resort is to Mr. Kerr, who makes ample amends to me for the want of any other. He is a violent Republican and is continually deprecating the aristocratical principles which have lately prevailed much in our Executive."

FIRST PURCHASE OF BOOKS AND APPARATUS.

Early in 1795 Dr. Hugh Williamson, author of a history of North Carolina, was requested by the trustees to invest $200 in books for the University. This he did, purchasing principally Greek and Latin works, lexicons, etc.

On December 4, 1795, the trustees voted an annual appropriation of $50 for the purchase of books.

The trustees, on December 7, 1795, instructed Professor Kerr to have an air-pump, condenser, microscope, lenses, concave mirror, loadstones, magnets, phials for an electrical machine, and a set of surveying instruments purchased.

During the first years of the institution a number of books and some apparatus for the scientific departments were given by individuals. This policy of individual contributions has continued to the present time.

The first large purchase of books and apparatus was made in the first quarter of this century.

THE CURRICULUM, 1796.

On December 9, 1796, the committee appointed by the trustees to prepare and digest a plan of education made its report, which was adopted. The following is an outline of the system introduced:

The students of the institution were "divided into a Preparatory School, and the Professorships of the University."

In the preparatory school the English language was "taught grammatically on the plan of Webster's and South's Grammars." Thorough instruction in arithmetic was provided. Geography was taught on the plan of Guthrie. French and Latin were required, and before the student could enter the University the grammars of these languages had to be mastered and several standard authors in each read. The study of Roman antiquities was required. Greek was optional, but to enter the University class on this, it was necessary that the student should be able to read and translate the Gospels correctly.

Instruction in the University was given in the following schools, called "professorships," viz:

I. Rhetoric and belles-lettres.—Rhetoric on the plan of Sheridan; belles-lettres on the plan of Blair and Rollin.

II. Moral and political philosophy and history.—The following text-books were used: Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy; Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws; Adams's Defence; De Lolme on the English Constitution; the Constitution of the United States; Vattel's Law of Nations; Burlamaqui's Principles of National and Political Law; Priestley's Lectures on History; Federal Policy; Millot's Ancient and Modern History; Hume's History of England with Smollett's continuation; Chronology on the most approved plan.

III. Natural philosophy.—This subject was taught under the following heads: General properties of matter; laws of motion; mechanical powers; hydrostatics; hydraulics; pneumatics; optics; electricity; magnetism; geography; the use of globes; the geometrical, political, and commercial relations of the different nations of the earth; astronomy on the plan of Ferguson.

IV. Mathematics.—The required course embraced algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and the application of trigonometry to the mensuration of heights and distances, of surfaces and solids, and surveying and navigation. In addition to the above, if desired, instruction was furnished in spherical trigonometry, conic sections, and in the other higher branches of the science.

V. Languages.—Extended courses were provided in the modern and ancient languages. The principal Latin authorities were Virgil, Cicero, and Horace; in Greek, selections were made from the works of Homer, Lucian, and Xenophon. Prose composition in these languages was required.

The trustees, at their meeting on December 9, 1796, changed the above schedule of studies by no longer requiring the study of geography in the preparatory department, and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vattel's Law of Nations, and Hume's History of England with Smollett's continuation, in the University; though we find that the use of both Vattel and Montesquieu was continued. About this time Nicholson's Astronomy was substituted in the place of Ferguson's.

The greatest attention was given to the study of the English language, mathematics, and political science, and previous to 1800 the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on passing "an approved examination in the English language and the sciences." It was then required that the course in Latin should also be completed before this degree would be conferred. In 1801 it was provided that after February 1, 1802, no one should be admitted to this degree "unless he shall have acquired a competent knowledge of either the Greek or French language." To enter the Freshman class, the candidate had to pass an examination on either Greek or French equivalent to that required in Latin. In July, 1804, it was enacted that no student should be admitted to a degree without having taken the course in Greek, exceptions being made in the case of those then studying for degrees.

THE FIRST GRADUATES.

The first to be enrolled as a student of the University was Mr. Hinton James, of Wilmington, N. C., who entered February 12, 1795.

During the first session forty-one students were enrolled, and in 1796 the attendance reached one hundred.

The commencement first observed was on July 4, 1798, the first degrees (Bachelor of Arts) being conferred on that occasion. The graduating class numbered seven, viz: Samuel Hinton, William Houston, Hinton James, Robert Locke, Alexander Osborne, Edwin Jay Osborne, and Adam Springs. From that time till the appointment of a president, in 1804, forty young men were graduated.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT, REV. JOSEPH CALDWELL, D. D.

Dr. Caldwell was of Scotch and French descent. The persecution of the Huguenots in France, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, caused his maternal grandfather, Lovel, to leave his country and seek a home in England. After remaining there a short time he came to America and settled on Long Island. His daughter married a Mr. Harker, a Presbyterian minister, and their daughter Rachel became the wife of Joseph Caldwell, M. D., a native of Ulster, Ireland, and at that time a resident of New Jersey. Dr. Caldwell died April 19, 1773, and on April 21, the day following his burial, was born the subject of this sketch. Mrs. Caldwell was left in poverty, but, assisted by President Witherspoon, of Princeton College, she was enabled to give her son a good education. He entered Princeton in 1787, and in 1791 took his degree with the honorary appointment of Latin salutatory. Soon after graduation he became connected with a classical school at Elizabethtown, N. J., and in 1795 he was appointed a tutor in Princeton, which position he resigned the following year to accept a professorship in the University of North Carolina. As chairman of the faculty, on him devolved the duty of outlining the course of study. This being the case, and having succeeded a Princeton graduate, it is easy to understand why the curriculum was modelled after that of the College of New Jersey.

No president was elected until 1804, Dr. Caldwell being promoted to that position. By his able management the institution was conducted safely through the many difficulties of its infancy, occasioned by a meagre endowment and a deficiency of good preparatory schools.

When Dr. Caldwell came to the University the trustees and the public were prejudiced against the classics, and it is owing to his efforts that Greek was finally given just recognition in the curriculum. But the greatest service which he rendered to the State and to the University was the firm stand he took and the influence he wielded in stemming the tide of infidelity which at one time threatened to engulf the State. Rev. Dr. J. Rumple, referring to this period of the University's history, says: "Strong bands of sympathy and gratitude united our people to the French nation, and as a natural consequence French opinions and French infidelity rolled like a devastating tide over the land. The writings of Voltaire, Volney, and Paine were in the hands of almost all, and the public mind was poisoned. Professor Kerr not only demitted his ministerial office, but renounced Christianity. Professor Harris, Caldwell's predecessor and friend, was shaken in his faith, and at one time agreed that the Bible must be surrendered. Professor Holmes, his co-laborer, not only renounced Christianity but openly taught that morality and virtue, as well as religion, were merely the watchwords of hypocrites. His only gift to the library contained the works of Paine. General Davie, a master spirit in the board of trustees,

and the acknowledged leader in the Legislature, was deeply imbued with infidel principles until reclaimed by the arguments of Caldwell, and the number of the trustees that were at that time firm supporters of the Bible was few. Dr. Caldwell stood nearly alone in his contest against fearful odds, and he deserves the singular honor of having fought a terrible battle successfully without noise, and of having won a signal victory without sounding the trumpet of triumph. When we remember what immense influence is exerted by a University standing alone, and manifestly at the head of all the educational institutions of the State, it appears impossible to estimate the desolation that would be caused by the poisoned stream flowing into hundreds of homes from this poisoned fountain."

Dr. Caldwell's efforts in behalf of the University were ceaseless. The institution so grew in reputation and numbers that new buildings had to be erected to meet the demands for lecture halls and dormitories. In 1811, by personal solicitation, he secured $12,000 for the completion of the "south building," which had been commenced in 1798 but had remained unfinished for want of funds.

Now that the University was in a prosperous condition, Dr. Caldwell yielded to his inclinations for study, and in 1812 he resigned the presidency and returned to the chair of mathematics. He now devoted himself to his chair and to the completion of his geometry, which, although certain parts of it had been used by his students for several years previous, was not published till 1822.

On the resignation of his successor to the presidency, the Rev. Robert Hett Chapman, he again, on December 17, 1816, became president, in which position he continued the rest of his life.

In 1824 the trustees voted an appropriation of $6,000 for the purchase of books and apparatus, and sent President Caldwell to Europe for this purpose. He remained abroad ten months. On his return the University buildings were illuminated, and he was tendered an ovation by the students. Mr. Paul C. Cameron, who was then a student at the University, says that President Caldwell "returned his thanks for the pleasant welcome, and addressed the students with the affection of a long-absent father returned to his home and duties. His heart was full and his emotions most manifest."

After his return from this trip Dr. Caldwell, in 1827, built an astronomical observatory at the University, which was the first in the United States, and continued its operation till his death.[1]

In 1830 Dr. Caldwell projected and started the Harbinger, the first newspaper ever published at Chapel Hill. It was controlled and edited by the Faculty. After a few years its publication ceased.

He was not only a learned professor and divine, but was also an enthusiastic and efficient advocate of the public schools and the railroad

[1] The Nation, Vol. XLVII, p. 131 (August 16, 1888).

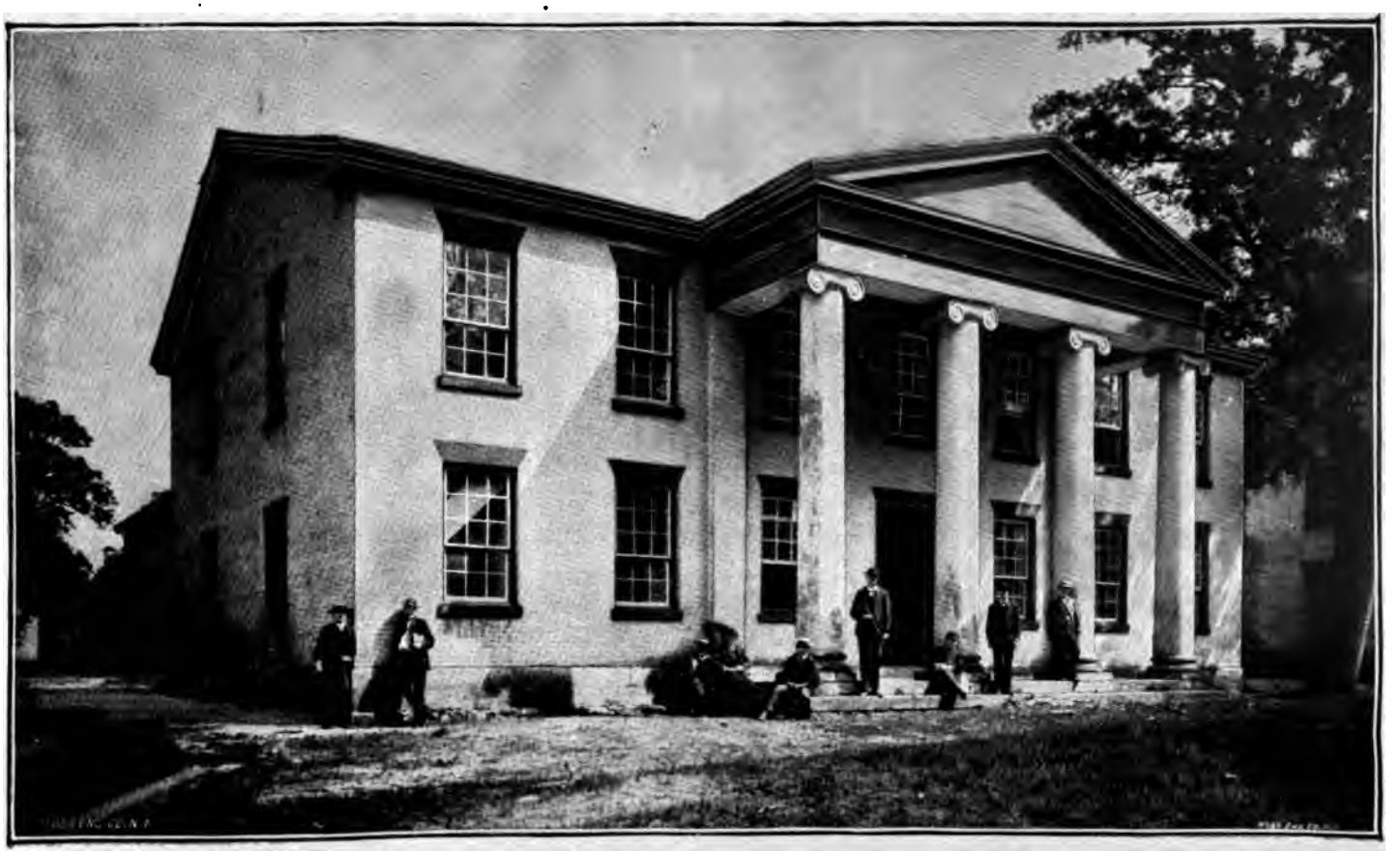
systems of the State. He originated the idea of a railroad from the Atlantic through the State to Tennessee, which has since been constructed, opening up the mountain counties to the outside world, and uniting all sections of the Commonwealth in bonds of common interests.

The following, taken from the North American Review of January, 1821, evidences the influence the University, under the management of President Caldwell, was exerting on education in the State: "In an ardent and increasing zeal for the establishment of schools and academies for several years past, we do not believe North Carolina has been outdone by a single State. The academy at Raleigh was founded in 1804, previously to which there were only two institutions of the kind in the State. The number at present is nearly fifty, and is rapidly increasing. Great pains are taken to procure the best instructors from different parts of the country, and we have the best authority for our opinion that in no part of the Union are the interests of education better understood and under better regulation than in the middle counties of North Carolina. The schools for females are particularly celebrated, and are much resorted to from Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia. In the year 1816, the number of students at academies within the compass of forty miles amounted to more than one thousand. This space comprised the counties of Warren, Granville, Orange, Wake, Franklin, and two or three others adjoining. All the useful and ornamental branches of knowledge are taught at most of these institutions."

In his address before the Alumni Association in 1881 President Battle quotes the above, and with pardonable pride adds: "In those days the University was the only institution for higher learning in North Carolina, and when we contrast the general darkness in 1795 with the rapid improvement as shown by the extract from the North American Review in twenty-five years, can not the University say with triumph, 'These schools were my children; I am their *alma mater*—their creative and fostering author?'"

Besides two or three occasional sermons, Dr. Caldwell published a Compendious System of Elementary Geometry, in seven books, to which an eighth is added, containing such other propositions as are elementary; subjoined is a Treatise on Plain Trigonometry. He published, also, in one of the Raleigh newspapers, a series of articles called Letters of Carlton, which were designed to awaken a spirit of internal improvement in the State, and another series on Popular Education or Free Schools. These were republished in a volume about the year 1825.

Few men have been held in greater esteem while living, or have been more reverenced when dead, by a State, than was the first President of the University. The imposing shaft to his memory, erected on the campus by the alumni, stands a fit testimonial to his valuable services; but the most enduring monument of his power and wisdom is the advance which North Carolina made in intelligence and virtue through the instrumentality of his labors.



ASPRAER HALL, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The monument bears the following inscriptions:

In grateful acknowledgment of their obligations to the first President of this University, JOSEPH CALDWELL, D. D., the President of the United States, the Governor of North Carolina, and other Alumni have raised this monument A. D. 1847.

Born at Lamington, N. J., April 21, 1775. Professor of Mathematics in this University, 1796. Died at Chapel Hill January 27, 1835.

He was an early, conspicuous, and devoted advocate of the Common Schools and Internal Improvements in North Carolina.

Near him repose the remains of his beloved wife, Helen Caldwell.

THE CURRICULUM DURING CALDWELL'S ADMINISTRATION.

About the beginning of President Caldwell's administration the trustees ordered that the class studying political science should read De Lolme's English Constitution, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, the Constitution of the United States, and the modern constitutions of Europe, and "that the other books on civil government and political constitutions, which by an ordinance of December 4, 1795, formed a part of this course, should no longer be considered as doing so." But few changes were made in the curriculum first adopted, till on December 19, 1818, it was superseded by the following course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts:

In the preparatory school.—Latin grammar; Corderius or Sacra Historia; Æsop's Fables, 25; Selectæ Vetui; Cornelius Nepos or Viri Romæ; Mair's Introduction; Cæsar's Commentaries; Prosody; Ovidi Editii Expungata; Virgil's Bucolics and six books of the Æneid; Greek grammar; St. John's Gospel and Acts of the Apostles in Greek; Græca Minora to Lucian's Dialogues.

In the college.—Freshman class, first session: Sallust; Adam's Antiquities; Græca Minora continued; elements of ancient and modern geography; arithmetic; algebra; English grammar; composition; theses; declamation. Second session: Virgil's Georgics; Cicero's Orations; Græca Majora, first volume; algebra continued; Adam's Antiquities; English grammar; composition; declamation; theses.

Sophomore class: First session: Græca Majora continued, first volume; Horace; algebra continued; geometry; theses; composition; declamation. Second session: Horace continued; Homer's Iliad; geometry continued; geography; composition; declamation.

Junior sophistics.—First session: Plain trigonometry; logarithms; mensuration of heights and distances; surveying; spherical trigonometry; classics; composition; declamation. Second session: Navigation; conic sections; fluxions; natural philosophy; classics; composition; declamation.

Senior class.—First session: Chemistry; mineralogy; geology; philosophy of natural history; moral philosophy; Stuart's Essays on the Progess of the Moral and Ethical Sciences; logic; natural philosophy continued; Playfair's Essay on the Progress of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences; astronomy; classics; English grammar; composition; declamation. Second session: Chemistry; mineralogy; geology continued; rhetoric; chemistry; metaphysics; classics; composition; declamation.

In the course here given one can not fail to notice the prominence given to classical and mathematical studies and the time devoted to composition and the cultivation of oratory. To the latter, more than anything else, is due the fact that such a large proportion of the alumni became distinguished in public life.

THE INFLUENCE OF YALE.—MITCHELL, OLMSTED, AND ANDREWS.

President Caldwell was assisted by an able corps of instructors. In the Faculty were some intellectual giants who not only gave reputation to the University, but whose contributions to letters and science made them prominent among the learned men of their day.

Rev. Dr. Elisha Mitchell, who was called from Yale College to the University of North Carolina in 1817, was the most noted of all.

Dr. Mitchell came of a noted New England family—one whose influence has been widely felt in religion, science, and politics. He was born in Washington, Litchfield County, Conn., August 19, 1793. His father, Abner Mitchell, was a farmer. His mother, Phœbe Eliot, was a descendant in the fifth generation of John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," and minister of Roxbury, Mass., from 1632 to 1690.

Prof. Charles Phillips, in a memoir of his friend and colleague, Dr. Mitchell, published in 1858, and from which the data for this sketch are principally drawn, says: "He possessed many of the characteristics which marked the Eliots, especially of the earlier generations. The Rev. Jared Eliot, M. D. and D. D., minister for many years at Killingworth, Conn., was Dr. Mitchell's great-grandfather. He was distinguished in his own times for his knowledge of history, natural philosophy, botany, and mineralogy, while as a theologian he was sound in the faith and delighted in the doctrines of gospel grace. Among his correspondents were Dr. Franklin and Bishop Berkeley, and in 1762 he was honored by the Royal Society of London with a gold medal for a valuable discovery in the manufacture of iron. This ancestor, Dr. Mitchell closely resembled in many peculiarities of body and soul. Both were men of large stature, of great bodily strength, of untiring activity, of restless curiosity, of varied and extensive attainments, of a quaint and quiet humor, of persevering generosity, and of a well-established piety."

Dr. Mitchell was graduated at Yale in 1813, in the class with Hon. George E. Badger, Dr. Denison Olmsted, and others, who afterwards became noted as statesmen and scholars. After graduation he accepted a position in a male academy at Jamaica, Long Island, which he held till the spring of 1815, when he became principal of a female school in New London, Conn. From there he was called to Yale as tutor in 1816. Dr. Mitchell and Dr. Olmsted were recommended to the trustees of the University in 1816, by a son of President Dwight, of Yale, the Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, chaplain to the Senate of the United States, through Judge William Gaston, then a member of Congress. In 1817 they were

appointed to professorships in the University—Dr. Mitchell to the chair of mathematics, and Dr. Olmsted to that of chemistry, then first established in the institution.

Dr. Mitchell entered upon the discharge of his duties February 1, 1818, and from that time till his death he was the foremost professor in the institution. On the resignation of Dr. Olmsted, in 1825, he was transferred to the chair of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, a position better suited to his tastes and in which he made his reputation for scientific scholarship. Dr. Phillips says of him, that "even while a professor of mathematics he had frequently indulged his taste for botany by pedestrian excursions through the country around Chapel Hill. After he took upon himself instruction in chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, he extended and multiplied these excursions, so that when he died he was known in almost every part of North Carolina, and he left no one behind him better acquainted with its mountains, valleys, and plains; its birds, beasts, bugs, fishes, and shells; its trees, flowers, vines, and mosses; its rocks, stones, sands, clays, and marls. * * * Nor were his accomplishments as a professor confined to his own department. In the ancient languages he was frequently ready and able to help a colleague who was prevented from discharging his own duties. In the mathematics he would often, at public examinations, propose such questions as showed that his earlier love still retained a hold on his attention and affections. He was a good writer, and in the department of belles-lettres he was a well-read and instructive critic." He was a correspondent of Agassiz and other scientists, and kept himself fully abreast of the scientific progress of his times.

Dr. Mitchell contributed many able articles to the scientific publications of his day. He contributed the following interesting papers to Silliman's Journal: January, 1830, "A Substitute for Welther's Safety-tube," and "The Geology of the Gold Regions of North Carolina;" January, 1831, "The Causes of Winds and Storms;" April, 1831, "An Analysis of the Protogæa of Leibnitz;" July, 1831, a reply to Redfield's criticism of his article on winds and storms; January, 1839, "Observations on the Black Mountains in North Carolina." He was the author of a manual of chemistry, the second edition of which was passing through the press at the time of his death; a manual of geology, illustrated by a geological map of North Carolina; a manual of natural history, and a collection of facts and dates respecting the history, geography, etc., of the Holy Land.

When he came to the University the academic staff numbered 4 and the students 120. At his death there were 16 professors and 440 students in the institution.

Dr. Mitchell died a martyr to science, and the incidents of his death present a picture of tragic interest. By observations in 1835, 1838, 1844, and 1856 he had established the fact that the peaks of the Black Mountains, in North Carolina, are the highest east of the Rocky Mount-

ains. A controversy arose between him and the Hon. Thomas L. Clingman as to which was the higher, Mount Mitchell or Clingman's Peak, named respectively in their honor. In June, 1857, he visited the Black Mountains to make further observations in order to fully settle this dispute, but this was not his only object. Dr. Phillips says: "One object before him in 1857 was to collect in a southern latitude corrections for barometrical observations on mountain heights. He proposed to connect the railroad survey across the Blue Ridge, in North Carolina, with the top of Mitchell's Peak (Mount Mitchell) by a series of stations differing from each other by 500 feet of altitude." On Saturday, June 26, 1857, he set out alone across the mountains for a settlement on Caney River. This was the last time he was ever seen alive. Not returning when expected, search was made for him, and on July 8 his body was found in a pool of water on the mountain-side, into which he had fallen from a precipice some 40 feet above. His remains were taken to Asheville and there interred, but it was finally decided to give them sepulture on Mount Mitchell, and on June 16, 1858, they were buried on the highest point of that peak. His death and eminent services to science were chronicled by the press throughout the United States.

In July, 1885, the writer made a pilgrimage to his grave. It is an humble mound, inclosed by a wall of rough stones collected on the mountains. The surroundings are majestically grand. It has been beautifully said that "the green-hued ivy and the many-hued rhododendron lend their wild beauty to the scene, and the dark-leaved firs spread their funeral pall over the spot where he lies."

The mountain is his monument—he needs no other.

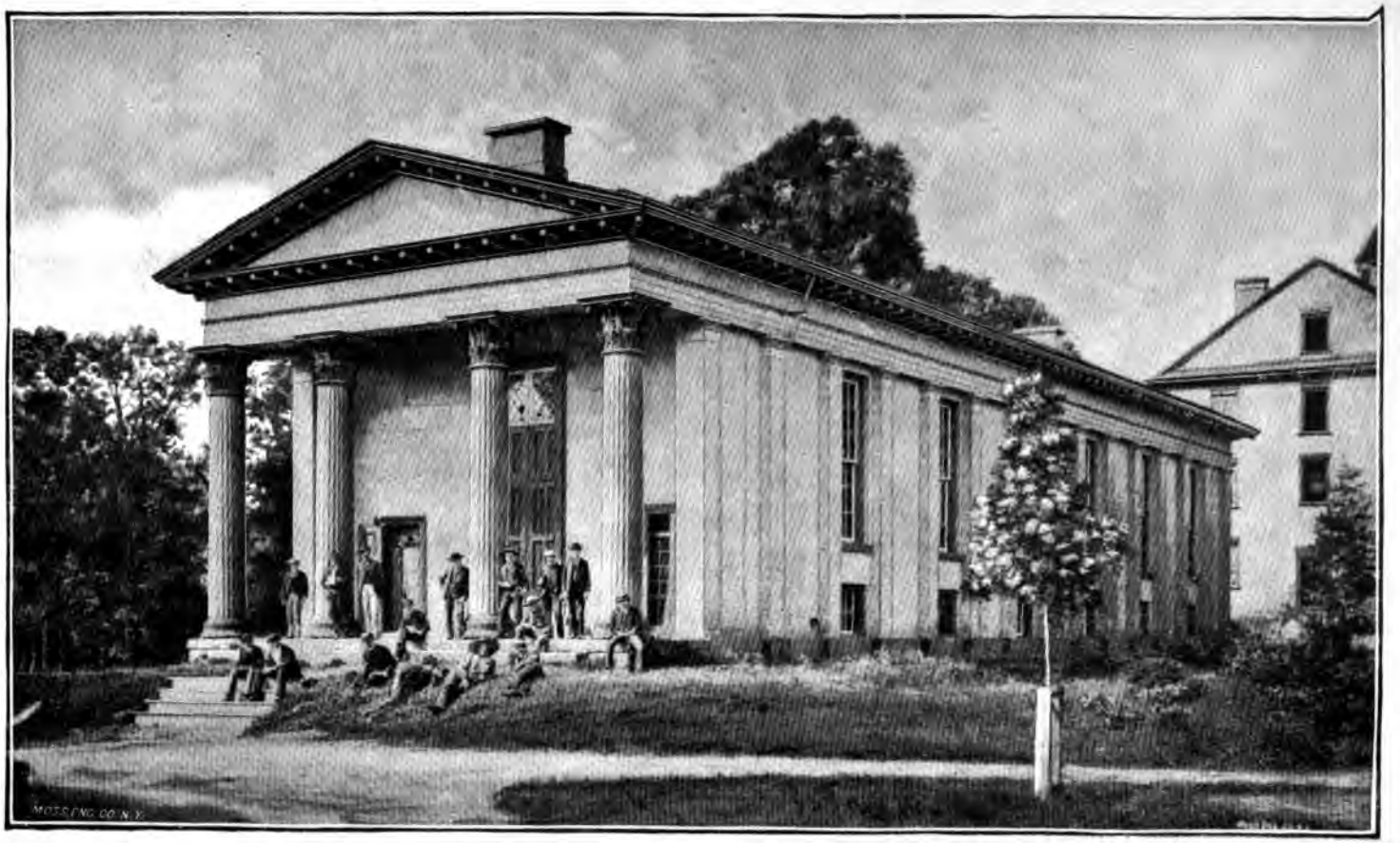
Denison Olmsted, LL. D.—Probably no other professor of the University ever achieved so wide a reputation as did Professor Olmsted. He was a classmate of Dr. Mitchell at Yale, having entered that institution in 1809, and graduating in 1813. For two years he taught in New London. In 1815 he was called to Yale as tutor, which position he held until his election to the professorship of chemistry in the University of North Carolina in 1817.

Under the auspices of the Legislature of North Carolina he began a geological survey of the State, which was the first to be undertaken in the Union.

In 1825 he was recalled to Yale as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. After 1835 he was professor of natural philosophy. His Natural Philosophy, which is a valuable contribution to science, appeared in 1831, and his Astronomy, another important work, in 1839.

He was one of the earliest advocates of special institutions for the professional training of teachers, and he also deserves honorable mention for his advocacy of improvements in the elementary schools in the United States.

He was born at East Hartford, Connecticut, June 18, 1791, and died at New Haven, in that State, May 13, 1859.



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Ethan Allen Andrews, LL. D.—Professor Andrews came to the University as professor of ancient languages in 1822. He, too, was an alumnus of Yale, having been graduated in 1810. The duties of his chair were filled with signal ability, and it caused much regret when he resigned, in 1828, to accept the professorship of ancient languages in the New Haven Gymnasium. In 1829 he established the New Haven Institute for Young Ladies. In 1833 he removed to Boston, where he succeeded Jacob Abbott as principal of a female school, and also became senior editor of the Religious Magazine. In 1839 he returned to New Britain, Conn., where he was born April 7, 1787, and began the publication of a series of Latin text-books. He died there March 4, 1858.

These young professors, fresh from Yale, brought new life into the institution. Prior to their advent Princeton thought and Princeton methods had prevailed to the exclusion of all others. The disciples of Dwight and Witherspoon worked together in harmony and brought about a blending of Yale and Princeton methods.

THE SECOND PRESIDENT, REV. ROBERT HETT CHAPMAN, D. D.

On the resignation of President Caldwell, in 1812, Rev. Robert Hett Chapman, D. D., a prominent Presbyterian divine, was called to the presidency of the University.

Dr. Chapman was born at Orange, N. J., March 2, 1771, and died at Winchester, Va., June 18, 1833. He was graduated at Princeton in 1798, and, after studying theology, was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New York in 1793. For a short time he was a professor in Queen's College, New Brunswick. From 1796 to 1799 he was pastor at Rahway, N. J., and from 1801 to 1812 he preached at Cambridge, N. Y. He accepted the presidency of the University of North Carolina, December 16, 1812, resigning it November 23, 1816, to again enter actively upon the work of the ministry. As president he continued the policy of Dr. Caldwell, his predecessor and successor. After leaving the University he held pastorates in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

THE THIRD PRESIDENT, DAVID LOWRY SWAIN, LL. D.

At the time of President Caldwell's death the University was firmly established, and its influence was gradually being appreciated in other States. The high school of 1795 had become one of the foremost colleges in the Union.

In the selection of Dr. Caldwell's successor the trustees appreciated their responsibility. Scholars with more than national reputation were presented for the position, but the board of trustees with great unanimity tendered the presidency to the then Governor of the State, David Lowry Swain. Although a man of varied acquirements, it was not for his scholarship that he was selected, but on account of his per-

sonal popularity, his intense devotion to the State, and his acknowledged executive capacity.

In Governor Swain were combined the best qualities of the Puritan and the Cavalier. His father, George Swain, was of good New England stock. George Swain was born in Roxbury, Mass., in 1763, and on coming South he settled in Georgia. He served in the Legislature of Georgia five years, and was a member of the convention which revised the Constitution of that State. In 1795 he removed to Buncombe County, North Carolina. Soon after this he married Caroline Lowry, a widow, whose maiden name was Lane. She was a sister of Joel Lane, the founder of the city of Raleigh, and of Joseph Lane, at one time United States Senator from Oregon, and Democratic candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with General Breckinridge in 1860.

On January 4, 1801, was born David Lowry Swain. His early education was received at home. At the age of fifteen he was sent to the Newton Academy, near Asheville, founded by the Rev. George Newton, a Presbyterian clergyman. Senator Z. B. Vance says that this school was justly famous in that part of the State, and that many of the prominent citizens of North Carolina, beyond the Blue Ridge, and of other States, were educated, in whole or in part, at that institution. Governor B. F. Perry and Hon. Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, M. Patton, R. B. Vance, James Erwin, and other prominent citizens of North Carolina, were classmates of young Swain while there. He taught Latin at this school for five months.

He entered the Junior class of the University of North Carolina in 1821, but, for want of means, he only remained four months. In 1822 he commenced the study of law in the office of Chief-Justice Taylor, in Raleigh, and in December of that year obtained license to practise law.

He returned to Buncombe County and entered upon the practice of his profession. His advancement was rapid. In 1824 he was elected a member of the lower house of the Legislature from his county, and was continued by successive elections for five years. The Legislature, in 1829, elected him solicitor of the Edenton circuit. He was elected a judge of the Superior Court in 1830. In 1832 he was elected Governor. Under the Constitution of 1776, the Governor was elected for only one year. Governor Swain was successively re-elected in 1833 and 1834. He was a delegate to the convention of 1835, which revised and amended the State Constitution, in which he took a prominent part. In 1835 he was elected president of the University, which position he held until 1868.

Under his energetic and able management, the University made rapid and permanent progress. The halls were filled with students from all parts of the South, the number at one time reaching nearly five hundred. The Faculty was enlarged, and the course of study extended and made more thorough. The finances were improved and wisely managed.

Several large and handsome buildings were added, ample provision being made for lecture rooms, libraries, and society halls. The campus, containing 50 acres, naturally one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful college campus in the Union, was inclosed and ornamented by walks and shrubbery.

President Swain was the head of the department of history and political science, and we are told that so brilliant and fascinating were his lectures in political economy and constitutional and international law that these courses were always largely attended. Such was his reputation that many from other States who afterwards became distinguished statesmen were influenced to pursue their studies at the University of North Carolina rather than at older and better-known institutions.

The then Governor of North Carolina, now Senator Zebulon B. Vance, in a memorial oration on The Life and Character of Hon. David L. Swain, delivered at the University in 1877, said:

"How well do I remember the many occasions during my sojourn at the University when he, as my preceptor, esteeming such influences of greater importance to the class than the texts of the lessons, would for the time give his whole soul to the stirring up of these generous and emulous sentiments in the hearts of his pupils. The very first recitation in which I ever appeared before him was one such. I shall never, never forget it! In 1851 I entered the University and joined the Senior class as an irregular. This first lesson was in constitutional law. A single general question was asked and answered as to the subject in hand, and then he began to discourse of Chancellor Kent, whose treatise we were studying; from Kent he went to Story, from Story to Marshall, repeating anecdotes of the great Americans who had framed and interpreted our organic law, and touching upon the debate between Hayne and Webster. From these he went back and back to the men and the times when the great * * * principles of Anglo-Saxon liberty were * * * placed one by one as stones polished by the genius of the wise and cemented by the blood of the brave in the walls of the temple of human freedom. He told us of the eloquence of Burke, of the genius of Chatham; he took us into the prison of Eliott and went with us to the death-bed of Hampden; into the closet with Coke and Sergeant Maynard, and to the forum where Somers spoke; to the deck of the Brill where William, the deliverer, stood as he gazed upon the shores of England; to the scaffolds of Sydney and of our own glorious Raleigh. Warming as he went with the glowing theme, walking up and down the recitation room, which was the library of the "old South," with long and awkward strides, heaving those heavy, passionate sighs which were always with him the witnesses of deep emotion, he would now and then stop, reach down from its shelf a volume of some old poet, and read with trembling voice some grand and glowing words addressed to man's truest ambition that thrilled our souls like a song of the chief musician. A profound silence was

evidence of the deep attention of the class, and the hour passed almost before we knew it had begun."

This incident is characteristic of President Swain, as is testified by many of his old pupils.

It was during the administration of President Swain that the State Historical Society was founded in January 1844, the University Alumni Association organized in 1843, and the University Magazine established in March, 1844. He was eminent for his knowledge of North Carolina history and the author of some valuable monographs on Revolutionary and ante-Revolutionary periods, several of which were published in the University Magazine.

Under his able and progressive management the University had developed into vigorous manhood, but the War, like an untimely frost, came and checked its promising career.

REQUIREMENTS AND COURSES DURING SWAIN'S ADMINISTRATION.

It was under the administration of President Swain that the University reached its highest development and prosperity. His predecessor had laid a broad foundation. Many of those graduated during the presidency of Dr. Caldwell had become teachers, and now classical schools were established in every section of the State. The preparatory school in connection with the University was no longer a necessity, and we find it quietly dropped. The standard of instruction was raised, and the requisites for admission made more stringent. As early as 1838, and probably before, candidates for admission into the Freshman class were required to sustain an approved examination on the grammar of the English, Latin, and Greek languages, including Latin prosody, Mair's Introduction, or Andrew's Exercises; Cæsar's Commentaries (five books); Ovid's Metamorphoses (Gould's edition—extracts from the six books); Virgil's Bucolics, and six books of the Æneid; Sallust; Greek Testament (St. John's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles); Græca Minora or Greek reader; arithmetic; algebra, through equations of the first degree; ancient and modern geography.

In the main, after the remodelling of the curriculum at his accession, the requirements in the different departments of the University remained the same throughout the administration of President Swain.

The session of 1854–55 is taken as a typical one. The academic staff then numbered sixteen. The University consisted of eight departments and a school for the application of science to the arts, added in 1854, with a president and four professors.

The time required for the completion of the studies of each department, together with the number of recitations given, will enable one to form an idea of the relative importance attached to each. The requirements for admission to the Freshman class of the University have already been given.

In the collegiate classes the requirements were as follows:

In Latin.—Freshman class, 166 recitations: Virgil's Georgics, Cicero's Orations, and five books of Livy read. Sophomore, 148 recitations: Odes and Satires of Horace, Epistles of Horace and Cicero on the Immortality of the Soul. Junior, 57 recitations: Cicero de Officiis.

In Greek.—Freshman class, 167 recitations: Xenophon's Anabasis and one book of Herodotus read. Sophomore, 148 recitations: One book of Thucydides, five of Homer's Iliad, and Select Orations of Demosthenes. Junior, 54 recitations: Two tragedies of Sophocles. Senior, 38 recitations: One Tragedy of Sophocles.

We find the instructors in these departments complaining that candidates for admission are generally deficient in some part of the preparatory studies, especially in Latin construction, Greek grammar, Roman and Grecian antiquities, and ancient geography, and mythology. At the same time they acknowledge that they are much indebted to "the faithful teachers who are laboring to promote classical learning by thorough elementary instruction. * * * We trust that our obligations to them will be still further increased; for on their efforts we must, in a great measure, depend for success in elevating the standard of scholarship in the University."

In history.—Besides the historical works read in Latin and Greek, the following were required: Freshman class, 78 recitations: Grecian and Roman antiquities and ancient history studied. Junior, 78 recitations: History of the Middle Ages and modern history, with attention to that of England and America.

The text-books recommended in this department were Bojesen's Greek and Roman Antiquities, Weber's Outlines, Tytler's Universal History, and Smith's Lectures on Modern History. It was provided that throughout the entire course the classes should be guided to the best sources of information on all the more important subjects of historical inquiry and stimulated from time to time to extend their investigations beyond the text-books.

In French.—Sophomore class, 38 recitations: Levizac's Grammar and Perrin's Fables used. Junior, 76 recitations: Florain's Gonzalve de Cordone and Bossuet's Orations. Senior, 35 recitations: Selections from Racine's Tragedies and Molière's Comedies. Throughout the course, lectures were given from time to time on the history and character of French literature.

In logic and rhetoric.—Sophomore class, essays required every third week. Junior, 3 recitations per week and one original oration from each member during the session. Senior, 4 original orations from each member during the year. The text-books used were Whateley's Elements of Logic and Rhetoric, with reference to the works of Mill and Campbell, and occasional lectures upon the principles of taste and criticism.

In mathematics.—The Freshman class had 4 recitations a week, the Sophomore 5, and the Junior 4. The text-books used were Pierce's Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation and Surveying, and Spherical Trigonometry; Church's Analytical Geometry, and Differential and Integral Calculus; Olmsted's Natural Philosophy, and Norton's Astronomy. A course of lectures was given in natural philosophy and astronomy, illustrated by appropriate experiments.

In chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.—Senior class, 3 lectures and 3 recitations in each per week. The text-books of Draper, Graham, Regnault, and Silliman were used in the course.

This department was under the direction of the distinguished Dr. Mitchell, who was also one of the professors in the School for the Application of Science to the Arts, where the studies of this department were taught with great thoroughness.

In political science and philosophy.—Required in course during the Senior year three days per week. Text-books used were Wayland's Political Economy, Story's Familiar Exposition of the Constitution, and Kent's Commentaries on American Law, Vol. 1; Wayland's Moral Science, Abercrombie's Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, and Wayland's Intellectual Philosophy. A course of lectures was also

delivered on the history of constitutional law. It was provided that no portion of the text-books should be omitted, "but the whole carefully recited, subsequently reviewed, and each member of the class separately and rigidly examined on the entire system."

SCHOOL FOR THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE TO THE ARTS.

As before stated, in January, 1854, a "School for the Application of Science to the Arts" was established with Elisha Mitchell, professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; James Phillips, professor of pure mathematics and natural philosophy; Charles Phillips, professor of civil engineering, and Benjamin S. Hedrick, professor of chemistry applied to agriculture and the arts.

The object of this school was to prepare young men for professional life as engineers, artisans, farmers, miners, and physicians. They were given both practical and theoretical instruction. The University catalogue for 1854–55 says: "It is judged that this course will secure the greatest benefits to the various interests of our community. For, while theory without practice is in danger of becoming visionary and unproductive—practice without theory may become devoted to isolated efforts, or to a barren routine of imitations."

It was provided that "as this school is an integral part of the University, candidates for its first degree will be allowed to substitute civil engineering or agricultural chemistry for the ancient and modern languages, or for international and constitutional law, at their own election, but only during the second term of their Senior year. Those students of the University who seek for a professional education may leave the academic course at the end of the first term of their Senior year and devote themselves entirely to their own special studies during a period of eighteen months. At the end of six months they will receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts along with the rest of their class, and at the end of their fifth year the degree of Master of Arts. Instruction will be given to others also who are connected with the University only as pupils of this school. From them an attendance of two years and a half will be required generally, but, as usual, they will be admitted at the beginning of their course to such classes as their own acquisitions may suit. On completing the required studies these pupils will receive the degree of Bachelor of Science."

To enter the department of civil engineering the student was required to stand approved examinations on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and plane and spherical trigonometry, with its application in surveying, navigation, and in the mensuration of heights and distances. The course in this department comprised three years. The text-books used were Church's Analytical Geometry, Church's Differential and Integral Calculus, Davies's Descriptive Geometry, Davies's Shades and Shadows, Smith's Mechanics and Engineering, Mahan's Civil Engin-

NEW EAST BUILDING—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

eering, Gillespie on Roads and Railroads, Trantwine, Borden, Loud, etc., on Geodesy and Earth Works.

Mechanical, topographical, and architectural drawing, both plane and isometrical, were taught throughout the course.

Students in the department for the application of chemistry to agriculture and the arts were instructed in analytical chemistry and its application to the analysis of soils and manure, the assaying of soils and minerals, the analysis of mineral waters, and the testing of drugs and medicines. Daily work in the laboratory was required.

In addition to the lectures, the following works were required for reading and reference: Will's Outlines of Chemical Analysis, Rose's Analytical Chemistry, Regnault's Chemistry, Johnston's Agricultural Chemistry, Stockhardt's Field Lectures, Plattner's Testing with the Blow-pipe, and Bowman's Medical Chemistry.

LAW SCHOOL.

A professorship of law was established in 1846, but the professor received no salary from the University; neither was he nor were his students subject to the ordinary regulations.

There were two classes, the students of the first or independent class having no connection with any other department, and the college class consisting of students who were also pursuing their studies in the University. Tuition in the first class was $50, and in the latter $25 per session, all fees being paid to the professors of the department.

The full course occupied the independent class two years, at the end of which the degree of Bachelor of Laws was conferred on those students passing approved examinations.

The plan of studies comprised Blackstone's Commentaries, Cruise's Digest of Real Property, Fearne on Remainders, Iredell on Executors, Stephen on Pleading, Chitty's Pleading, Selwyn's Nisi Prius, Smith on Contracts, Greenleaf on Evidence, and Adams's Doctrine of Equity, together with lectures on the common law, having special reference to the legislation and judicial decisions of North Carolina. Moot courts were held from time to time, presided over by one of the professors, for the discussion of legal questions.

On the transfer of the University to President Pool and his associates in 1868 the law school was abandoned, but on the accession of President Battle, in 1876, it was re-opened with the Hon. William H. Battle, LL. D., as professor. In 1881 the Hon. John Manning became the head of this department, which position he has occupied continuously since. For the past few years the number of students in this department has averaged about twenty-five.

Besides the University Law School there is only one other regularly organized law school in the State, the Dick and Dillard Law School, at Greensborough, an excellent institution.

THE CIVIL WAR.

The War fell upon the University like a thunderbolt. Prosperity was shattered and discordant elements introduced which were not harmonized until years after the close of that eventful struggle. The War and the days of reconstruction are the period of the University's distress and humiliation, and they constitute the only dark picture in its history.

After North Carolina passed the ordinance of secession and war had been declared, both students and professors were eager for the conflict. Seven members of the faculty and nearly all the students joined the army. They were inspired by patriotic motives, for they believed they were fighting for liberty and home. But in all the excitement incident to the struggle President Swain was calm and remained faithful to the institution over which he had been called to preside. His efforts were mainly directed to keep the University open, and it was his boast that during the four years of war the college bell never failed in its daily calls, and the institution was maintained in full working order. In doing this he was fiercely assailed by many who urged that college walls should not prove a protection to those whose fortune it was to be favored by wealth and influence. But conscious of his own integrity of purpose, he did not waver in the course adopted.

Senator Vance, in the address before referred to, said: "Governor Swain appealed to the Confederate government more than once to prevent the handful of college boys left from being drafted. President Davis himself seconded these efforts in the earlier years of the War, declaring that 'the seed corn should not be ground up.' But as the exigencies of the country increased, this wisdom was lost sight of, the collegians were again and again called upon, till at the time of Lee's surrender there were but about a dozen here still keeping up the name and forms of a college. But even while the village and the University were occupied by 4,000 Michigan cavalry, the old bell was rung daily, prayers were held, and the University was kept going."

A ROMANCE OF THE WAR.

Federal cavalry, under General S. D. Atkins, took possession of Chapel Hill, April 17, 1865. General Sherman, in consequence of a visit from President Swain, as a member of the commission to surrender the city of Raleigh, had ordered that the University should be protected from pillage and destruction, which was done very effectually.

General Atkins, while visiting President Swain on official business, accidentally saw his daughter; he afterwards sought her acquaintance, addressed her, and was accepted. During the summer her father visited General Atkins's home in Illinois and satisfied himself as to his character and social standing. Her father's permission having been secured, Eleanor Hope Swain, against the protest of friends, married the Union General in August, 1865. They now reside in Freeport, Ill.

Mrs. Atkins is the only living child of President Swain. No male representative of the family survives.

President Swain had never entertained extreme views in regard to "State rights," and did not permit himself to become embittered against the North during the War. Mrs. C. P. Spencer, a neighbor and familiar acquaintance of President Swain, in her Pen and Ink Sketches of the University, says: "Governor Swain believed this marriage was but the first of many others like it to take place all over the South; that our peace was to flow like a river, and that North and South were coming together at once to be more firmly united than ever. He was a sagacious man and accustomed to calculate possibilities very closely and accurately, but he did not once dream of the party issues that were to spring up and divide the country even more effectually than the War, nor of the bitterness that was to be engendered and revived."

This marriage provoked much adverse criticism throughout the State. President Swain's course was censured by many, some being alienated from the University on account of it; but now that prejudice has yielded to reason, his wisdom in this matter is admitted. Had all been as charitable as he was, the wounds of the War would soon have been healed.

LAST YEARS OF SWAIN'S ADMINISTRATION.

Now that the War was over, it was hoped that the University would rise to its former prosperity. But it seemed that President Swain had lost his hold upon the affections of the people of the State, and in consequence the institution suffered. His liberal policy had pleased neither of the then existing political factions. The leaders of the Republican party looked upon him with suspicion, and regarded the University as "a hot-bed of treason." He had displeased many prominent and influential friends of the institution by his willingness to accept the results of the War and banish all sectional strife. Many clamored for his removal. His resignation was tendered in 1867, but was not accepted, the reason probably being that the trustees were aware that they were soon to be succeeded by a new board of trustees, and they wished to throw the responsibility of the reorganization of the University upon them.

In 1868 the State passed under the new Constitution. There was an entire change in the State government. The University was placed in the hands of a new board of trustees, and one of their first official acts was to dismiss the president and Faculty, that they might remodel it on a partisan basis.

President Swain did not long survive this dark hour of the University. On August 11, 1868, while out driving with a friend near Chapel Hill, he was thrown from the buggy and painfully injured. He died from the effects of his injuries August 27, following the accident. He was buried in Oakwood Cemetery, near Raleigh.

President Swain was an earnest Christian and an honored member of the Presbyterian Church. Senator Vance, in referring to his Christian character, says: "He was a praying man, and was not ashamed to be known as such. He first introduced the practice of opening the regular meetings of the faculty with prayer." Truly has it been said that "the soil of our State holds the dust of no son who loved her more or served her better."

RECONSTRUCTION.

The first acts of the board of trustees, which had been appointed upon the adoption of the Constitution of 1868, were unconstitutional and condemned by the best citizens of the State.

They ordered the University to be closed, declared all the chairs vacant, and all the professorships abolished. The Constitution of the State provides that the University shall be perpetuated and maintained, and the charter of the institution expressly states that the members of the Faculty shall not be dismissed unless certain specified charges shall be proved.

The larger part of the endowment was unwisely invested and lost, and political bias was manifested in all that was done.

Upon the re-opening of the University in 1869, the friends of the institution were dissatisfied to find that the late distinguished president and his able coadjutors had been succeeded by new and untried men.

In referring to President Swain and this period of the history of the University, Mr. Paul C. Cameron, president of the Alumni Association, in an address before that body in 1881, said:

"The shadows of a dark night were falling round him and his colleagues and the object of his care. A special Providence seemed watchful to save these old servants of our State University from the humiliation of a painful exile from homes, labors, honors, offices, and altars. Professor Mitchell had fallen on rest in the deep and dark chambers of the Black Mountain. Professor Phillips had lain down with his harness on, upon the rostrum of the chapel, for his long sleep whilst the students were assembling for morning prayer. President Swain, in visiting a small farm in preparation for the comfort of his small family of old servants, is by an accident fatally injured; lingering a few days his useful life and well-rounded labors are closed in charity and kindness to all, but with anxious fears for the future of an institution that he had loved so long and served so well. He knew that new and unknown men would soon be placed in charge. Pleasant is the memory of such a man to the good people of North Carolina, and they silently rebuked the punishment of a man without a crime, and a Faculty without a stain, and in fortitude submitted to the inevitable, and passed their sons to the care of the undisturbed institutions of learning of our sister State of Virginia."

THE FOURTH PRESIDENT, REV. SOLOMON POOL, D. D.

Rev. Solomon Pool, D. D., became president in 1869. Doubtless he had the interest of the University at heart in accepting the position, but time has proved that it was unfortunate for him and for the institution that he did so. In becoming a member of the Republican party at the time he did and under the then existing circumstances, he rendered himself unpopular with some of the best and most influential people in the State—the former friends and supporters of the University. The board of trustees, of which Dr. Pool was a member, was regarded with disfavor, and the fact that he was its choice did not add to his reputation.

Without reputation for broad scholarship or administrative ability, without influential friends outside his own party, without any claim upon the people of the State, he accepted the presidency of one of the leading institutions in the Union. Even though his best efforts were put forth in its behalf, yet that his administration was a comparative failure is no surprise. It is due Dr. Pool to add that he was the best man of his party in the State for the position, and at that time it would have been almost, if not quite impossible, for any Republican to have succeeded in the management of the University.

During the presidency of Dr. Pool the attendance at any time was not more than seventy-five, a large proportion of the students coming from the immediate neighborhood of the institution and none from without the State. The faculty numbered five; all were Republicans, and two of them were Northern men who had previously been connected with institutions for the education of colored people. This, in a measure, accounts for the small attendance. The writer is glad to add that the day has now come when no man is ostracized in North Carolina on account of political convictions, and that some of the most prominent physicians and one of the ablest divines in the State are professors in Shaw University, an institution in Raleigh for the higher education of the negro in medicine, law, divinity, and letters, and no right-thinking man condemns them for their course.

After 1870 all exercises were discontinued until the reorganization in 1875. Dr. Pool continued as nominal president in charge of the University property until the reopening.

Dr. Pool is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He is a native of Elizabeth City, N. C. In 1849, at the age of seventeen, he entered the University, where he was graduated in 1853. In December, 1853, he was elected tutor of mathematics in his *alma mater*, and in 1860 he was promoted to the adjunct professorship of pure mathematics, which position he held until 1866, when he accepted a Government position in the revenue service. He was president of the University from 1869 to 1875. After his connection with that institution was severed, he was for a short time principal of a school in Cary,

but he now devotes all his time to the ministry. He is considered one of the ablest and most eloquent divines in the State.

THE RE-OPENING.

In 1875, the trustees being elected by the General Assembly, in pursuance of a Constitutional amendment of that year, the University was re-opened with a corps of seven professors, the Rev. Charles Phillips, D. D., LL. D., professor of mathematics, being made chairman of the Faculty.

Dr. Phillips is a native of Harlem, N. Y. His father, James Phillips, came to this country from England, and from 1826 to his death in 1867, was professor of mathematics at Chapel Hill. He was graduated at the University in 1841, and after studying a year at Princeton, became tutor of mathematics at his *alma mater* in 1844; was promoted to the professorship of civil engineering in 1853, and upon the death of his father was transferred to the chair of mathematics. After the dispersion of the Faculty of the University, he became professor of mathematics in Davidson College in 1869, where he remained till his recall to Chapel Hill in 1875. In 1879, owing to bad health he gave up active work and was made professor emeritus in his department. He has written much for the religious and secular press, and published a Manual of Trigonometry for use at the University.

The requirements for admission were made essentially the same as at the close of the administration of President Swain. Three courses of study were provided: the classical, requiring four years for its completion, and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the scientific, requiring three years, and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science; the agricultural, requiring three years, and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Agriculture.

During the session of 1875–76 sixty-nine students were enrolled.

THE FIFTH PRESIDENT, KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL. D.

In 1876 the Hon. Kemp P. Battle was elected president of the University and has held the position continuously since. He is a son of the late Judge William H. Battle, at one time a member of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and author of a digest of the laws of the State. President Battle was born December 19, 1831. He was graduated at the University in 1849, being valedictorian of his class, and for four years was tutor of mathematics in that institution. In 1854 he began the practice of law and made rapid advancement in his profession. He was a Whig delegate to the secession convention of 1861, and was State treasurer from 1866 to 1868. At the time of his election to the presidency he was a prominent lawyer of Raleigh.

At the beginning of his administration the Faculty was increased, the courses enlarged, and the standard of instruction raised. The course

leading to the degree of Bachelor of Agriculture was done away with, and a philosophical course, differing from the classical in that only one ancient language is required, more attention being devoted to the scientific studies, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, was added. All the undergraduate courses were made co-ordinate, each requiring four years for completion. Post-graduate instruction leading to the master's degree (A. M., Ph. M., and M. S.) and the doctor's degree (Ph. D.) was provided. For the master's degree the candidate must take post-graduate study for one year in three subjects, submit a suitable thesis and pass satisfactory examinations. For the doctor's degree, two of the subjects of the post-graduate work of the first year must be continued for another session, the candidate then submitting a thesis and passing examinations.

The University as now constituted embraces the following departments: The Literary Department, the Scientific Department, the School of Normal Instruction, the College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, and the School of Law.

Under the administration of President Battle its growth has been marked. Since 1876 the annual enrolment of students has averaged about 175. The academic staff now numbers 17.

Beginning with the Swain administration the salaries have been as follows:

In 1836 the president received $2,000 per annum and residence; the professors each $1,240 and residence. In 1860 the president's salary had been increased to $2,500, and the professors' to $1,700. The former now (1887) receives $2,500 and the latter $2,000 per year and residences.

PRESENT REQUIREMENTS AND COURSES.

The requirements for admission to the University are as follows:

In Latin.—Cæsar's Gallic War (5 books), Virgil's Æneid (5 books), Cicero's Orations (4). Equivalent amounts from other authors are accepted. A thorough acquaintance with the forms of declension and conjugation and the general principles of construction is absolutely essential. *In Greek.*—Xenophon's Anabasis (3 books), simple exercises in translating English into Greek, Greek Grammar (Goodwin or Hadley-Allen), a good knowledge of which is required. *In Mathematics.*—Arithmetic, and Algebra to quadratic equations. *In English.*—English Grammar (Whitney, Bain), Introduction to Rhetoric and Composition (Chittenden and D. J. Hill, or Reed and Kellogg), Outlines of English and American History and Literature (Freeman, Gilman).

Applicants wishing to pursue the classical course are examined in all the above studies, and in addition are required to exhibit a general acquaintance with ancient history, geography, and mythology. Slight deficiencies in the amount of reading required in Latin and Greek are allowed to be made up by private study during the first session, if the rest of the examination is satisfactory. Those desiring to take the philosophical course are examined in Latin or Greek, according to selection made, mathematics and English. For the scientific course the

applicants are examined in Mathematics and English. Optional students are examined in such of the above as relate to the studies they select. For admission into advanced classes, applicants are examined in the studies completed by the classes they wish to join.

The following undergraduate courses of study are provided. The figures in parentheses denote the number of recitations or lectures per week:

1. *Classical course*, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts:

   First year.—First term: Algebra (4), Latin (4), Greek (4), English (2), History (1), Hygiene (six lectures), Practical Morals (six lectures). Second term: Geometry (4), Latin (4), Greek (4), English (2), History (1).

   Second year.—First term: Trigonometry (4), Latin (4), Greek (4), Chemistry (3), English (1). Second term: Analytical Geometry (4), Latin (4), Greek (4), Chemistry (3), English (1).

   Third year.—First term: Physics (4), Logic (2), English (1), Elective (9), of which at least (3) must be devoted to a modern or classic language. Second term: Physics (4), Logic and Psychology (2), English (1), Elective (9), subject to same condition as in first term.

   Fourth year.—First term: Political Economy (3), English Literature (3), Essays and Orations (1), Psychology and Moral Philosophy (2), Elective (6), subject to same condition as in third year. Second term: Constitutional and International Law (3), English Literature (3), Essays and Orations (1), Moral Philosophy (2), Elective (6), subject to same condition as in third year.

   Elective studies: History (3), French (3), German (3), Latin (4), Greek (4), Anglo-Saxon (3), Industrial Chemistry (3), Qualitative Chemical Analysis (3), Quantitative Chemical Analysis and Assaying (3), Physiology, Zoölogy, and Botany (3), Economic Entomology (3), Advanced Botany (3), Surveying and Engineering (3), Calculus (4), Practical Horticulture (2), Biological Laboratory (2), Astronomy (1½), Theoretical Mechanics (1½), Geology (1½), Mineralogy (1½), Metallurgy (1½), Mental and Moral Philosophy (2), Physics (2).

2. *Philosophical course*, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy:

   First year.—First term: Algebra (4), Latin or Greek (4), German or French (3), English (2), History (1), Physiography (1), Hygiene (six lectures), Practical Morals (six lectures). Second term: Geometry (4), Latin or Greek (4), German or French (3), English (2), History (1), Physiography (1).

   Second year.—First term: Trigonometry (4), Latin or Greek (4), German or French (3), Chemistry (3), English (1). Second term: Analytical Geometry (4), Latin or Greek (4), German or French (3), Chemistry (3), English (1).

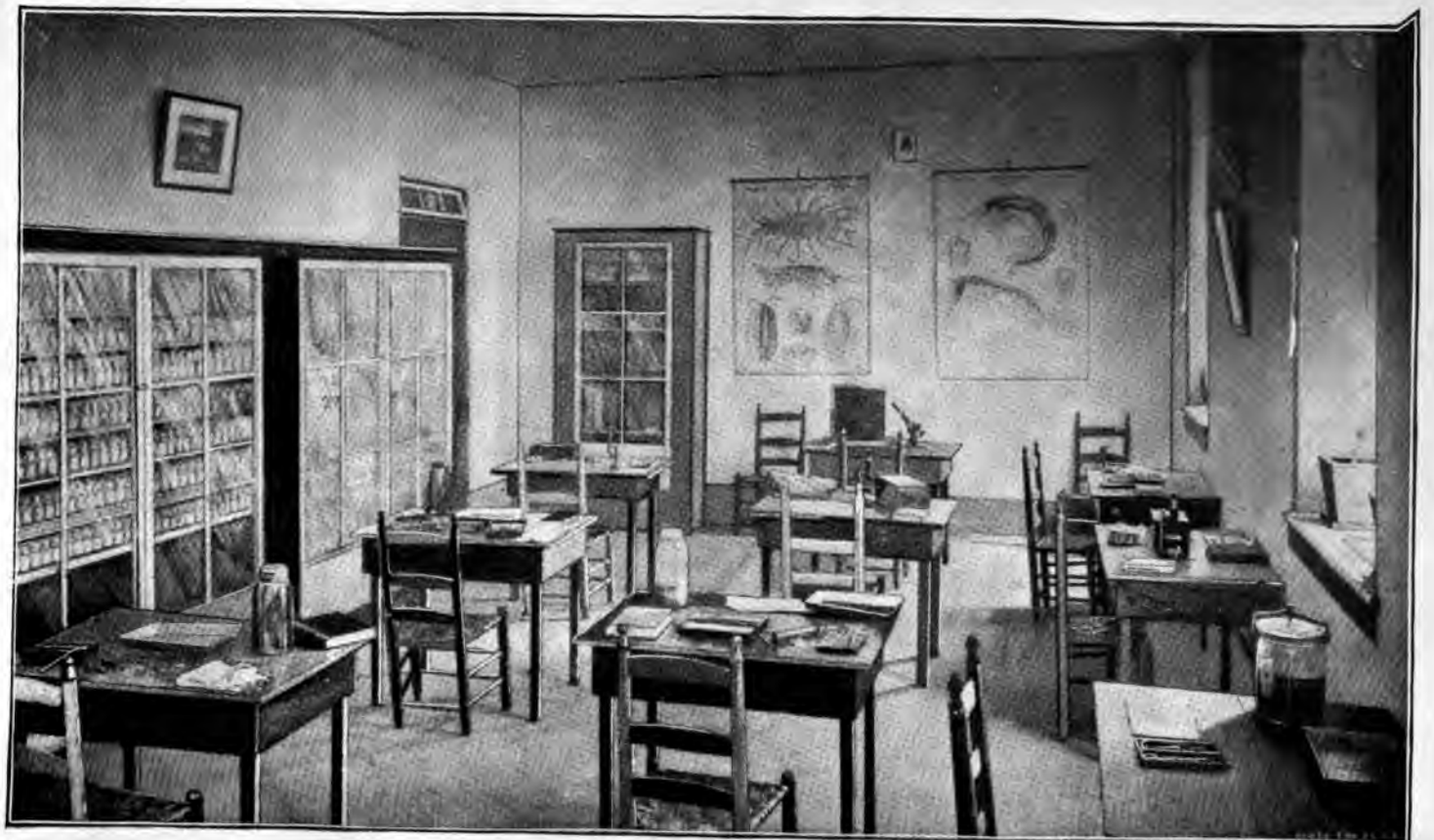
   Third year.—First term: Physics (4), Physiology (3), Logic (2), English (1), Elective (6). Second term: Physics (4), Zoölogy and Botany (3), Logic and Psychology (2), English (1), Elective (6).

   Fourth year.—First term: Political Economy (3), English Literature (3), Essays and Orations (1), Astronomy (3), Psychology (2), Elective (3). Second term: Constitutional and International Law (3), English Literature (3), Essays and Orations (1), Geology (3), Moral Philosophy (2), Elective (3).

   Elective studies: Studies to fill out the hours marked Elective in the above course may be chosen from either or both of the lists of Elective Studies given under the Classical Course and Scientific Course.

3. *Scientific course*, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science:

   First year.—First term: Algebra (4), German or French (3), or Latin (4), English (2), History (1), Entomology (1), Physiography (1), Physiology (3), Hygiene (six lectures), Practical Morals (six lectures). Second term: Geometry (4), German or French (3), or Latin (4), English (2), History (1), Entomology (1), Physiography (1), Zoölogy and Botany (3).



BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

3. *Scientific course*—Continued.

Second year.—First term: Trigonometry (4), German or French (3), or Latin (4), English (1), Chemistry (3), Qualitative Chemical Analysis (3), Biological Laboratory (2). Second term: Analytical Geometry (4), German or French (3), or Latin (4), English (1), Chemistry (3), Qualitative Chemical Analysis (3), Biological Laboratory (2).

Third year.—First term: Physics (4), Mineralogy (3), English (1), Elective (8). Second term: Physics (4), Geology (3), English (1), Elective (8).

Fourth year.—First term: Astronomy (3), Elective (12), (of which (6) must be devoted to Science). Second term: Elective (15), (of which (6) must be devoted to Science).

Elective studies: Advanced Botany (3), Quantitative Chemical Analysis and Assaying (3), Surveying and Drafting (3), Calculus (4), Anatomy and Physiology of Domestic Animals (3), History (3), Psychology and Moral Philosophy (2), English Literature (3), Political Economy, Constitutional and International Law (3), French or German (3), Economic Entomology (2), Practical Horticulture (2), Agricultural Chemistry (1½), Metallurgy (1½), Mechanics (1½), Pratical Geology (3), Essays and Orations (1), Physics (2), Logic and Psychology (2), Industrial Chemistry (3).

In the *College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts* the following courses are given:

1. *Agriculture*, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science, with a certificate of proficiency in Agriculture:

First and second years.—The same studies are required as in the corresponding years of the Scientific Course.

Third year.—First term: Mechanics (4), Mineralogy (3), Industrial Chemistry (3), Agricultural Botany (3), Entomology (2). Second term: Physics (4), Geology (3), Industrial Chemistry (3), Agricultural Botany (3), Entomology (2).

Fourth year.—First term: Land Surveying (3), Astronomy (3), Domestic Animals (3), Horticulture (2), Elective (4). Second term: Agricultural Chemistry (3), Horticulture (2), Elective (10).

In addition to the above a two years' course has been arranged for those who wish to give special attention to agriculture and who can not remain four years. This course leads to no degree. The studies are as follows:

First year.—First term: Algebra (4), Physiology (3), Chemistry (3), Qualitative Laboratory Practice (3), English (2), Entomology (1), Hygiene (six lectures). Second term: Geometry (4), Zoölogy and Botany (3), Chemistry (3), Qualitative Laboratory Practice (3), English (2), Entomology (1).

Second year.—First term: Mechanics (4), Agricultural Botany (3), Anatomy and Physiology of Domestic Animals (3), Injurious and Beneficial Insects (2), Principles of Horticulture (2), Business Law (1). Second term: Agricultural Chemistry (3), Geology (3), Agricultural Botany (3), Feeding and Breeding of Domestic Animals (3), Injurious and Beneficial Insects (2), Practical Horticulture (2).

2. *Civil Engineering and Mining*, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science, with a certificate in Civil Engineering and Mining:

First and second years.—The same studies are required as in the corresponding years of the Scientific Course.

Third year.—First term: Physics (4), Mineralogy (3), Calculus (4), Surveying and Drafting (3). Second term: Physics (4), Geology (3), Calculus (4), Surveying and Drafting (3).

2. *Civil Engineering and Mining*—Continued.

Fourth year.—First term: Engineering (3), Mining and Assaying (3), Quantitative Chemical Analysis (3), Practical Geology (3), Astronomy (3). Second term: Engineering (3), Metallurgy (3), Quantitative Chemical Analysis (3), Theoretical Mechanics (3), Elective (3).

The *Normal Department* has been established in accordance with the State Constitution, and by a recent act of the General Assembly young men preparing to teach are given free tuition on the condition that they pledge themselves to teach at least one year after leaving the University. The special object of this department is to prepare teachers for the public schools.

A two years' *Normal Course* is provided:

First year.—First term: English (2), Algebra (3), Physiology (3), History of North Carolina (2), Commercial Arithmetic (1), Reviews and Methods of Teaching (5). Second term: English (2), Algebra (3), Zoölogy and Botany (3), History of United States (2), Book-keeping (1), School Economy (4).

Second year.—First term: English (1), Algebra (4), Physical Geography (1), Elocution (2), Chemistry (3), or Physics or Latin (4), Graded Schools (3), Seminary (1). Second term: English (1), Physical Geography (1), Geometry (4), Chemistry (3), or Physics or Latin (4), Methods of Culture (2), History of Education (3), Seminary (1).

This course leads to no degree, but upon passing approved examinations in the studies above enumerated, a certificate of proficiency is awarded.

In the *School of Law* the plan of studies comprises (A) the course prescribed by the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and (B) an additional course for those desiring to compete for the degree of Bachelor of Science. The following works are used as text-books:

(A) Blackstone's Commentaries, Washburn on Real Property, Schouler on Executors, Stephen on Pleading, Chitty's Pleading, Adams' Doctrine of Equity, 1st Greenleaf on Evidence, Smith on Contracts, Addison or Bigelow on Torts, Constitution of the United States and of North Carolina, Code of North Carolina, particularly the Code of Civil Procedure. (B) Parsons on Contracts, Pierce on American Railroad Law, Angell & Ames on Corporations, Willard's Equity Jurisprudence, Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, Wharton's Criminal Law, and Best's Principles of Evidence.

In addition to the above, post-graduate courses are provided, open to students of any institution who have taken their baccalaureate degree, free of tuition. Applicants for a Master's degree must have completed the course leading to the corresponding Bachelor's degree. In all cases the instructors must be satisfied that the student is prepared to follow the course selected.

1. *Classical Course*, leading to the degree of Master of Arts: Three studies, pursued for one year, to be selected from the following groups, subject to the condition that one study must, and two may, be selected from group 1, but not more than one from any other group:

   1. Latin, Greek.
   2. German, French, English.
   3. Political Science, Mental and Moral Science, History.
   4. Chemistry, Geology, Metallurgy, Natural History.
   5. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy.

2. *Philosophical Course*, leading to the degree of Master of Philosophy: Three studies, pursued for one year, to be selected from the following groups, subject to the same condition as in Classical Course.
   1. Latin, Greek, German, French, English.
   2. Political Science, Mental and Moral Science, History.
   3. Chemistry, Geology, Metallurgy, Natural History.
   4. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy.
3. *Scientific Course*, leading to the degree of Master of Science: Three studies, pursued for one year, to be selected from the following groups, subject to the same condition as in Classical Course.
   1. Chemistry, Geology, Metallurgy, Natural History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy.
   2. Latin, Greek, German, French, English.
   3. Political Science, Mental and Moral Science, History.
4. The course leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, requiring two years: For the first year the candidate may select any one of the courses offered for a Master's degree (A. M., PH. M., M. S.). The second year is devoted to a more extensive study of two of the subjects pursued in the first year.

EQUIPMENT FOR TEACHING.

The Faculty includes seventeen teachers; there are eighteen lecture and recitation rooms; six laboratories and museums for daily scientific work; a large general museum; a select library of 25,000 volumes; a reading-room, which is provided with about 100 leading periodicals, and a fine supply of maps and illustrative apparatus. The library building is admirably fitted up, and will compare favorably with that of any university of this country. It is in charge of a regular librarian, and the books are well catalogued and arranged.

SCHOLARSHIP AND LOAN FUNDS.

The B. F. Moore Scholarships.—This fund, now amounting to $6,000 in North Carolina 4 per cent. bonds, was established in 1878. The interest is devoted to the payment of the tuition of those students to whom the Moore scholarships may be awarded.

The Deems Fund.—This fund was instituted in 1878, by the Rev. C. F. Deems, D. D., pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York, as a memorial of his son, Lieutenant Theodore Disosway Deems, who was born at Chapel Hill while his father was in the Faculty of the University. In 1881 it was greatly enlarged through the munificence of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt.

The object of this fund is to assist needy students by loans. The loans are made at 6 per cent. interest, and for a sufficient length of time to make the payment easy. The fund now amounts to $13,600.

The Francis Jones Smith Fund.—The late Miss Mary Ruffin Smith, of Orange County, left a valuable tract of 1,440 acres of land in Chatham County, known as the Jones Grove Tract, the income of which, or of the proceeds if sold, is used for the education of such students as the Faculty may designate.

It is estimated that this land, at present prices, would sell for at least $13,000, but as real estate in this part of North Carolina is rapidly increasing in value, it is expected that more than that amount will ultimately be realized for it.

PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

The University is, by the State Constitution, intrusted to the General Assembly. "Its government is under the control of a board of eighty trustees, elected by joint vote of the General Assembly. Of these one-fourth go out of office and their places are filled every two years. Although not so required by law, in practice they are distributed among Congressional districts. The board meets regularly twice a year—in the winter at Raleigh, on a day selected by the chairman, and in the summer at Chapel Hill, during Commencement week. The former is called the annual meeting. The Governor is *ex-officio* chairman of the board. Ten constitute a quorum. During the recess of the board an executive committee of seven trustees, elected at the annual meeting, exercises all the powers of the board of trustees, except those specially reserved." (University Catalogue, 1886–87, p. 9.)

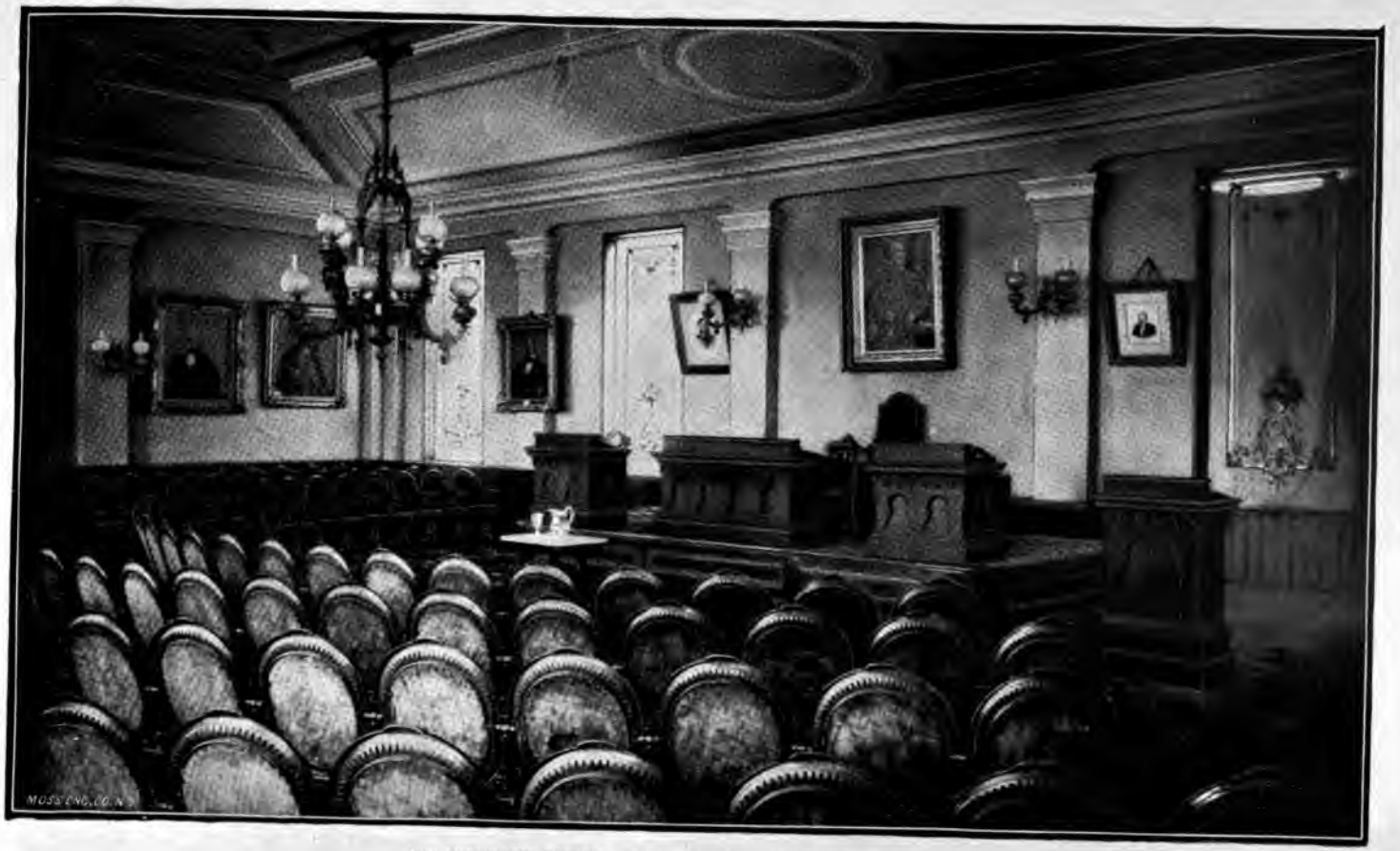
LITERARY SOCIETIES.

A prominent feature of Southern colleges is their literary societies. The exercises consist of debate, declamation, and composition. Social, economic, political, and historical questions are discussed. Parliamentary order is strictly enforced, and thus the young collegian becomes familiar with the management of deliberative bodies. In the distribution of honors and offices, "society politics," as it is termed, comes into play. Parties are organized, and their management is, in many respects, not unlike that of the political parties with which the students are likely to become connected after leaving college. It is often the case that the student finds his society the strongest tie to the institution, and many think the training there received for practical life equal to that given in the lecture-room.

The literary societies of the University of North Carolina, the Dialectic and the Philanthropic, are noted throughout the South. Their members have filled the highest positions of trust and honor that the State and nation can confer. The writer is indebted to Stephen B. Weeks, A. M., instructor in English at the University, for the following information concerning them.

The *Dialectic Society* was founded June 3, 1795, and from that time to the present has had about 2,700 members, some 1,100 having been graduated by the University.

The society color is blue, and its motto is "Love of Virtue and Science." The hall is handsomely furnished. Portraits in oil of the following distinguished members adorn the walls: James K. Polk, Wil-



PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY HALL—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

liam A. Graham, David L. Swain, Thomas Ruffin, Abram Rencher, J. Motley Morehead, Charles Manly, Willie P. Mangum, Thomas L. Clingman, Duncan Cameron, James Mebane, and Paul C. Cameron. There are also portraits of William Richardson Davie, Governor and minister to France, who, as grand master of the Masonic fraternity in North Carolina in 1793, laid the corner-stone of the first University building; George Edmund Badger, United States Senator and Secretary of the Navy, and other noted North Carolinians, who were honorary members of this society.

The *Philanthropic Society* was founded August 1, 1795, under the name of "Concord Society." It received its present name August 29, 1796. Of its 2,141 members 818 were graduated at the University.

The society color is white, and its motto is "Virtue, Liberty, and Science." Its hall is furnished similarly to that of the Dialectic. The hall contains oil portraits of the following members: William R. King, John Branch, John Y. Mason, Francis Lister Hawks, William Miller, James C. Dobbin, John Heritage Bryan, Bartholomew Figures Moore, Thomas C. Manning, James Grant, R. R. Bridges, Bryan Grimes, William L. Saunders, Jacob Thompson, Joseph John Daniel, J. Johnston Pettigrew, and Richard Spaight Donnell. In addition to the above there are portraits of the following honorary members: Joseph Caldwell, Elisha Mitchell, and William Gaston, at one time associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina, the first Roman Catholic to hold office in the State.

As a rule the students from the western part of the State join the Dialectic Society, and those from the eastern section the Philanthropic Society. Members of the two societies room in different buildings.

The North Carolina University Magazine is published under the auspices of these societies.

GREEK LETTER FRATERNITIES.

Greek letter fraternities have existed at the University since 1850. Before the War they were known to exist and were recognized by the Faculty. When the University was reorganized in 1875 nothing was said of them, but in January, 1885, they were formally recognized by the trustees.

The following list includes all the fraternities that have existed or now exist at the University:

ΔΚΕ, *B* chapter, 1850–1861. Re-organized 1887.
ΦΓΔ, *E* chapter, 1851–1861. Not re-organized.
ΦΔΘ, *H* chapter, 1852–1861. Re-organized 1885.
ΔΨ, *Ξ* chapter, 1854–1863. Not re-organized.
ΔΦ, *K* chapter, 1855–1861. Not re-organized.
ΧΨ, *Σ* chapter, 1855–1861. Not re-organized.
ΦΚΣ, *Λ* chapter, 1856–1861. Re-organized 1877.
ΣΑΕ, *Ξ* chapter, 1857–1862. Re-organized 1885.
ΘΔΧ, *M* chapter, 1857–1862. Not re-organized.

ΖΨ, Γ chapter, 1858–1868. Reorganized 1885.
ΧΦ, Λ chapter, 1858–1867. Not reorganized.
ΑΤΩ, ΑΔ chapter. Organized 1879.
ΚΑ (Southern order), Γ chapter. Organized 1881.
ΦΘΑ. Organized 1885.

The Phi Kappa Sigma owns a fraternity hall, erected in the spring of 1887. This is the only hall built and owned by a Greek letter fraternity in the State.

About one-half of the students are fraternity men.

INFLUENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY UPON THE SOUTH.

Before the late War the University was eminent among the colleges of the Union. In the South it occupied a commanding position; in numbers it ranked among the first, and in influence and reputation it was only equalled by the University of Virginia.

The growth of the institution is remarkable when we take into consideration the difficulties with which it struggled in its infancy. When Dr. Caldwell became president in 1804, there were but 60 students. From this time till his death in 1835 the average attendance per session was about 100, and the average number of graduates 16.

The highest number put down in any annual catalogue during his administration was 173, but as the catalogue was always issued early in the session the full number for the year is not given.

Among those who studied at the University before 1835, the following became prominent:

William R. King, who was in public life, from 1810–57, as member of Congress, Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, United States Senator, being twice elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, Minister to France, and Vice-President of the United States; Thomas H. Benton, United States Senator from Missouri, author of "Thirty Years' View," etc; John Branch, Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, Governor of Florida Territory; John Henry Eaton, United States Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of War, Governor of Florida Territory, Minister to Spain, and author of "Life of Jackson;" John Witherspoon, president of Miami College, Ohio; Romulus M. Saunders, judge, and Minister to Spain; Hutchins G. Burton, Governor of North Carolina; A. D. Murphey, judge, and "Father of the Public Schools of North Carolina;" Rev. William Hooper, professor of languages in the Universities of North Carolina and South Carolina, and president of Wake Forest College; Willie P. Mangum, judge, and United States Senator from North Carolina; Bedford Brown, United States Senator from North Carolina; Charles Manly, Governor of North Carolina; John G. A. Williamson, Chargé d'Affaires to Venezuela; John M. Morehead, Governor of North Carolina; William D. Mosely, Governor of Florida; Alfred M. Slade, Consul to Buenos Ayres; William H. Haywood, United States Senator from North Carolina; Rev. Thomas B. Slade, president of Columbus (Georgia) Female Institute; Rev. Robert H. Morrison, president of Davidson College; William H. Battle, supreme court judge, North Carolina; Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, professor of divinity in Trinity College, Connecticut, vice-president of American Ethnological Society, 1855–59, president of American Geographical and Statistical Society, 1855–56, and author of History of North Carolina, Egypt and its Monuments, History of the Episcopal Church in America, etc.; Richmond M. Pearson, chief-justice supreme court, North Carolina;

MEMORIAL HALL—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

William A. Graham, Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, and Confederate States Senator; Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, bishop of Arkansas and Louisiana; Daniel M. Barringer, Minister to Spain; Joseph J. Daniel, supreme court judge, North Carolina William Miller, Governor of North Carolina, and Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala; John Heritage Bryan, member of Congress from North Carolina; Richard Dobbs Spaight, member of Congress, and Governor of North Carolina; Edward Jones Mallett, Consul-General to Italy; Thomas N. Mann, Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala; Thomas J. Green, brigadier-general in Texan army, and member of Texan Congress; John Bragg, judge, and member of Congress from North Carolina; Thomas Bragg, Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, and Attorney-General of the Confederate States; Warren Winslow, Special Commissioner to Spain in regard to "Black Warrior" affair, and member of Congress from North Carolina; John Owen, Governor of North Carolina, and president of the Whig convention of 1840; Rev. William M. Green, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Mississippi; Rev. Thomas F. Davis, Protestant Episcopal bishop of South Carolina; Abram Rencher, Chargé d'Affaires to Portugal, Governor of New Mexico, and member of Congress; Mathias E. Manly, superior and supreme court judge, North Carolina; Thomas L. Clingman, United States Senator, and brigadier-general, C. S. A.; William W. Avery, Confederate States Senator from North Carolina; Cicero Stephens Hawks, Protestant Episcopal bishop of the diocese of Missouri; Jacob Thompson, member of Congress from Mississippi, and Secretary of the Interior; James C. Dobbin, member of Congress from North Carolina, and Secretary of the Navy; John L. Gay, professor in University of Indiana; James Grant, judge, Iowa; Rev. Solomon Lea, professor in Randolph-Macon College, and president of Greensborough Female College; William Blount Rodman, supreme court judge, North Carolina; Robert Ballard Gilliam, judge, and member of Congress from North Carolina. All of the above were natives of North Carolina. In addition to these should be mentioned the following, who entered the University from other States during this period: James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, Governor of Tennessee, member of Congress, and President of the United States; Aaron V. Brown, of Virginia, Governor of Tennessee, member of Congress, and Postmaster-General; Judge Thomas J. Haywood, of Tennessee; John Young Mason, of Virginia, judge, member of Congress, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General of the United States, Minister to France; George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, member of Congress; Walker Anderson, of Virginia, professor in the University of North Carolina, and chief-justice supreme court of Florida; James Hervey Otey, of Virginia, Protestant Episcopal bishop of the diocese of Tennessee; Alexander D. Sims, of Virginia, member of Congress from South Carolina; Edward Dromgoole Sims, of Virginia, professor in Randolph-Macon College and University of Alabama; Thomas Samuel Ashe, of Alabama, Confederate States Senator, member of Congress, supreme court judge of North Carolina; John M. Ashurst, of Georgia, solicitor-general of Georgia; David V. Lewis, of Georgia, president Georgia Agricultural and Mechanical College; Judge Nathaniel W. Williams, of Tennessee; John A. Cameron, of Virginia, judge in Florida; Judge Henry Y. Webb, of Alabama; Thomas J. Lacy, of Kentucky, supreme court judge, Arkansas; Judge William M. Inge, of Tennessee; Erasmus D. North, of Connecticut, professor at Yale; Alfred O. P. Nicholson, of Tennessee, United States Senator from Tennessee; Oliver N. Treadwell, of Connecticut, president of Rockville Academy, Maryland; Archibald M. Debow, of Louisiana, author of "Industrial Resources of the South and West."

Besides the above many could be mentioned who became distinguished in their respective States, but these will suffice to demonstrate that the instruction received at the University was of a high order, and political in its tendencies.

During the thirty-three years of President Swain's administration (1835–1868), including the four years of the War, the average number of

students enrolled per session was 207; the average number of graduates for the same time being 37 per session. The most prosperous years were from 1850 to 1860, inclusive, the average annual attendance being about 351, a large proportion of the students coming from without the State. The number of students in 1858 was 456, being the largest attendance ever enrolled at any one time in the history of the institution.

President Swain, in a circular letter of September 4, 1860, addressed to the patrons of the University said: "Half the States of the Union are represented in our catalogue. We have students from about thirty colleges in various parts of the country, from Vermont to Texas, and are thus enabled to compare ourselves with other institutions. The comparison gives us much reason to be satisfied with the condition of things among us, and we may add, that at no previous period has our corps of instructors been more efficient, or the morals and scholarship of our students more encouraging." During this period many studied at the University who afterwards became distinguished. In the list of names the following are prominent:

Frederick Divoux Lente, M. D., professor in the University of New York, founder and president of the American Academy of Medicine; John W. Moore, historian and novelist; Zebulon B. Vance, Governor of North Carolina, and United States Senator; Matt. W. Ransom, United States Senator; Samuel Hall, chief-justice of Georgia; Washington C. Kerr, State geologist, North Carolina; Thomas Settle, supreme court judge, North Carolina, United States Minister to Peru, president National Republican Convention in 1872, and judge United States district court in Florida; Francis Preston Blair, member of Congress, major-general United States Army, and United States Senator; William S. Bryan, supreme court judge, Maryland; Thomas Courtland Manning, chief-justice supreme court of Louisiana and Minister to Mexico; General James Johnston Pettigrew, Secretary of Legation in Spain; William L. Saunders, secretary of State for North Carolina, author, and editor of North Carolina Colonial Records; George Davis, attorney-general of Confederate States; Samuel F. Phillips, United States Solicitor-General; A. M. Scales, Governor of North Carolina; Peter M. Hale and Theo. B. Kingsbury, journalists.

The writer has found it impossible to secure a complete list of the students of the University before the War. The Philanthropic Society of the University has recently issued a "Register of Members" from 1795 to 1887, edited by Mr. Stephen B. Weeks. The Dialectic Society has not issued a register since 1852.[1] The University has never issued a complete list of its students. But from the two society registers above mentioned it appears that of those who studied at the University before 1860, one became President of the United States; one Vice-President of the United States; ten Cabinet officers; twelve ministers and chargé d'affaires; fourteen United States Senators; thirty-five members of Congress; fifteen Governors of States; fifty-five judges; three presidents of colleges outside of North Carolina, and twelve prominent professors in colleges not in North Carolina. Of course this list

[1] Since the above was in type the writer has learned that the Dialectic Society issued a catalogue of its members in June, 1888.

could be greatly increased if the writer had a complete and well-edited register of the Dialectic Society.

The War fell upon the University like an untimely frost. It suffered during the days of reconstruction, and finally at the close of the Pool administration (1869 to 1870 inclusive) its glory appeared to have departed and its usefulness seemed at an end.

With the re-opening in 1875 a brighter day dawned upon the institution. Since then the annual attendance has averaged 180. From 1875 to 1887, inclusive, 201 young men were graduated.

From the opening of the University in 1795 to the present time about 5,000 students have matriculated.

The attendance from States other than North Carolina is shown by the following table prepared by Mr. Stephen B. Weeks:

Student attendance by States, 1795–1887.

State.	Number.	State.	Number.
Virginia	261	New York	4
Alabama	182	Iowa	3
Tennessee	168	California	2
South Carolina	103	Missouri	2
Mississippi	99	Connecticut	2
Louisiana	69	Ohio	1
Georgia	58	Maryland	1
Florida	38	District of Columbia	2
Texas	34	New Mexico	2
Arkansas	15	Indian Territory	1
Kentucky	10		
		Total	1,057

To complete the above table it is only necessary to add the attendance from North Carolina, about four thousand, making a grand total of five thousand students.

A majority of the students from Virginia came from 1800 to 1825;[1] of those from other States the majority came in the most flourishing period of the University—1850 to 1860. Since the re-opening in 1875 only twenty-five have been in attendance from outside North Carolina.

A TRIBUTE TO THE UNIVERSITY.

President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, in a letter to Prof. George T. Winston, professor of Latin in the University of North Carolina, thanking him for a copy of his monograph on The Greek, the Roman, and the Teuton, said: "Your subject interests me greatly.

[1] In this connection it is interesting to note the student attendance from North Carolina at the University of Virginia from 1825 to 1874. The following facts are taken from a table prepared by William P. Trent, A. M., an alumnus of the University of Virginia, now taking a post-graduate course at the Johns Hopkins University.

Whole number of students from North Carolina, 380, which is four per cent. of the total attendance, divided as follows: Lawyers, 59; physicians, 119; clergymen, 7; editors, 1; teachers, 3; in Confederate service (one brigadier-general), 76; farmers, 43; judges (one chief justice of North Carolina), 3; in State Legislature (one speaker), 13; number that emigrated to other States, 59.

I have never realized so fully how near to us the history of Rome is, and how full of instruction it is for thinking men of our Republic. It gives me especial pleasure to think that with such a work as this you are reviving the old glories of your University. I remember in my young manhood the University of North Carolina was always spoken of with the greatest respect among men who knew anything about an American collegiate education. While the University of Virginia and Johns Hopkins have, to some extent, drawn away from it, I see no reason why its present Faculty should not give it a commanding position in the South-east of our Republic."

MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY—1795-1887.

Presidents.

Joseph Caldwell, D. D., 1804-1812; Robert Hett Chapman, D. D., 1813-1816; Joseph Caldwell, D. D., 1816-1835; David Lowry Swain, LL. D., 1835-1868; Solomon Pool, D. D., 1869-1875; Kemp Plummer Battle, LL. D., 1876-.

Professors.

Ancient languages (Latin and Greek): David Kerr, 1794-1796; Samuel Allen Holmes, 1796-1798; William Edwards Webb, 1799-1800; Archibald DeBow Murphey, 1800-1801: William Bingham, 1801-1805; Andrew Rhea, 1806-1814; William Hooper, 1817-1822; Ethan Allen Andrews, 1822-1828; William Hooper, 1828-1837; Manuel Fetter, 1838; Ashbel Green Brown, adjunct, 1855-1856.

Latin language and literature: John DeBerniere Hooper, 1838-1848; Fordyce Mitchell Hubbard, 1849-1868; D. S. Patrick, 1869-1870; George Tayloe Winston, 1875-.

Greek language and literature: Manuel Fetter, 1838-1868; F. P. Brewer, 1869-1870: J. DeBerniere Hooper, 1875-1885; Solomon Cohen Weill, acting professor, 1885-1886: Eben Alexander, 1886-.

Mathematics: Charles Wilson Harris, 1795-1796; Joseph Caldwell, 1796-1817; Solomon Pool, adjunct, 1860-1868; Alexander McIver, 1869-1870; Charles Phillips, 1875-1879; Ralph Henry Graves, 1879-; James Lee Love, associate professor, 1885-.

Mathematics and natural philosophy: Elisha Mitchell, 1817-1825; James Phillips, 1826-1867.

Natural philosophy: Jacob Smiley Gillespie, 1797-1799; Walker Anderson, 1833-1836; Carey D. Grandy, 1879-1882; Joshua Walker Gore, 1882-.

Chemistry: Denison Olmsted, 1817-1825; Elisha Mitchell, 1825-1857; William Joseph Martin, 1858-1867; Alexander Fletcher Redd, 1875-1880; Carey D. Grandy, assistant professor, 1875-1879; Francis Preston Venable, 1880-.

Modern languages (French and German): Nicolas Marcellus Hentz, 1826-1831; John DeBerniere Hooper, 1836-1838; John Jones Roberts, 1841-1842; John DeB. Hooper, 1843-1848; Hildreth Hosea Smith, 1856-1868; John DeB. Hooper (French), 1875-1885; George Tayloe Winston (German), 1875-1885; Walter D. Toy, 1885-.

(During the first years of the University great attention was given to the study of French, a native Frenchman generally being employed as tutor of that language.)

Rhetoric and logic: Shepard Kosciusko Kollock, 1819-1825; William Hooper, 1825-1828; Walker Anderson, 1833; William Mercer Green, 1838-1849; Charles Force Deems, adjunct, 1842-1848; John Thomas Wheat, 1850-1859; Andrew Doz Hepburn, 1860-1867.

History: Albert Micaja Shipp, 1849-1860.

Law: William Horn Battle, 1845-1868 and 1876-1879; John Manning, 1881-.

Political science: David Lowry Swain, 1835-1868; Kemp Plummer Battle, 1876-.

Agricultural chemistry: Benjamin S. Hedrick, 1853–1858; John Kimberly, 1856–1866 and 1875–1876.

Agricultural chemistry and metallurgy: William Battle Phillips, 1885–.

Natural history: William H. Smith, 1876–1877; Frederick William Simonds, 1877–1881; Joseph Austin Holmes, 1881–; Emilé A. de Schweinitz, assistant professor, 1884–1885; George F. Atkinson, associate professor, 1885–.

English language and literature: Thomas Hume, Jr, 1885–.

Theory and art of teaching: Nelson B. Henry, 1885–.

Medicine (preliminary): Thomas W. Harris, 1878–1885.

Lecturer on stenography: N. B. Cobb, 1880–1881.

Mental and moral science: Adolphus W. Mangum, 1875–.

Tutors.

Archibald DeBow Murphey, 1799–1800; P. Celestine Molié, (?)–1802; Richard Henderson, 1800–1804; Atlas Jones, 1804–1806; Jacob Martin, 1806–1807; Gavin Hogg, 1808; Abner Wentworth Clopton, 1809–1810; Lewis Williams, 1810–1812; William Hooper, 1810; Abner Stith, 1814–1816; Jacob Morrison, 1814–1817; John Harper Hinton, 1814–1815; John Patterson, 1816–1817; John Motley Morehead, 1817; Priestley Hinton Mangum, 1817; Robert Rufus King, 1817–1818; William Dunn Moseley, 1817–1818; Hamilton Chamberlain Jones, 1818; Simon Peter Jordan, 1818–1821; Robert Rufus King, 1819–1820; Jacob Hervey Otey, 1820–1821; Anderson Mitchell, 1821–1823; Joseph Hubbard Saunders, 1821–1825; George Shonnard Bettner, 1823–1826; Elisha Young, 1824–1825; Matthew Evans Manly, 1825–1826; Edward Dromgoole Sims, 1825–1827; Oliver Woolcott Treadwell, 1826–1829, John Jenkins Wyche, 1826–1828; Silas Milton Andrews, 1827–1828; Lorenzo Lea, 1828–1829; Thomas Bird, 1829–1831; Henry Grattan Smith, 1830–1832; John Allen Backhouse, 1830–1831; John DeBerniere Hooper, 1831–1833; Jacob Thompson, 1831–1833; Aegidius Mebane, 1832–1833; Jacob Hogg Norwood, 1833–1834; Thomas Lapsley Armstrong, 1833–1834; William Nelson Mebane, 1833–1834; Samuel Richardson Blake, 1834–1835; William Pugh Bond, 1835; Harrison Wall Covington, 1835; Abraham Forrest Morehead, 1835; David McAllister, 1835–1836; William Henry Owen, 1835–1843; Ralph Henry Graves, 1837–1843; Ashbel Green Brown, 1844–1855; Charles Phillips, 1844–1854; Kemp Plummer Battle, 1850–1854; William Henry Johnston, 1851–1852; Richard Hines, 1853–1854; Henri Herrisse, 1853–1856; Solomon Pool, 1854–1860; Joseph Blount Lucas, 1854–1858; Richard Henry Battle, 1855–1858; William Robards Wetmore, 1855–1858; Peter Evans Spruill, 1856–1858; Samuel Spencer Jackson, 1856–1860; Thadeus Charles Coleman, 1856–1857; Charles Andrews Mitchell, 1857; John Washington Graham, 1858–1860; William Lee Alexander, 1858–1859; Robert Walker Anderson, 1859–1861; William Carey Dowd, 1859; Edward Graham Morrow, 1859; Frederick Augustus Fetter, 1860–1863; George Pettigrew Bryan, 1860–1863; George Burgwin Johnston, 1860–1863; Iowa Royster, 1860–1863; Isaac E. Emerson, 1878–1879; Locke Craig, 1879–1880; Albert Lucien Cobb, 1879–1880 and 1883–1885; Robert Paine Pell, 1879–1881; Robert Watson Winston, 1880–1881; Angus Robertson Shaw, 1881–1882; Numa Fletcher Heitman, 1881–1882; Thomas Radcliffe, 1882–1883; Benjamin Franklin White, 1883–1884; Berrie Chandler McIver, 1883–1885; James Lee Love, 1883–1884; Augustus White Long, 1884; Solomon Cohen Weill, 1884–1885; James Randlette Monroe, 1885; Claudius Dockery, 1887–; Stephen Beauregard Weeks, 1887–.

THE ELISHA MITCHELL SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

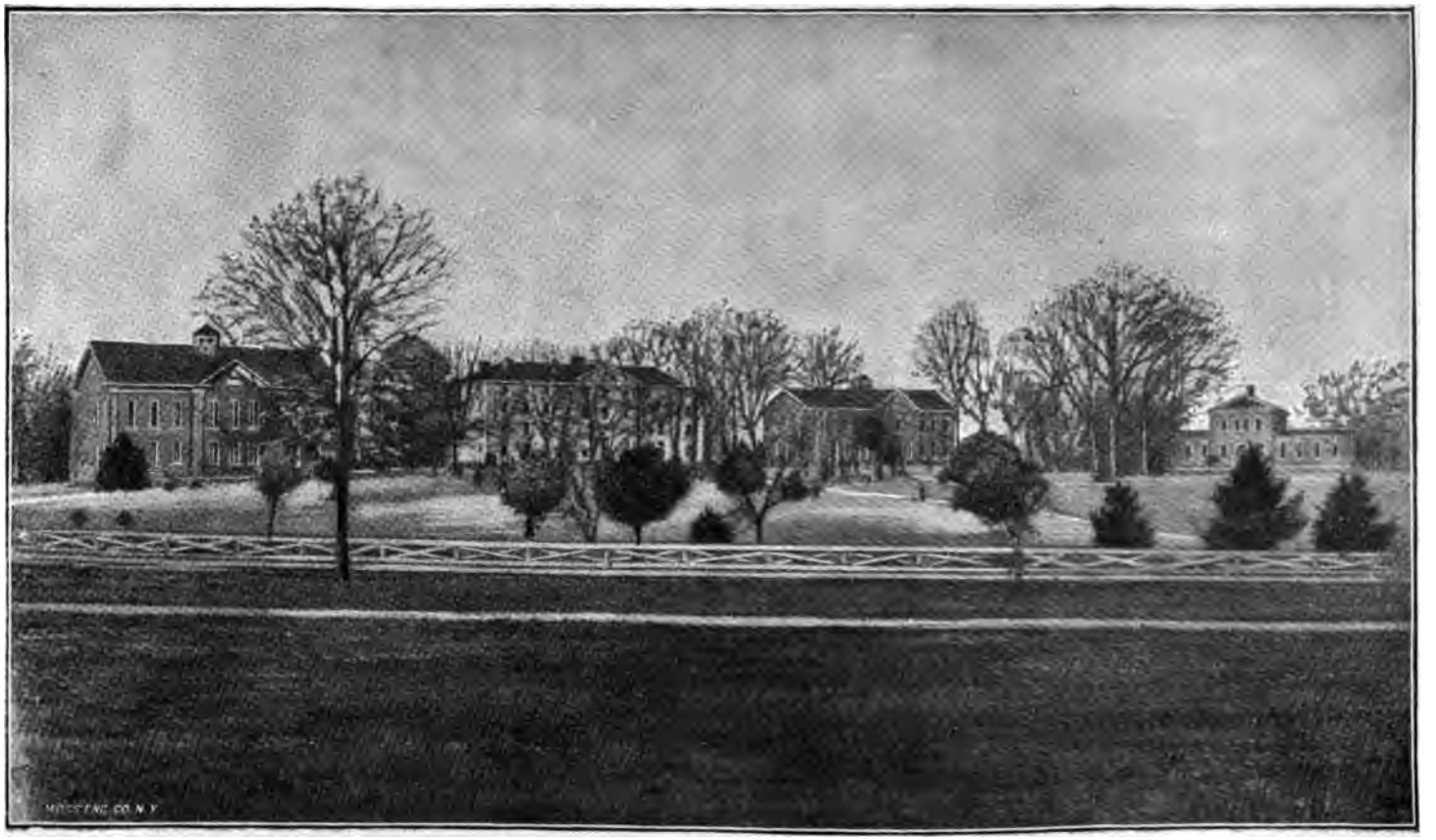
The Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society was provisionally organized at the University of North Carolina September 24, 1883. Its founders and first promoters were the professors in the scientific department of that institution. In naming it they paid a fitting tribute to the memory of North Carolina's best known scientist.

The call which was issued to all who were thought to be interested in the promotion of science in North Carolina was favorably received. and at a second meeting held October 1, 1883, permanent organization was effected and a constitution adopted.

Prof. F. P. Venable, Ph.D., F. C. S., the first president of the society. in his report for 1883–84, states the objects of the organization as follows: "The proposed aims of the society were the arousing of an increased interest in scientific work, the building up of a spirit of research, the encouragement of those already at work, and the advancing of our knowledge of the State and its resources. The plan or system of work for the society was to have the centre of the organization at the University with enough resident members there for the transaction of business. Monthly meetings were to be held at which popular treatises on scientific subjects were to be read with the hope of interesting and training up a number of young scientific workers. An annual journal was to be published containing all papers on original work or observations contributed by members of the society." He further says that one of the aims of the society will be the collecting and preserving all scientific works published or in manuscript relating to the State, or the authors of which are North Carolinians.

The society has now been in active operation for four years. Its objects are being admirably realized, and its success has been commensurate with the expectations of the founders. Scientific papers of great value have been presented which are printed in the annual reports. Each number of the journal contains about one hundred pages.

The grades of membership are life, regular, associate, and honorary. The leading scientists of the State are united in furthering the aims of the society, and favorable notice has been taken of its work by some of the noted scientists of this country and Europe. It is in correspondence with some of the principal scientific societies of this and foreign lands.



WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

CHAPTER IV.

LEADING DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES.

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

FIRST PROSPECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BAPTIST COLLEGE.

Wake Forest College belongs to the Baptists of North Carolina. In methods and management it is pre-eminently a Christian institution. Its founders and first promoters were men of fervent piety and broad philanthropy, who recognized the needs of their denomination and the State,—increased facilities for the higher education. Their first efforts were to bring the churches of their faith into harmonious union, and then they prepared the way for an educated ministry, the primary object of the college.

In June, 1829, Rev. Messrs. John Armstrong, W. R. Hinton, James McDaniel, and others, met in Tarborough and organized the "Benevolent Society," which had for its object the more effectual dissemination of the Gospel throughout the State. At the regular meeting of this society, held in Greenville, Pitt County, March 26–29, 1830, a resolution was adopted dissolving the society and transferring its funds to the Baptist State Convention, which was organized at that time.

The most prominent founders of the convention were Rev. Messrs. Samuel Wait, Thomas Meredith, and John Armstrong. The primary objects of the convention, as stated in article second of its constitution, were the education of ministers and the promotion of home and foreign missions.

At its next annual session, held at Cross-Roads Church, Wake County, in 1831, the convention accepted the offer of Rev. John Armstrong to educate students preparing for the ministry, and the board of managers were directed to send to him or to some other good school such young ministers as they should approve, and defray their expenses as far as the funds of the convention would allow.

In August, 1832, the convention convened at Reeve's Chapel, Chatham County, and there it was decided to establish a school under the auspices of the denomination, to be managed by a board of trustees elected by the convention. Rev. William Hooper, chairman of the committee on education, in his report advocated the purchase of a farm and the establishment of a school. The report was received, and it was unanimously

"*Resolved*, That the convention deem it expedient to purchase a suitable farm and adopt other preliminary measures for the establishment of a Baptist literary institution in this State, on the manual labor principle," and a committee was appointed to secure the funds and make the purchase.

At this time manual labor institutions were in great favor throughout the country. Among the institutions operating on this plan at that time were the Virginia Baptist Seminary, Mercer Seminary (Georgia), Maine Wesleyan Seminary, Oneida Institute (New York), Cumberland College, and the Pennsylvania Manual Labor Institute. The manual labor system was thought wise, both on account of health and economy.

Although the institution was intended primarily for the education of ministerial students, yet as this patronage would not support the school it was decided to admit all young men of good character.

In August, 1832, the committee appointed by the convention to select a location for the school, purchased of Dr. Calvin Jones his farm, about 16 miles from Raleigh, containing 615 acres, for $2,000.

WAKE FOREST INSTITUTE.

The board of managers, at a meeting held in Raleigh, September 25, 1832, decided that the Baptist school should be called Wake Forest Institute. It is said that in that part of Wake County bounded by the Neuse River on the south, the Franklin line on the west, and Smith's Creek on the east, the original oak forest was unusually fine. On this account the section was called the Forest of Wake, or Wake Forest; hence the name of the institution.

At this time it was hoped that the school would be opened the following February, but the board, at a subsequent meeting, postponed the beginning of the work of instruction till February, 1834.

Rev. Samuel Wait, D. D., as the general agent of the convention, did what he could in the way of collecting funds and furniture for the institute. On May 10, 1833, he was elected principal of the school. Dr. Wait was born in Washington County, N. Y., December 19, 1789. He was graduated at Columbian College, Washington, D. C., where he was for a while tutor. In 1827 he came to North Carolina on a collecting tour for that college. He so favorably impressed the Newbern Baptists that they called him for their pastor in 1827. No sooner had he made North Carolina his home than he began to labor for the organization of a Baptist State convention, the foundation of a Baptist college, and the establishment of a Baptist paper, all of which he was instrumental in accomplishing.

He was president of the institute, later college, until 1846. He was afterwards president of a female college in Oxford, and later pastor of churches in Caswell County. He died in July, 1867, "honored and respected by all, and loved with surpassing devotion by the Baptists of North Carolina."

THE CHARTER.

The institute was chartered by the General Assembly of 1833–34. At that time there was much prejudice against the Baptist denomination, and at one time it seemed as if the Legislature would refuse a charter. Finally the lower house passed the bill by a respectable majority, but on its final reading in the Senate there was a tie. The speaker, Mr. William D. Moseley, an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, gave the deciding vote in favor of the charter.

The charter conferred the most meagre privileges, and nothing was done by the State to encourage or aid the school. Rev. Dr. Samuel Wait, in a sketch of the origin and early history of the college, referring to the charter, says: "This created a board of trustees composed of such individuals as were desired, with certain provisions for perpetuating themselves, allowed the institution to acquire funds to the amount of $50,000, continuing the obligation to pay taxes the same as on all private property, and to be in force or continue twenty years and no longer. Was ever a charter given more meagre or lean than this? We have leave to be if we can. But no disposition to encourage us even to the value of a dime. We were not exempted from paying taxes. Such was the state of things then."

OPENING OF THE INSTITUTE.

Prof. W. L. Poteat, in a sketch of the college which appeared in the Raleigh Register of April 2, 1884, says: "On the first Monday of February, 1834, the exercises were opened with about twenty-five students in attendance, which number was increased to seventy in August following. What did these first students find on reaching Wake Forest? On the spot where now stands the imposing old building they found a small but comfortable frame dwelling. To the right, about where the library building stands, was the garden, both its site and embellishment still marked by the everlasting jonquils, just now venturing into the chill spring air as they did in those olden days. From a window of the magnificent public hall in the Wingate Memorial Building one may look directly down upon what was then the horse-lot. Near by was the carriage-house, 16 feet by 24, in which Mr. Wait gathered his heterogeneous charge for lectures or morning prayers. For dormitories seven good log cabins were principally relied on. The hoe and the plow were not out of sight of the blackboard and desk, for, it will be remembered, manual labor was to begin the same day with mental labor among the books."

THE MANUAL LABOR SYSTEM.

The system as first introduced here required that each student should labor three hours per day, receiving three cents per hour for his labor,

Finally the time was reduced to one hour per day, and after about four years the system was abandoned altogether.

Manual labor was unpopular with the students, and the system was never, from any standpoint, even a nominal success. Prof. W. T. Brooks, in an address before the alumni of Wake Forest College, in 1859, said: "The utter distaste which many of the students had for the system was but too evident when the bell rang for labor. When the roll was called some were taken suddenly ill (!)—unable to work; but when supper hour arrived it was very apparent that their sickness was not unto death."

Prof. L. R. Mills, in a sketch of the financial history of the college,[1] says: "It was supposed in the beginning that the students' daily labor on the farm would go a long way towards paying their board. After a close examination of their accounts for that year (1835), I find that they made on an average for a year's work $4.04."

CHARGES AND EXPENSES.

In 1835 the charges per month were as follows: Board, $6; tuition in Latin, Greek, etc., $2; tuition in English, $1.50; washing, $1; room and firewood, gratis. During this year the price of provisions advanced about 100 per cent. and the price of board was raised to $9 per month, and yet the steward's hall did not make expenses by several hundred dollars. At the close of the year the institution was in debt to the teachers, the steward, and the treasurer.

The next year was more prosperous, the number of students reaching 142.

The year 1838 was what is usually termed a "hard year." Owing to the stringency in the money market many of the banks were forced to suspend specie payments. But few of the subscriptions for the large brick building which was just completed could be collected, and the trustees found it difficult to make prompt payments. In this strait money was borrowed from the banks, and the village of Wake Forest was laid off and most of the land belonging to the college was sold. The manual labor department was abolished, the steward's hall, which had all along been an incubus, was done away with, and the students were allowed to board where they pleased.

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENTS.

The college campus contains about thirty acres, artistically laid out and shaded by magnificent oaks.

In the account of the opening of the institute a description of the first buildings used for school purposes was given. These have all disappeared, and in their place are four large and well-arranged brick buildings.

[1] Wake Forest Student, Vol. III, Nos. 6, 7, and 8 (1884).

HECK-WILLIAMS BUILDING—WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

The following is a list of the buildings, with the dates of their completion.

(1) *Old Building*, 1838.—One hundred and thirty-two by 65 feet, four floors; cost $15,000. This building contains dormitories for about one hundred students, two lecture-halls, and the gymnasium.

(2) *Heck-Williams Building*, 1873.—One hundred and ten by 45 feet, with 10 feet from projection in centre, two floors; cost $10,000. The funds were contributed by Col. J. M. Heck and Mr. J. G. Williams, both of Raleigh. It contains the Philomathesian and Euzelian Society halls, the library (containing about 15,000 volumes), the reading-room, elegantly fitted up with the necessary furniture by the Hon. Charles M. Cooke, now president of the board of trustees, and two lecture-halls.

(3) *Wingate Memorial Hall*, 1880.—One hundred and two by 60 feet, with projection in front of 10 feet, two floors; cost $12,500. The first story contains a small chapel and four lecture-halls. The second story is the main hall, known as the Wingate Memorial Hall, in honor of the late president, W. M. Wingate. It will seat two thousand people, and its acoustic properties are excellent.

(4) *Lea Building* (or chemical laboratory), 1887.—The central part is 32 by 65 feet, two stories, with a wing on each side 26 by 38 feet, one story. It has been erected at a cost of $15,000, and is said to be the best arranged chemical laboratory in the South. Apparatus costing $2,000 has been recently put in, and other additions are to be made. The funds for this building were mainly contributed by Mr. A. S. Lea, of Caswell County, in whose honor it has been named.

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

By legislative enactment Wake Forest Institute was changed to Wake Forest College on December 26, 1838. By the amended charter the trustees were permitted to confer the usual degrees, to hold 600 acres of land and $250,000 free from taxation. The time of the charter was extended fifty years.

In 1839 the college charges per annum were as follows: Tuition, $45; room rent, $2; bed and bedding, $4; wood, $2; servants' hire, $2; deposit for repairs, $2. Board and washing could be secured in the village at $8 per month.

To meet the payment of some debts that were being pressed, the trustees, in 1840, borrowed $10,000 from the State literary fund.

Dr. Wait resigned the presidency November 26, 1844, and his successor, Rev. William Hooper, D. D., LL. D., was elected president October 17, 1845, but did not enter upon the discharge of the duties of the position till the beginning of the next year.

Dr. Hooper was one of the first trustees of the college, and had always manifested much interest in its welfare. He was a grandson of William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and was born near Wilmington, N. C., in 1792. In 1812 he was graduated at the University of North Carolina, and afterwards studied theology at Princeton, N. J. He was elected professor of ancient languages in the University in 1816. In 1818 he entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and was for two years rector of St. John's Church, in Fayetteville. Owing to change of views he became a Baptist, resigned his rectorship, and again entered the University as professor of rhetoric.

He was afterwards a professor in South Carolina College, and came from that State to accept the presidency of Wake Forest, which he resigned in 1848. From this time his efforts in educational work were for the promotion of the higher education of women. In 1855 he was president of the Chowan Baptist Female Institute and in 1867 he became co-principal with his son-in-law, Prof. J. DeB. Hooper, of the Wilson Female Seminary. He died August 19, 1876, and was buried in the campus of the University at Chapel Hill, near the remains of President Caldwell. It has been said of him that "North Carolina has produced no better scholar, and his work at Wake Forest and the State University is to this day a fragrant memory."

The liabilities of the college continued to increase, and in 1848 amounted to $20,000. It looked as if the property of the institution would have to be sold to meet the outstanding obligations. The State was pressing for a return of its loan, and the claim for the balance due on the building was being urged. Owing to these difficulties, the president of the college and the president of the board of trustees resigned. The trustees at their meeting of this year adjourned without arranging to meet the obligations. It seemed that the end had come.

In this crisis Dr. Wait, Rev. J. S. Purefoy, and other friends of the institution rallied to its rescue, relieved it from temporary embarrassment, and before 1850 they had paid every cent of the indebtedness and secured the nucleus of a permanent endowment fund.

After the resignation of Dr. Hooper, Rev. J. B. White was elected president, which position he held till 1852.

In June, 1854, Rev. Washington Manly Wingate, D. D., was elected president. From his accession dates a new era in the history of the college. By his wise and able management, the difficulties which threatened to overwhelm the institution were surmounted and it was placed on a permanent basis.

Dr. Wingate was born in Darlington, S. C., March 22, 1828; was graduated at Wake Forest in 1849; studied theology at Furman University, and then entered the pastorate in his native State. In 1852 he became the agent of his *alma mater*, which position he held until he was called to the presidency. He remained president until his death, February 27, 1879. To write his history during the twenty-five years that he was connected with Wake Forest would be to give the history of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina for that time. For a quarter of a century he was the foremost Baptist in the State, and his influence upon the higher Christian education is not to be estimated.

Owing to the War all college exercises were suspended in May, 1862, and were not resumed until 1866. In 1864 the Confederate States authorities took possession of the college building and used it as a hospital till the close of the War.

In 1862 the total funds of the college amounted to $56,167.54. These were invested principally in State and Confederate Government bonds,

Of course most of these securities were worthless at the close of the War. At that time the endowment of the college amounted to $11,700. By 1883 it had grown to about $50,000. In 1883 $50,000 were added to the fund, making a total endowment of $100,000. Of this amount $10,000 were contributed by Mr. J. A. Bostwick, of New York. Since then Mr. Bostwick has brought the college and friends of education in North Carolina under renewed obligations to himself. In 1885 he inaugurated the "Bostwick loan fund" of $10,000, the interest of which is loaned to indigent young men for the payment of tuition fees. In 1886 the "Bostwick endowment fund" was founded, by a donation of $50,000, making his total contributions $70,000. On May 1, 1887, the endowment fund amounted to $153,006.44 and the total productive funds of the college to $172,263.04. The endowment fund is being augmented from time to time, and it is probable that before many years it will amount to several hundred thousand dollars.

In 1879 Rev. Thomas Henderson Pritchard, D. D., was elected president of the college. He is an alumnus of Wake Forest and one of the ablest Baptist ministers in the South. After accomplishing a great work for the institution, he resigned the presidency in 1882, much to the regret of the friends of the college, to again enter actively upon the work of the ministry.

After the resignation of Dr. Pritchard, Prof. W. B. Royall, of the chair of Greek, became chairman of the faculty.

In 1884 Rev. Charles E. Taylor, D. D., at that time professor of Latin, was made president. He is one of the ripest scholars in the South, having studied with distinction at Richmond College, the University of Virginia, and in Germany. His administration has been a success in every particular. Through his efforts and influence the greater part of the present endowment fund was secured, and to him, more than to any other one man, is due the present efficiency of the college.

SCHOOLS AND DEGREES.

The course of study comprises ten schools, viz: Latin language and literature, Greek language and literature, English language and literature, modern languages, pure mathematics, physics and applied mathematics, chemistry, natural history, moral philosophy, and political science.

For admission to the college the requirements are about the same as at the State University. The requirements for degrees are as follows:

Bachelor of Letters.—The student must be a proficient in the schools (that is, he must have obtained 75 per cent. of the maximum of scholarship on each study in the school) of Latin language and literature, Greek language and literature, English language and literature, moral philosophy, and political science, and in French or German, and experimental physics.

Bachelor of Science.—English language and literature, pure mathe-

matics, physics and applied mathematics, chemistry, natural history, political science, and in French or German.

Bachelor of Arts.—Latin language and literature, Greek language and literature, English language and literature, pure mathematics, physics and applied mathematics, moral philosophy, and political science, and in junior chemistry, zoölogy, and geology.

Master of Arts.—All of the schools.

A course is also given preliminary to the study of medicine, but leading to no degree.

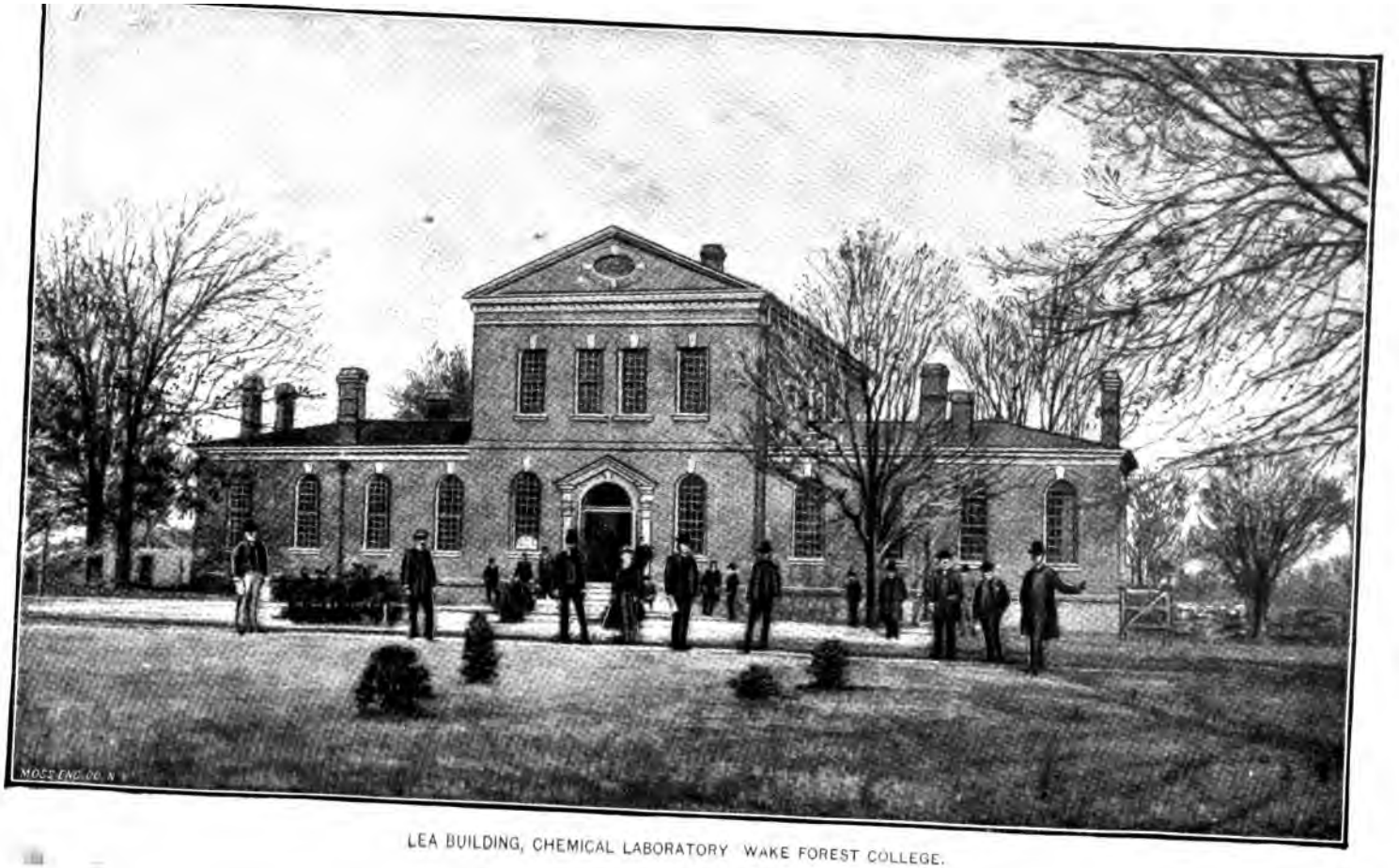
Candidates for degrees are required during their Senior year to deliver four public orations, or to submit in lieu thereof, under certain conditions, theses.

LITERARY SOCIETIES.

But two literary societies are allowed, the Euzelian and the Philomathesian. They were founded in February, 1835, and there has ever been a healthy rivalry between them. As the college has grown in prosperity, the good effects have been felt in the societies. For many years they occupied halls on the fourth floor of the old college building, but were given large and comfortable quarters on the second floor of the Heck-Williams building on its completion in 1878. The college library and the society libraries were then consolidated and placed in "Library Hall," which is in the centre of the building and separates the society halls. It is said that there are not two prettier or more handsomely furnished college-society halls in the South than those at Wake Forest. The walls, tastefully frescoed and panelled, are adorned with oil portraits of members who have honored their *alma mater* and reflected credit on their societies. The "Phi" color is red and the "Eu" blue, and these colors are displayed on their banners and regalia. Their mottoes are, respectively, "Esse quam videri malo" and "Inveniam viam aut faciam."

In preparing a young man for the active duties of life, these societies are worthy of special mention as an important adjunct of the college. Each Friday night and Saturday morning during the session is devoted to debate, reading of essays, and transacting the business of the society. The rules of parliamentary procedure are strictly enforced. The student has here an opportunity to formulate and express in his own language the information gathered in the recitation room. He learns to think and speak while on his feet. The proceedings of the societies are kept secret, but in February of each year they celebrate the anniversary of their organization by a public debate and orations.

The Wake Forest Student, established in January, 1882, and second to no college periodical of its class in the country, is published by the societies. A medal is awarded each year to the student contributing the best article to this magazine. Besides this, each society gives an-



LEA BUILDING, CHEMICAL LABORATORY WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

nually two medals, one for improvement in debate and the other for the best essay, open to competition among its members only.

During the last fifty years the societies have made a noble record, as is attested by the success of their members in this and other States. With the increasing prosperity of the college, their future usefulness is assured.[1]

Greek-letter fraternities are not permitted in the college.

INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGE.

Wake Forest has an honorable record. Since its foundation seventy instructors and twenty-five hundred students have been connected with the institution. More than four hundred of the students have become ministers of the Gospel, eight have been college presidents, and a large number have been professors in various institutions. They have served their country in both the State and National Legislatures, have adorned the highest judicial tribunals of the State, and as farmers, teachers, physicians, merchants, and manufacturers have proved themselves good and progressive citizens.

Wake Forest stands second to no educational institution in the State. The Faculty is liberal and progressive. It contains men who have been graduated with distinction at the University of Virginia, Leipsic, Johns Hopkins, and other well-known institutions.

The last catalogue shows nine professors and a student attendance of two hundred, representing seven States.[2]

The close proximity of the college to the State capital gives its students a manifest advantage in the observation of political and economic phenomena. They have access to the State library and museums, and the privilege of attending the sessions of the State Legislature. Theirs is the advantage of both village and city life.

Liberal and philanthropic friends, North and South, have established the institution on a good financial basis. Its influence is extending beyond State limits, and its future is bright with promise.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE.

PRESBYTERIAN INFLUENCE.

The pioneer promoters of advanced educational work in North Carolina were Presbyterians. It was through their endeavors that Queen's College was established. Failing to secure Royal recognition for that institution, the name was changed to Liberty Hall Academy and chartered by the State Legislature. After the suspension of Liberty Hall the Presbyterians sent their sons to Princeton, Mt. Zion College in

[1] This account of the societies was prepared by the writer for a sketch of the college which appeared in the Raleigh (N. C.) State Chronicle of June 11, 1886.

[2] Since the above was written two additional professors have been elected, and the student attendance has increased to two hundred and twenty-five.

South Carolina, and later to the University of North Carolina. It is said that it was through their efforts that the clause providing for a University was inserted in the State Constitution. But the expenses of educating at those institutions prevented many of the citizens of the western part of the State from giving their sons the advantage of collegiate training, so they determined to have a college located in their midst.

The first definite move for this purpose was a convention held at Lincolnton in September, 1820, which was attended by representatives from both the Carolinas. A board of trustees was named, and about the close of that year the State Legislature granted a charter for

WESTERN COLLEGE.

The charter was liberal in its provisions. The trustees constituted a close corporation without ecclesiastical connection or control. The reason assigned in the charter for the establishment of this college is "that the more western counties in the State are distant from Chapel Hill, which renders it inconvenient for their youth to prosecute their education there." It was provided that the institution should be located "somewhere to the south-west of Yadkin River." More than half the trustees were Presbyterians.

There was much opposition to the establishment of the college by the friends of the University. The trustees could not agree as to the location, or the selection of professors. They met from time to time till 1824, when the project was abandoned. But the idea still lived, and the Presbyterians decided to establish a denominational college on the manual labor plan. The theory was that indigent students could do sufficient work to pay their college expenses, while the financially better-circumstanced would be benefited physically and mentally by the amount of labor required.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE.

At the meeting of the Concord Presbytery, then embracing that part of the State south-east of the Yadkin River, at Prospect Church, in the spring of 1835, resolutions were adopted looking to the establishment of a Presbyterian college in that section.

A prominent alumnus of Davidson, A. Leazar, Esq., in a recent address, referring to the early history of his *alma mater*, said: "The unwritten story is that upon a black-board standing against the wall of the log house at Prospect was written, by the hand of Rev. Robert H. Morrison, the modest and unambitious declaration of those wise men, that 'with reliance upon God's blessing' they would undertake the establishment of a school for the promotion of liberal learning 'preparatory to the Gospel ministry.' To Rev. Messrs. R. H. Morrison, John Robinson, Stephen Frontis, and Samuel Williamson, with Elders Robert Bur-

DAVIDSON COLLEGE—MAIN BUILDING.

ton, William Lee Davidson, John Phifer, and Joseph Young, was committed the responsibility of preparing plans and selecting a location for the college."

In the fall of 1835 arrangements were perfected to begin the erection of the necessary buildings, and the following summer a site was chosen in the northern part of Mecklenburg County, near the Iredell County line, which has been called "the literary and geographical centre of the State." William Lee Davidson, a son of General William Davidson, donated the building site, besides a large tract of land and other valuable gifts. Rev. Dr. Morrison and Rev. P. J. Sparrow secured subscriptions amounting to $30,000.

The institution was named Davidson College in honor of General William Davidson, who fell while bravely fighting for the liberty of his country at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba River, about 7 miles from where the college stands, on February 1, 1781. General Davidson was born in Lancaster County, Pa., in 1746. His father, George Davidson, came to North Carolina in 1750, and settled in that part of Rowan County which is now Iredell. General Davidson was probably educated at Crowfield Academy and Queen's College. He entered the Continental Army as major of the Fourth Regiment of North Carolina troops, under Colonel Thomas Polk, in General Nash's brigade. He was with Washington the greater part of the time from 1776–79. He lost his life in the engagement with the forces of Lord Cornwallis at Cowan's Ford, to which reference has been made. His sword hangs in Davidson College Museum. The Continental Congress passed resolutions eulogizing him and ordered a monument to be erected to his memory, which, however, was never done. No shaft marks his resting place. Davidson College is his monument. He could not have one nobler and, it is to be hoped, more enduring.

The college was opened in March, 1837, with 66 students and the following Faculty: Rev. R. H. Morrison, president; Rev. P. J. Sparrow professor of languages; and Mortimer D. Johnston, tutor of mathemat, ics. A charter was granted by the Legislature December 28, 1838. The manual labor system was introduced, but proving a failure here, as at Wake Forest College, it was abandoned after a trial of four years.

In 1855 the institution was placed on a good financial basis by the magnificent bequest of Maxwell Chambers, of Salisbury, N.C., amounting to $258,000. But the limit of the endowment as provided by the charter was $200,000; so only that amount could be received.

The college prospered until the outbreak of the Civil War. It continued its operations during that conflict with from four to six professors, and was not suspended till just before the surrender of Lee. It was, however, soon re-opened. About $100,000 of its endowment was lost by reason of the War.

Since the establishment of the institution the following have held the office of president: Rev. R. H. Morrison, D. D., 1837–40; Rev. Samuel

Williamson, D. D., 1841–54; Rev. Drury Lacy, D. D., 1855–60; Rev. J. L. Kilpatrick, D. D., 1860–66; Rev. G. W. McPhail, D. D., LL. D., 1866–71; Prof. J. R. Blake, A. M. (chairman of Faculty), 1871–77; Rev. A. D. Hepburn, D. D., LL. D., 1877–85; Rev. Luther McKinnon, D. D., 1885.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE INSTITUTION.

The college is under Presbyterial control. It was established by the Concord Presbytery, but from time to time other Presbyteries have been invited to take part in the oversight of the institution, until now each of the Presbyteries in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida has representatives in the board of trustees.

The endowment (invested funds) amounts to $105,000. There are thirteen separate buildings belonging to the college, valued at $150,000, viz: The main college building, the chapel, two society buildings, three dormitory buildings, and six professors' houses, all of brick, except three of the residences.

There are five endowed scholarships, viz: One of $3,000, the Maxwell Chambers scholarship, endowed by the Presbyterian Church of Salisbury, N. C.; one of $1,500, the D. A. Davis scholarship, also endowed by the Salisbury Presbyterian Church; two of $1,000, the George Bower scholarship, endowed by Mrs. A. C. Davis, of Salisbury, and the Thomas Brown scholarship, endowed by Brown & Bro., of Winston, N. C.; and one of $500, endowed by General R. Barringer and George E. Wilson, Esq., of Charlotte, N. C. Some of these entitle the incumbent to free tuition, and others go to pay the room rent and incidental expenses of the nominee.

There are two literary societies connected with the institution, the Philanthropic and the Eumenean. Each has a commodious and handsomely furnished hall. Their exercises consist in debate, declamation, and composition. Under their auspices the Davidson Monthly, a literary magazine of merit, is published.

Each society annually awards a debater's, an essayist's, and a declaimer's medal; and the two together award an orator's medal, which, in a public contest, is competed for by representatives from each society.

The college and society libraries together number about 11,000 volumes.

Greek letter fraternities are allowed, and each of the following has a chapter at the college: Mystic Seven, $\Sigma\ A\ E$, $K\ A$, and $\Phi\ A\ X$.

Two regular courses of study leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science, each requiring four years, are provided. The requirements for admission are about the same as at the State University. A post-graduate course leading to the degree of Master of Arts is offered. The classes are divided into Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior, and there is but little latitude allowed in the choice of elect-

ive studies. Davidson College is noted for thoroughness, and it ranks with the best colleges of the South.

The necessary expenses of a student for the collegiate year of ten months is about $250, the same as at the University and other colleges of the State.

The faculty numbers 8 professors, and during the session of 1886–87 there were 119 students enrolled.

Since the opening of the institution (including the session of 1886–87) there have been 1,875 young men enrolled as students, of whom 571 have been graduated.

Many of North Carolina's most honored and best known citizens have been and are alumni of Davidson. Not only North Carolina but many other States, especially of the South, have appreciated the influence of those who were educated at this institution.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

THE BEGINNINGS AND HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION.[1]

Trinity College is managed by a board of trustees appointed by the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It is distinctively a denominational college, and from humble beginnings it is now ranked among the leading institutions for the higher education in the State. It is located in Randolph County, near the sources of the Cape Fear and Uwharrie Rivers, 5 miles from the town of High Point, on the North Carolina Railroad, and 100 miles west of the capital of the State.

The beginnings of this institution are to be found in the grammar school, established in 1838, near the present location of the college, by the Rev. Brantly York, D. D. The following year this school was moved to the present site, a good framed building erected, and a charter secured from the Legislature for the institution under the name of Union Institute. The object of the founders was to establish an academy in which their sons and those of their neighbors might receive a good practical education.

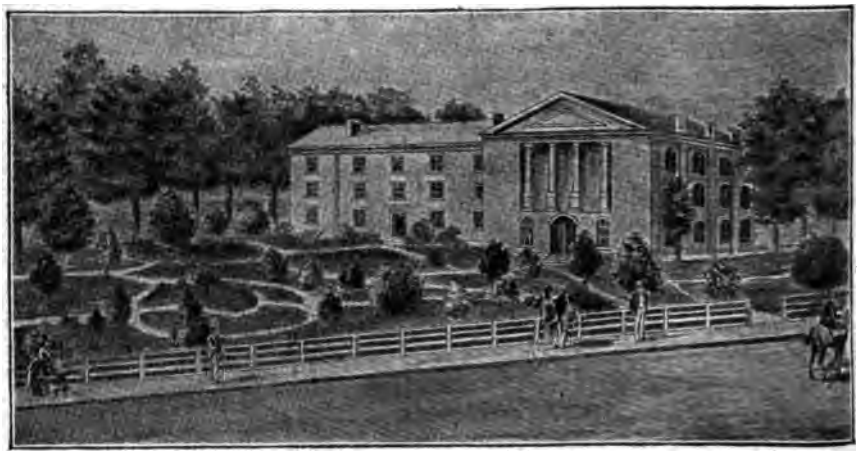
In 1842 Dr. York resigned the management of the school, and Rev. B. Craven, then nineteen years old, was elected to take charge. From 1843 to 1850 the annual gross income of the school varied from $300 to $1,800, the general average being about $1,200. For this period the student attendance varied from 28 to 184, the average being about 105.

In January, 1851, the institution was rechartered, the name being changed to Normal College. By this new charter the school was

[1] The materials for this sketch are drawn from an address by Rev. Dr. B. Craven, in The Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina, Raleigh, 1876, an account of Trinity College by Prof. J. F. Heitman in the Raleigh Register, and data furnished by Mr. A. W. Long, now graduate student in English of the Johns Hopkins University, and late professor of history and English literature in Trinity College.

brought under State supervision. The Governor of the State was made *ex-officio* president of the board of trustees, and the superintendent of common schools, secretary. The object of this connection was to secure a better grade of teachers for the common schools. By a provision of the charter a certificate from the Normal College was made lawful evidence of qualification to teach in the public schools, and no further examination was required.

The institution became very popular, and the number of students rapidly increased. The good results that were expected from the normal feature did not follow. On the contrary, it worked harm. Many received the normal certificate who were not at all adequately qualified for teaching the most elementary branches, and yet they were authorized to teach in any common school in the State which might be open to them. During the normal period, 1851 to 1859, the average annual number of matriculations was 197, and the gross income for the same time averaged about $5,000 per annum.



Trinity College.

At the annual session of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Salisbury, in 1851, the first connection between the conference and this school was formed. The trustees of the college agreed that young men preparing for the ministry should be educated without charge, and in return the conference indorsed the institution and annually appointed a visiting committee.

In 1853 the charter was amended, giving the college authority to confer any and all degrees and do all other acts usually granted to literary institutions of high grade. The trustees were loaned $10,000 from the State literary fund, which was used for building purposes.

The management of the institution was transferred to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1856. This transfer was not fully effected until 1858, and in 1859, by an act

of the Legislature, the college was vested in the Conference, with all the rights and privileges usually granted in such cases, the name being changed from Normal to Trinity College. By this act all connection with the State was severed, all normal features annulled, and the institution placed on the same footing as the other denominational colleges.

From 1859 to 1862 the gross income averaged $7,500 per annum and the number of students 204. During the War the exercises were continued, but with a constantly decreasing number of students. In 1863 President Craven resigned and Prof. W. T. Gannaway was placed in charge as president *pro tempore*, which position he held until 1865. On the arrival of General Hardee's corps in the village in April, 1865, exercises were suspended. Dr. Craven was re-elected president in 1865, and in January, 1866, the exercises were resumed.

On November 7, 1882, the honored president and founder of the college and one of the foremost men in the State, Rev. Braxton Craven, D. D., LL. D., died. His death was a sad blow to the institution, and it is just beginning to recover from the effects. Prof. W. H. Pegram was appointed chairman of the faculty until the trustees could elect a president.

In 1883 the Rev. M. L. Wood, D. D., became president. The institution became embarrassed, and at the close of the fall term of 1884 Dr. Wood resigned. The number of students continued to grow smaller, and many of the friends of the college were despondent as to its future. Just at this juncture three noble laymen of the Methodist Church, Messrs. Julian S. Carr, J. W. Alspaugh, and James A. Gray, came forward and proposed to the Conference that they would give $3,000 per year, for two years, for the support of the college, provided they should be allowed to manage the institution in their own way (subject to the general supervision of the trustees), and further provided that the Conference would contribute $2,500 per year as a supplement to their contribution. Their proposition was accepted, and they were constituted the "committee of management."

President Wood and Prof. L. Johnson, of the chair of mathematics, having resigned, the remaining members of the faculty were retained under the new management. They were Prof. J. F. Heitman, chairman of the faculty and chair of metaphysics; Prof. M. T. Gannaway, chair of Latin and French; and Prof. W. H. Pegram, chair of natural science. Mr. H. H. Williams, A. M., was elected professor of Greek and German; Mr. J. M. Bandy, Ph. B., of mathematics; and Mr. A. W. Long, A. B., of history and English literature. Mr. N. C. English, A. M., was elected professor of business law and principal of the preparatory department.

During the two years of this management, the college took several decided steps forward. The curriculum was broadened, examinations were made more rigid, and the system of grading examination papers

made more strict. The number of students increased from 75 to 146 and confidence in the future of the institution was restored.

At the close of the session of 1886–87 the college again came under the control of the conference. Two additions have been made to the faculty. Rev. J. F. Crowell, A. B. (Yale) was elected president, and Prof. J. L. Armstrong (Randolph-Macon and Leipsic), professor of French and German. Professors Williams and Long having resigned in order to continue their studies, the former at Yale and the latter at Johns Hopkins, English and German were assigned to Professor Armstrong, Greek and metaphysics to Professor Heitman, and history and theology to President Crowell. No other changes were made except that Mr. Julius Hathcock was elected a tutor in the preparatory department.

The degrees conferred in course are bachelor of philosophy, bachelor of arts, and master of arts. Four years are generally required for the completion of a course of study leading to a degree. The standard of admission is about a year below the requirements of the State University, and consequently the standard of graduation has been lower. The new administration has already taken steps to raise the standard of instruction.

There are two literary societies—the Columbian and the Hesperian—connected with the institution. They publish a college monthly. Greek letter fraternities were at one time permitted, but their influence being thought bad, they have been disbanded and are forbidden in the college. The libraries of the literary societies have recently been added to the college library, which now numbers about ten thousand volumes. Medals for oratory and scholarship are awarded annually by the societies and friends of the institution.

Efforts are being made to raise a liberal endowment fund. One year ago this fund was only $6,000; now it is nearly $40,000, and it is expected that it will reach $100,000 by the close of the present year.

From the re-opening in 1866 to the present time the average attendance has been about one hundred and fifty. The brick building has been recently enlarged. There are now ample accommodations for two hundred students. The college property, including land, buildings, furniture, and apparatus, is valued at $50,000.

The number of students now in attendance is the largest the college has had in ten years. The institution is stronger and more aggressive than it has been since the death of its founder, and its friends believe that a bright and useful career is opening up for it in the educational work of North Carolina.

CHAPTER V.

THE HIGHER FEMALE EDUCATION.

FEMALE SCHOOLS.

The State has never made the least provision for the higher female education, and it was not until the beginning of the present century that organized individual or denominational effort was made to establish female schools.

In the promotion of the higher education, as well as of primary education, the best results can not, as a rule, be attained by individual or denominational endeavor operating without State competition, and so at no time have the girls of North Carolina had opportunities for intellectual development equal to those provided for the boys. The reason for this is that few individuals or denominations can provide for an institution so munificently as can a State, and if able, some stimulus is generally necessary to induce them to do it. The male colleges have always had the State University to quicken them to emulation, and in their efforts to surpass it in equipment and in the character of the instruction offered, steady growth and development have resulted.

The first and best of the early female schools was the Salem Female Academy, founded by the Moravians in 1802, an account of which is given in this connection. Other female schools which flourished before the late Civil War, and still exist, are St. Mary's School (Episcopal), Raleigh, Wake County, established 1842; Greensborough Female College (Methodist Episcopal, South), Greensborough, Guilford County, 1846; Chowan Baptist Female Institute (Baptist), Murfreesboro', Chowan County, 1848; Thomasville Female College, Thomasville, Davidson County, 1849; Asheville Female College (Methodist Episcopal, South), Asheville, Buncombe County, 1850; Wesleyan Female College, Murfreesboro', Chowan County, 1853; Charlotte Female Institute (Presbyterian), Charlotte, Mecklenburgh County, 1857; Select Boarding and Day School, Hillsborough, Orange County, 1857; Davenport Female College, Lenoir, Caldwell County, 1858; Mt. Pleasant Female Seminary (Ev. Lutheran), Mt. Pleasant, Cabarrus County, 1858. Of those that no longer exist the following were prominent: Lochiel, near Hillsborough, Orange County, opened and conducted for a while by Walker Anderson, at one time a professor in the University of North Carolina, and later chief-justice of Florida; Rock Rest, near Haw River, Alamance County, afterwards removed to Pittsborough, Chatham County; Edgeworth Seminary, Greensborough, Guilford County, established under the auspices of Governor John M. Morehead; Floral Female College, Shoe Heel, Robeson

County; and female schools at Williamston, Granville County; Warrenton, Warren County; and Milton, Caswell County.

The following institutions have been recently established: Peace Institute, Raleigh, Wake County, 1872; Shelby Female College, Shelby, Cleveland County; Mt. St. Joseph College (Roman Catholic), Hickory, Catawba County, 1880; Claremont Female College, Hickory, 1880; Statesville Female College, Statesville, Iredell County, 1883. Other institutions of merit might be mentioned, for nearly every town in the State of any size has its female academy.

The following sketches of the leading female schools, given in the order of their establishment, will show the character of the provision made for the higher education of women in North Carolina.

SALEM FEMALE ACADEMY.

The Salem Female Academy, so well and favorably known throughout the South, is located at Salem, Forsyth County, in the north-western part of the State. The property of the institution is valued at $200,000. Salem is situated immediately adjacent to Winston, and they are often called the "twin cities." These towns are in the midst of a rolling, woodland country, among the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet above the level of the sea.

This school "is one of the five institutions of higher learning in the United States which are the property of the American Moravian Church, and are conducted under the supervision of the executive boards of its provinces, North and South. The first Moravian boarding schools in this country were institutions in which the children of the church were educated. As their parents, by reason of the responsibilities incurred in their missionary enterprises, were incapacitated for providing for these children, their education and maintenance devolved entirely upon the church. The sons and daughters of both laymen and clergymen were accordingly placed at schools, whose government, domestic arrangements, and routine life closely resembled those of the family, and were, in fact, designed as far as possible to compensate their pupils for the loss of home. Parental training, thorough instruction in useful knowledge, and scrupulous attention to religious culture were characteristics of those early schools, and are still the main features of the modern schools of which they were the precursors."

The following facts concerning the academy were furnished the writer by Rev. Edward Rondthaler, D. D., one of the principals. Visitors in Salem toward the close of the last century were often impressed with the superior educational facilities enjoyed by the Moravian youth of this small town, and expressed the desire that their children might become partakers in their advantages. Thus the impulse was awakened in the minds of some of the Moravian people to serve God by ministering to the educational needs of the South. A work for girls was accordingly devised under the direction of an experienced educator,

PEACE INSTITUTE.

Bishop Reichel, who had been the founder of a similar institution for boys in the North.

All the conditions of such an enterprise needed to be supplied *de novo* and out of small means. Several years were thus occupied. Rev. Samuel Kramsch, a gentleman of fine scholastic culture, was appointed principal on October 31, 1802. Several ladies were selected as assistants. On October 5, 1803, the corner-stone of a new building was laid with appropriate ceremonies. The spirit which animated the founders appeared in the corner-stone document, which stated that the stone was laid "with fervent prayer to our Lord, that by the school to be established in this house, His Name may be glorified, His Kingdom of Grace be enlarged in this country, and the salvation of souls of those who shall be educated therein be promoted." This prayer has been fulfilled during four-score years to a degree which the founders could not have anticipated.

On May 16, 1804, the first pupils came from abroad. The curriculum at that time was as follows: Reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, German, plain needle-work, music, drawing, and ornamental needle-work. Admittance was limited to the years between eight and twelve, and the stay terminated at the age of fifteen years. Gradually the number of pupils increased until every State in the South was represented, and some of them very largely. The curriculum was enlarged, until in the "select class" a fair collegiate course was enjoyed without graduation, however. The academy was only incorporated at a late date—February 3, 1866—and its first diploma of graduation was conferred in 1877.

The new academy building was erected 1854–56, during the principalship of the widely known and revered Rev. Robert de Schweinitz. There were at that time 216 boarding pupils, the largest number until the years of the Civil War, when the school was overcrowded with pupils sent as much for shelter and protection as for education.

The whole number of alumnæ, not including day pupils, has been between six and seven thousand. The number of graduates since 1877 is 153.

The school is regularly graded, with a four years' mathematical and classical course. Special advantages are offered in music, painting, drawing, and needle-work. A commercial course is also provided. Technically, it belongs to the preparatory schools, its object being to carry its pupils to the standard of entrance required at Vassar, Wellesley, or Smith Colleges.

The corps of instructors at this time numbers 26. During the session of 1886–87 there were 222 students in attendance, representing eleven States.

The influence of the Salem Female Academy has been wide-spread. For many years it was the only institution of repute in the South for female education. Its pupils have, therefore, been unusually well rep-

resented in the leading families of the South. A great many of its alumnæ have become teachers and heads of seminaries and academies, carrying the thorough and painstaking methods of this school into their own institutions. It is probably owing to the influence of the Salem Academy that preparatory institutions for the education of girls are more numerous in the South, and, as a rule, better equipped than are similar institutions for boys.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL.

This institution is located at Raleigh, the capital of the State. The buildings, six in number, are located in an oak grove of 20 acres, on elevated ground, a mile from the State capitol. Three of the buildings are of brick, two of stone, and one of wood. They are admirably arranged for school purposes and are furnished with modern improvements. The school was founded in 1842, under the auspices of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, and has operated continuously since.

The Rt. Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D. D., is visitor of the school; the Rev. Bennett Smedes, A. M., principal and rector, and Miss M. E. J. Czarmonska, lady principal. The academic staff numbers 16 teachers, and from February, 1886, to February, 1887, there were 197 students from nine States in attendance.

The school is divided into primary, preparatory, and academic departments. In the primary department the best features of the kinder garten system are retained, while those suited only to the nursery are discarded. Three years are required to complete the preparatory course. The academic course is arranged for five years, but if accomplishments are added more time is needed to complete it. The courses in French and German are each five years, and those languages are taught with much thoroughness. The department of music is one of the noted features of this school. It is under the direction of Dr. Auguste Kürsteiner, and the system pursued is modelled after that of the Leipzig Conservatory.

GREENSBOROUGH FEMALE COLLEGE.

The college building, a magnificent brick structure, is located near the western limits of Greensborough, in the center of a beautiful park of 40 acres. Greensborough is in the central part of the State, and is noted for the intelligence and social refinement of its citizen

In 1837 the trustees of the Greensborough Female School sent a petition to the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that a female college, under the auspices of the denomination, be established at Greensborough. It was in this year that the North Carolina Conference began its separate existence. The petition was referred to a committee, which reported favorably, and in 1838 the North Carolina Conference secured a charter for the institution from the State Legislature.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL.

This is the first female college chartered in North Carolina, and, with the exception of the Wesleyan Female College at Macon, Georgia, the first south of the Potomac.

A site for the institution, consisting of 40 acres, was secured, and in September, 1843, the corner-stone of the college building was laid. This building, costing about $20,000, was completed in the summer of 1845.

In 1846 the institution was opened for students, with the Rev. Solomon Lea as president. Mr. Lea resigned, in December, 1847, and was succeeded by the late Rev. Albert M. Shipp, D. D., afterwards professor in Vanderbilt University, Tennessee. In 1850 the Rev. Charles F. Deems, at that time a professor in the University of North Carolina and now pastor of the Church of the Strangers, in New York City, became president, who in turn was succeeded by Rev. T. M. Jones, D. D., in 1854.

Owing to the large attendance the building was enlarged in 1856, and again in 1859. The building was burned August 9, 1863, and the War prevented the immediate rebuilding.

In 1869 a new charter was secured for the institution, and a board of trustees was elected in 1870. The present school building was commenced in 1871, and on August 27, 1873, the college was opened with 9 teachers, and, under the presidency of Doctor Jones, has continued in successful operation since.

A preparatory course, and a collegiate course requiring four years are provided. The faculty at this time numbers 15, and during the session of 1886–87 there were 186 students, representing six States, in attendance.

CHOWAN BAPTIST FEMALE INSTITUTE.

The Chowan Baptist Female Institute is located at Murfreesborough, Chowan County, in the north-eastern part of the State. The campus, embracing 28 acres, is a beautiful place. This institution is the pride of eastern Carolina, and is one of the best equipped and most thorough in the State. Its history is interesting as a successful denominational effort in behalf of the higher female education.

In 1848 the Bertie Union Meeting (Baptist), embracing the counties of Northampton, Hertford, and Bertie, recognizing the need for female education, sent a communication to the Chowan Baptist Association asking that a high school for girls be established by the association.

This request was acted upon favorably, and trustees were appointed with instructions to make arrangements for such a school.

The trustees purchased and fitted up a house and lot in Murfreesborough at a cost of $1,225. The school was formally opened October 11, 1848, with the Rev. A. McDowell, D. D., of South Carolina, a graduate of Wake Forest College, as principal. In 1849 small-pox in the town necessitated the suspension of the school, but work was resumed the following month, with Rev. M. R. Forey as principal.

The rapidly growing patronage of the school made it necessary to have larger buildings. So encouraging was the outlook that in 1851 a joint stock company took charge of the school, selected a new site, and contracted for the large and handsome brick building now occupied, which was completed the following year. The property at that time was estimated at $35,000, but with the improvements which have since been added it is valued at more than $50,000. The funds were contributed principally by the Chowan Association, though other associations, especially the Portsmouth (Va.) Association, aided handsomely. With its enlarged facilities the institution was soon filled with young ladies from the States of North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Maryland, and New York, and the District of Columbia.

Rev. Mr. Forey was succeeded in the principalship by Rev. William Hooper, D. D., LL. D., in 1854. The institute continued its work throughout the War, although it was not far from the scene of active military operations.

In 1862 Dr. Hooper resigned and Dr. A. McDowell, who had returned to the institution in 1855 as professor of mathematics and natural science, was elected president.

In 1878 the joint stock company gave the institute to the Baptist denomination. Although there are other Baptist schools in the State conducted by individuals, this is the only school property devoted to female education held by the denomination.

On May 27, 1881, Dr. McDowell died. Prof. John B. Brewer, at that time president of the Wilson Collegiate Seminary for young ladies, was elected to the presidency, and assumed the duties of the position in October, 1881. President Brewer is one of the foremost educators in the State. He is a graduate of Wake Forest College, and has associated with him 8 teachers from some of the best schools of our country. There are two departments—the preparatory, requiring two years, and the collegiate, requiring four years, for completion. Since its foundation the average attendance at this school has been about 100, nearly all of whom were boarders. As an evidence of its prosperity it may be well to add that the present building is soon to be greatly enlarged to meet the increasing demand for room.

THOMASVILLE FEMALE COLLEGE.

This institution is located at Thomasville, in Davidson County, near the centre of the State. It was established in 1849, by Mrs. Charles Mock, and was called Silva Grove Female Seminary. During the presidency of Rev. Charles F. Deems, D. D., who was prominent in educational work in North Carolina before the war, and is at this time a well-known pastor in New York City, it was chartered by the Legislature, in 1855, as Glen Anna Female Seminary. Soon after this the school came under the management of Mr. John W. Thomas, who placed it on a bet-

CHOWAN BAPTIST FEMALE INSTITUTE.

ter basis by erecting a large four-story brick building and equipping it for school purposes. At the outbreak of the War the attendance numbered one hundred and fifty young ladies, from several of the Southern States. The exercises were continued during the War. In 1867 the name of the institution was changed by act of the Legislature to Thomasville Female College. After the death of Mr. Thomas, in 1873, the institution was closed for a year and a half. In 1874 the property was purchased by Prof. H. W. Reinhart, of Richmond College, and the school re-opened. In 1879 a large addition was made to the building, making it one of the largest and most attractive school buildings in the State. In 1885 the Rev. J. N. Stallings, an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, became principal. The institution is divided into primary, preparatory, collegiate, ornamental, and domestic departments. The corps of instructors numbers nine, and the catalogue for 1886–87 shows a student attendance of eighty-three.

PEACE INSTITUTE.

This institution is situated at Raleigh, about one mile from the State capitol. The grounds comprise 8 acres, artistically laid out and admirably suited for exercise and amusement. The main building, costing more than $40,000, is lighted by gas and electricity, and is heated by steam. It is claimed that it is the largest and best equipped school building in the State.

In 1857 the plan of having a school of high grade for young ladies, at the State capital, was discussed by many prominent men in the North Carolina Synod of the Presbyterian Church. Steps were taken to establish such a school, William Peace, an elder in the Raleigh Presbyterian Church, heading the subscription list with $10,000, and it is in his honor that the school is called Peace Institute.

Presbyterians throughout the State contributed liberally, and in 1858 the erection of a building was commenced.

The War prevented the opening of the school, and the Confederate government took charge of the building for hospital purposes. After the fall of the Confederacy, the Federal authorities took possession and used it for the Freedmen's Bureau. When the directors again got control of the property it was in such a condition that they almost despaired of putting it in a suitable condition for school purposes, and were on the point of selling it to Rev. Dr. Tupper, president of Shaw University, for the use of a colored school, but some friends came forward and contributed sufficient funds to enable the directors to make the necessary repairs, and the building was made ready for the school.

In 1872 the property was leased to Rev. R. Burwell, D. D., and his son, John B. Burwell, A. M., at that time principals of the Charlotte Female Institute, and since then it has been under their direction.

Dr. Burwell has probably been connected longer with institutions for girls than any other educator in the State. In 1837 he opened a female

school in Hillsboro'. In 1857 this school was removed to Charlotte, where it was known as the Charlotte Female Institute. This institution is still one of the best female schools in the State. He continued the management of this school until his removal to Raleigh, in 1872.

The growth of Peace Institute has been steady. The corps of instructors numbers fifteen, and during the past five years the average enrolment has been over 200 students, representing more than half a dozen States. Instruction is given in the following departments: Collegiate, normal, primary, and kindergarten, music, and fine arts. In thoroughness and equipment it stands second to no female school in the South.

OXFORD FEMALE SEMINARY.

The seat of this seminary is Oxford, Granville County, in the northern part of the State.

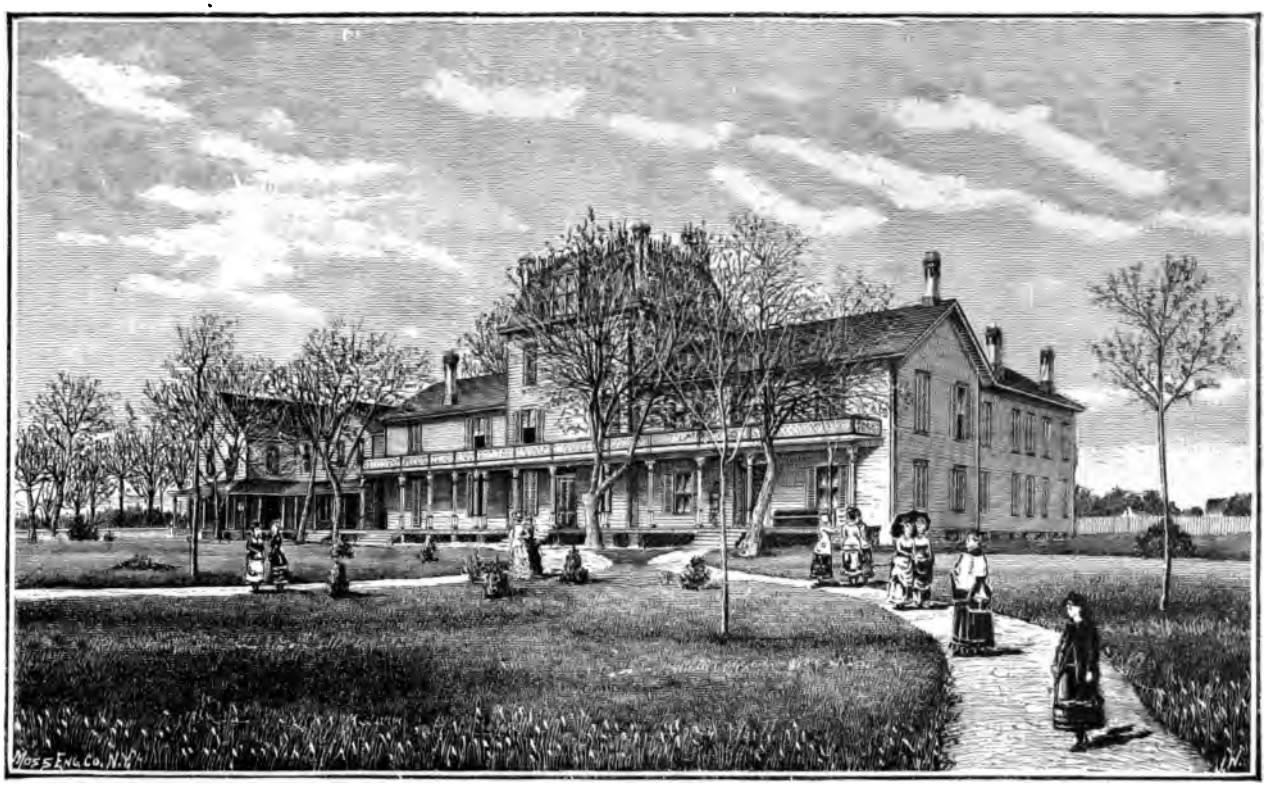
This institution is the continuation of the Raleigh Female Seminary, which was established in Raleigh, about 1870, by the Rev. William Royall, D. D., now a professor in Wake Forest College, and one of the most learned men in the State. After the resignation of Dr. Royall, Prof. F. P. Hobgood became president, and in 1880 he moved the institution to Oxford, changing the name to Oxford Female Seminary.

The buildings of the Oxford Female Seminary, which were erected about 1850, were remodeled in 1880 at a cost of $4,500. Since that time about $5,000 additional have been spent in building and repairs. The school grounds are about four acres, beautifully laid out.

The course of study comprises a preparatory and a collegiate department. There are nine teachers in the faculty, representing the University of Virginia, the Stüttgart Conservatory, Cooper Institute, and other well-known institutions of learning and art. During the session of 1885–86 there were one hundred and thirty-seven students enrolled, an increase on any previous year.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

North Carolina has no Vassar or Bryn Mawr. The reason is obvious. With one or two exceptions all of the female schools are owned and directed by the principals. They can not be blamed for managing them in such a way as will remunerate them most, just as merchants and manufacturers manage their affairs. It is to be expected that they will add improvements, extend their curricula, and secure the best teachers only as they are forced to do so by rival institutions or the demands of public sentiment. Owing to the fact that none of these institutions are endowed, nor receive any income from any source other than from the pupils, they can not reach the highest degree of efficiency. It is well known that at the best colleges and universities of this country only a small fraction of the expenses are met by the fees from students. Until there is in the State a well endowed female college it can not be expected



OXFORD FEMALE SEMINARY.

that the quality of the higher female education will be equal to that provided in most of the Northern States.

But it must not be judged from the above that North Carolina has no good female schools, nor that they are managed wholly on selfish principles. The principals of these schools are men of liberal culture, devoted to their profession, and with the means at their disposal they deserve great credit for having placed the standard of instruction as high as it is.

A well known professor in one of the leading female schools says that "the higher female education in North Carolina is not *high*." But while the courses of study in the female schools are not very extended, yet the instruction given, as far as it goes, is thorough. Most of these institutions give from three to five years' courses in Latin, French, German, history, English language and literature, the natural sciences, and mathematics as far as and including trigonometry.

The following schedule of classes and studies required at Peace Institute will give a fair and comprehensive view of the extent and character of the subjects taught in the collegiate departments of the leading female schools in the State, for in the main their curricula are about the same:

First Class.		Second Class.	
First term, twenty weeks.	*Second term, twenty weeks.*	*First term, twenty weeks.*	*Second term, twenty weeks.*
Higher lessons in English.* Reading and spelling.†	Higher lessons in English completed. Elocution and spelling.	Grammatical analysis. Elocution and spelling.	English synonymes. Elocution and spelling.
Arithmetic to percentage.	Arithmetic completed.	Algebra begun.	Algebra completed.
First lessons in botany.	Physiology.	Natural history.	Physics.
History of the United States.	History of England.	Ancient history commenced.	Ancient history completed.
Latin grammar and reader.	Cæsar.	Sallust.	Virgil.
French grammar.	French grammar. Reading from different authors.	Grammar. Reading from different authors. Composition or letters.	Reading from different authors. Composition or letters.
German grammar.	German grammar. Sprachlehrer.	Sprachlehrer continued. Compositions.	Reading from different authors.

Junior Class.		Senior Class.	
First term, twenty weeks.	*Second term, twenty weeks.*	*First term, twenty weeks.*	*Second term, twenty weeks.*
Rhetoric and composition commenced. Elocution.	Rhetoric and composition completed. Elocution.	English literature and elocution.	Principles of criticism.
Geometry.	Trigonometry, plane.*	Trigonometry, spherical.‡	Arithmetic reviewed.
Chemistry.	Geology.	Physical geography.	Astronomy and history of science.
General history commenced.	General history completed.	Mental philosophy.	Moral philosophy and evidences of Christianity.
Cicero.	Horace commenced.	Horace completed.	Livy.
Grammar Larousse. Fables de Lafontaine. Composition.	Grammar Larousse. Littérature contemporaine. Compositions.	Entretiens sur la Grammaire. Molière. Compositions.	Littérature classique. Racine.
Selections from the classics. Compositions.	Weber's Literature Compositions.	Hayes' Grammar. Compositions.	Goethe. Schiller.

* All pupils are required to take these schools; the rest elective.
† Spelling and dictation exercises through second year.
‡ In lieu of these, book-keeping and advanced arithmetic can be taken.

The charges for board and tuition in the regular course as represented above, in the leading female schools of the State, amount to about $250 per annum.

Nearly all the institutions of which accounts have been given provide good courses in vocal and instrumental music, in pastel, charcoal, and crayon drawing, and in oil and water-color painting, for which extra charges are made. One criticism of the higher education provided for young ladies in North Carolina is that more attention is given to the attainment of these accomplishments than to the acquirement of a substantial education. A professor in one of these schools writes: "It seems to me that the more cultured (?) of our people care less for a substantial education for their girls than the masses do. Poverty and necessity are driving us from the heathenish notion that all the preparation a woman needs for the battle of life is a delicate body, a pretty face, and a musical voice."

The leading institutions have libraries varying from five hundred to two thousand volumes. As a rule their stock of scientific apparatus is small and insufficient. The great need of all these schools is funds.

The cheapest and best way to educate the next generation is to educate every girl of the present one. The mother gives more education that is of practical effect in life than all the teachers. It has been well said that "the physical, mental, and moral muscles of a child are beginning to harden before he ever gets into the hands of a teacher." A better and more healthful sentiment in regard to the education of women is growing up in the Old North State, which, it is hoped, will soon develop itself in a practical way.

CHAPTER VI.

SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.

GENERAL CRITICAL SURVEY.

Schools for secondary instruction are numerous, but it is impossible to collect full and reliable statistics concerning them. The State superintendent of public instruction informs the writer that he does not know the number of private schools in the State, and that no provision is made for collecting information concerning them. The reports which they make to the United States Commissioner of Education are meagre and unsatisfactory, and private individual effort to reach them has proved unsuccessful.

A stranger reading their catalogues and announcements might be led to suppose that many of them offer advantages for study superior to those of Phillips Exeter, and other excellent fitting schools in the East, but to one who has had an insight into their management and is acquainted with their workings such a supposition is impossible.

The first criticism that the writer would urge is that they undertake too much. Some of these schools endeavor to offer the advantages of a college, while many of the so-called colleges are in reality secondary schools, but in attempting to place themselves on a higher plane than they are fitted to occupy they lose in thoroughness and efficiency.

As a rule, no well ordered system of study and student advancement are provided in these schools, though there are several notable exceptions to which reference will be made. The most noticeable defect in the educational system (if system it may be called) is in the primary training of the pupil. Proper attention is not given to the groundwork of his education. He is advanced from the primary to the preparatory department before the essential rudiments of an education have been mastered. The charge for annual tuition is determined by the student's grade; the schools are private property; the teachers are ambitious; the result is that it is not infrequent that the child is assigned work beyond his capacity. Parents as well as teachers are to be blamed for this. Many regard their children as intellectual prodigies and are dissatisfied if they are not rapidly promoted in school. In their eyes he is the best teacher who advances (?) his pupils fastest. If he attempts to hold the child to primary work longer than the parents think necessary, they withdraw their patronage and send to one who will gratify their vanity. It is pleasing to the pupil to be advanced rapidly from class to class. He is not yet old enough to realize the ad-

vantage of a thorough preparation. It is patent, therefore, that the self-interest of the teacher, the vanity of the parents, and the whim of the child, as represented above, tend to superficiality.

After the student has been advanced from the primary to the preparatory department, the object in most cases is to get him in college as soon as possible, or if he is not fitting for college, to silver-plate him with a business course (?) which he is assured will answer his purposes in practical life without the necessity of submitting to college drill and discipline for four years.

Instead of providing a broad and liberal course of study, the object of most of these schools is to give the student enough Latin, Greek, and mathematics to enable him to enter college with credit, and in but few instances is this result attained. Only the outlines of history are taught, and this in a superficial way; political economy is hardly ever included in the curriculum; the courses in political and physical geography are short and unsatisfactory; botany, geology, physiology, zoölogy, and natural philosophy are barely touched upon; the modern languages are hardly ever taught; and the student is given such a meagre course in his own language and literature that in after life as a writer and speaker he is often made to feel the deficiencies of his early training.

From the preparatory school the student goes to college, passes the entrance examination in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, enters upon advanced studies, and, at the end of four years is presented to the world as a graduate; but in few cases can he be said to be educated, in the full sense of what that word implies; for the defects of preliminary training are too often manifest.

For the more than one hundred secondary schools reporting from North Carolina, excepting only a few institutions, the above is true; and not only is it true for this State, but for many others of the Union, especially in the South.

GRADED SCHOOLS.

The public graded schools in the larger towns, the first being established at Greensborough in 1875, are exerting a good influence in systematizing and making more thorough primary and preparatory instruction throughout the State. Maj. S. M. Finger, superintendent of public instruction, in his report for 1885–86, says: "These schools have done a great deal of good, not only in the communities in which they are located, but to the whole State. They are examples of the possible efficiency, popularity, and cheapness of education at public expense.

"They are becoming so efficient as to command respect and patronage of all classes of our people. I wish that every citizen of the State could spend a day in one of these well managed schools, because I think he would go away with a higher appreciation of the safety and practicability of public schools."

By special acts of the Legislature, towns are permitted to vote upon

the establishment of these schools. The funds for their support are raised by special taxation and taxation under the common-school law.

Each school is usually divided into about ten grades, each grade having a teacher and room to itself. One year is required to complete the studies in a grade. By a uniform system of examinations pupils are advanced to higher grades. In nearly all of these schools there is a library for the benefit of the pupils and a pedagogical library for the teachers. The teachers usually meet once or twice a month to discuss methods of teaching, study approved works on pedagogy, and have review lessons on the subjects taught in the schools. Students in these schools are prepared for entrance into the colleges and University of the State. There are seventeen graded schools in the State. The secretary of the board of trustees of the Durham Graded School, Mr. S. F. Tomlinson, who has given much attention to the study of educational systems, gives it as his opinion that "Graded schools, properly conducted, are pre-eminently the schools for the towns and cities of the South, because they afford the greatest and most improved facilities to all classes alike for obtaining an education free, or for the least money."

CO-EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

In North Carolina the opposition to the co-education of the sexes in the higher institutions of learning is so manifest that no one would dare propose, with any hope of success, that women be admitted to the University and leading denominational colleges of the State. But co-education is making headway in the institutions for secondary instruction, and its friends claim that good results have been manifest. The rank that women are taking in some of the best of the English and American universities precludes the argument that they can not maintain themselves in intellectual competition with the sterner sex, and so the objection that their admission would necessitate the lowering of the educational standard is not valid. The expediency of their admission is an open question which the writer is not prepared to advocate; but at this time when a number of the female teachers of the State are seeking admission to the normal department of the University, endowed by the State for the express purpose of giving the teachers of the State, a large proportion of whom are women, a better opportunity for special preparation in their profession, the question is practical to all North Carolinians and is worthy of careful study.

The following co-educational institutions, established before the War, are still in successful operation: Friend's School (Quaker), New Garden, Randolph County, established 1833 (the property of this school is valued at $40,000, and it has $23,700 in productive funds); Catawba College (German Reformed), Newton, Catawba County, 1850; Clinton Collegiate Institute, Clinton, Sampson County, 1850; Mt. Vernon Springs Academy, Mt. Vernon Springs, Chatham County, 1850; Oak Ridge Literary and Commercial Institute, Oak Ridge, Guilford County,

1850; Anson Institute, Wadesborough, Anson County, 1854; Yadkin College (Protestant Methodist), Davidson County, 1856; Rutherford Academy, Burke County, 1858 (chartered as Rutherford Seminary in 1861, and as Rutherford College in 1870). The following have been established since the War: Weaverville College (Methodist Episcopal, South), Weaverville, Buncombe County, 1875; Concordia College (Evangelical Lutheran), Conover, Catawba County, 1875; Kinston College, Kinston, Lenoir County, 1876; King's Mountain High School, King's Mountain, Cleveland County, 1876; Moravian Falls Academy, Wilkes County, 1876; Judson College (Baptist), Hendersonville, Henderson County, 1878; Graham Normal College, Graham, Alamance County, 1880; Oakdale Academy, Oakdale, Alamance County, 1880; Gaston College (Lutheran), Dallas, Gaston County, 1882; Southern Normal, Lexington, Davidson County, 1884. Some of these institutions represent a wide area of student patronage, *e. g.*, during the session of 1886–87 more than two hundred students were enrolled at Oak Ridge Institute, more than fifty of them coming from Virginia, South Carolina, New York, Texas, and Arizona, and the rest representing more than thirty counties in North Carolina, but a majority draw their entire student clientage from the State.

PREPARATORY MALE SCHOOLS.

THE BINGHAM SCHOOL.

The Bingham School stands pre-eminent among Southern schools for boys, and ranks with the best in the Union. It is the oldest, the largest, and the most successful male boarding school for secondary instruction in the South, and for the past five years it has been second to no institution of similar character in area of patronage.

This noted school was established in 1793, by the Rev. William Bingham, a native of Ireland. He was educated for the church and was graduated with distinction at the University of Glasgow. Mr. Bingham became involved in one of the many unsuccessful attempts for Irish independence, and was compelled to seek safety and freedom in another land. His dismission from the Presbytery of Belfast, of which he was a member, is dated April 14, 1788, soon after which date he sailed for America. Landing at New Castle, Delaware, he made his way to Wilmington, North Carolina, where he hoped to secure employment as a teacher. He had failed in this and was about to give up in despair, when, by a sign given in taking a drink of water, he was recognized as a Mason by some influential citizens, who thereupon exerted themselves in his behalf and secured for him the principalship of the Wilmington Academy. In 1793 he removed to Pittsborough and established the Bingham School. In 1801 he was made professor of Latin at the State University, which position he filled with credit till 1806, when he resigned to again open a private school, thinking that in this

way he could do more to advance the cause of education than by his work in the University. The school was opened at Hillsborough, but was soon removed to Mt. Repose, in Orange County, four miles from the present location, where he conducted it till his death in 1826.

Rev. Mr. Bingham was succeeded by his eldest son, William J. Bingham, of whom it has been said that "It is hardly possible that any other man can ever again be so pre-eminent in the State as Mr. Bingham was in his profession. He occupied a field previously unoccupied, and to remarkable opportunities he added remarkable ability. He raised teaching from an almost disreputable employment to an honorable profession; he raised tuition fees from $20 per year at the highest to $150 per year. He refused three hundred applications for admission in a single year, and though he conscientiously avoided accumulating money, he became, in spite of himself and his numerous charities, a man of comparative affluence."

For twenty years William J. Bingham conducted the Bingham School at Hillsborough, where he established it after the death of its founder. Then it was removed to Oaks, in Orange County, where it remained until, in the winter of 1864–65, the seat of the school was fixed permanently at its present location (Bingham School P. O.) in the same county, near Mebane, 50 miles west of Raleigh, on the North Carolina Railroad.

In 1857 he associated his sons, William and Robert, with him in the management, they having been graduated at the State University with the highest distinction.

The school was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of 1864–65; the military feature, which had been introduced during the War, was formally ingrafted; its officers were commissioned by the State, and its pupils were exempted from duty till they were 18 years of age. Although the Confederacy was tottering to its fall, log huts were built and the cadets went regularly into camp. Soon after the War began, the present principal, then the junior teacher of the school, entered the army and remained there till the surrender at Appomattox. His father, who died in 1866, and his elder brother continued the school throughout that eventful struggle.

William Bingham, as senior principal, conducted the school with distinguished success till his death in 1873. He was the author of a series of Latin text-books, which the publishers say are used in every State in the Union; certainly there is hardly an institution of note in North Carolina in which they are not used.

The Bingham School has reached its greatest efficiency under its present superintendent, Major Robert Bingham.

The log huts in which the cadets were quartered when the school was first removed to its present site have been replaced by frame buildings, with increased accommodations. The lecture halls, society halls, and barracks are excellently equipped for their specific purposes, and a

gymnasium and bath-house, with swimming baths, have been added to the school buildings. The buildings are provided with gas.

The motto of the school is "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," and physical culture receives the attention which its importance demands. "Bingham's is the only school in North Carolina, and one of only 40 in the United States, which has an officer detailed from the U. S. Army as commandant of cadets. The military feature has been found of great value as a means of physical culture and as an aid to discipline. At the same time the drill is not allowed to interfere in any degree with study, the object being to make, not soldiers, but citizens." (Cat., art. 4.)

The Bingham School does not claim to be a cheap school, though for the advantages offered there is none cheaper known to the writer. The actual school expenses for a term of forty weeks is $272. This does not include uniform, etc.; and the necessary expenses of a student per year, all told, are from $400 to $500. Three courses are provided, viz, classical, mathematical, and commercial. A regular course occupies four years, on the satisfactory completion of which the student is given a certificate of proficiency. Major Bingham says: "It is a training school, pure and simple, not a college or a collegiate institute, though its certificate of proficiency, as indicated by the demand for its proficient graduates as teachers and the pay they command, is more valuable than a similar certificate from any other school in the South, and more valuable than a diploma from many of the colleges."

During the session of 1886–87 there were 220 students in attendance from 15 States and the District of Columbia. The present faculty numbers 8 teachers.

THE HORNER SCHOOL, OXFORD.

The Horner School was established at Oxford, in Granville County, in 1851, under the auspices of the present senior principal, Prof. J. H. Horner.

For scholarship and thoroughness this school has but few equals in the State. It is a classical, mathematical, scientific, and military academy.

Two courses of study are provided, the "classical," and the "scientific and English." Each course is arranged for four years. The requirements are as follows:

I. The classical course embraces the studies in the schools of Latin, Greek, mathematics, English grammar and rhetoric, geography, history.

II. The scientific and English course embraces the studies in the schools of mathematics, natural science, metaphysics, English grammar and rhetoric, geography, history.

French, German, and book-keeping are elective studies, which may be substituted for their equivalent in the regular courses, or taken in addition to them.

Every student, on his admission into the school, is assigned to those classes in the regular courses for which he is found qualified.

Scheme of morning recitations.

[Daily except Friday.]

Class room No.	8.30 to 9.	9 to 9.45.	9.45 to 10.30.	10.30 to 11.15.	11.15 to 12.
1	Penmanship and book-keeping.	Latin, first class	Latin, second class.	English grammar, first class.	Greek, second class.
2	do	Latin, fourth class.	Greek, first class.	English grammar, second class.	Greek, third class.
3	do	English grammar, third class.	Latin, third class.	Geography or history, fourth class.	Geography or history, third class.
4	do	Natural science, second class.	English grammar, fourth class.	Natural science, fourth class.	Natural science, fourth class.

[Friday.]

1	English composition.	Latin, first class.	Latin, second class.	English grammar, first class.	Metaphysics.
2	do	Latin, fourth class.	Greek, first class.	English grammar, second class.	Greek, second class.
3	do	English grammar, third class.	Latin, third class.	Geography or history, fourth class.	Geography or history, third class.
4	do	Military tactics	English grammar, fourth class.	Experimental work in natural science.	

Scheme of afternoon recitations.

[Daily except Friday.]

Class room No.	2 to 2 30.	2.30 to 3.15.	3.15 to 4.	4 to 4.45.	4.45 to 5.30.
1	Penmanship and book-keeping.	Mathematics, fourth class.	Metaphysics	Reading and spelling.	Military drill.
2	do	French	German		
3	do	Mathematics, third class.	Mathematics, second class.		
4	do	Natural science, first class.	Mathematics, first class.		

[Friday.]

1	English composition.	Geography, first class.	History, first class.	Declamation	Military drill.
2	do	Geography, second class.	History, second class.		
3	do	Geography, fourth class.	History, fourth class.		
4	do	Geography, third class.	History, third class.		

The student, besides being subjected daily to quizzes by his instructors, is given oral and written examinations at the close of each session on all the subjects studied. A report of the standing, punctuality, and deportment of each student is made out at the close of every quarter and sent to his parents or guardian. The student's standing in his class is estimated by the instructor, and marked on a scale in which the number 7 is taken as a maximum, and stands for "very good;" 6, "good"; 5, "very respectable"; 4, "respectable"; 3, "tolerable"; 2, "bad"; 1, "very bad." Students are not advanced to a higher class until they have stood an approved examination on the studies of the preceding class.

The school is strictly military in its organization and discipline.

The annual register for 1885–86 shows four instructors, and a student attendance of one hundred and six, from four States and the District of Columbia. The principals say that "improvements will continue to be made in our accommodations, but the capacity of the school will not be enlarged. We do not desire any considerable increase in our numbers, satisfied as we are that efficiency in the management of a school is best secured with a limited number of pupils."

OTHER SCHOOLS OF MERIT.

Prominent among the schools deserving to be mentioned in this connection is the Raleigh Male Academy, at Raleigh, reopened by Professors J. J. Fray and Hugh Morson, both of the University of Virginia, in 1878, and which, since the death of Captain Fray, in December, 1884, has been under the efficient management of Professor Morson and Capt. C. B. Denson, two of the best known and most popular teachers in the State.

This school has no regular curriculum. The subjects taught may be divided into the following general classes, viz:

I. The usual English branches, with mathematics.
II. The Latin and Greek languages and their literature.
III. The French and German languages and their literature.
IV. The natural sciences.
V. Book-keeping.

Every pupil is required to take throughout his connection with the school orthography, penmanship, English composition, and declamation.

The average student attendance is about one hundred.

The writer was connected with this school as an assistant teacher in 1884, and is prepared to commend it for thoroughness and substantial work.

The early history of the Raleigh Male Academy is thus given by President Kemp P. Battle, of the University of North Carolina, in a centennial address on "The Early History of the City of Raleigh," delivered in that city July 4, 1876:

"The attention of the people of Raleigh was early directed to the

subject of education. The most active man in inaugurating schools was Joseph Gales, the editor of the Register, one of the most enlightened fathers of Raleigh. The following is the list of trustees elected March 27, 1802: John Ingles, William White, Nathaniel Jones (of White Plain), Henry Seawell, Simon Turner, William Boylan, John Marshall, and Joseph Gales. Nathaniel Jones, who had donated $100, was chosen president, and Joseph Gales secretary.

"One month afterwards $800 is reported subscribed, and soon an academy is built, by permission of the General Assembly, on Burke Square, one building for the males and one for the females.

"This academy became a power in the land. It grounded the education of nearly all the boys of that day in central North Carolina. It was the pride and glory of Raleigh for a third of a century.

"The academy began in grand style. In 1804 we read an advertisement which announces the teachers as follows: Rev. Marin Detargney (late of Princeton, and of the College of Maryland) as principal; Chesley Daniel, graduate of the University of North Carolina and late one of the tutors, assistant; Miss Charlotte Brodie, teacher of needle-work.

"Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, mathematics, with application to the system of the world, astronomy, navigation, etc., all at $5 per quarter. A less amount might be had for $4 per quarter. The English branches were $3 per quarter, and needle-work free.

"Such array of all the sciences seems to have been above the demands of young Raleigh, and in 1810 it is announced by William White, the secretary of the board, that the trustees of the academy had engaged the Rev. William McPheeters, from Virginia, a gentleman eminently qualified for the undertaking, to become the principal of the academy and pastor of the city.

"The leaders in the great contest with the social and political evils of the day, those who must drill the young to their full powers and enable them to cope with the active, adventurous, nothing-fearing, all-daring spirit of this age, are the teachers of the land. Our people, captivated by the eloquence of the statesman, or the brilliant achievements of the warrior, do not fully appreciate the grandeur of their calling. * * *

"Dr. William McPheeters was one of the best of his class, painstaking, conscientious, thorough, parental and kind to the dutiful, but a terror to the truant. High-minded, brave, frank, abhorring all meanness, he not only instructed the minds of his boys, but he trained their consciences to aim at his own lofty standard.

"He was, too, pastor of the city for several years. His ministrations in the Commons Hall were attended by all; and Episcopalians and Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, in their triumphs and their sorrows, on the bed of sickness and in the hour of death, found in him a sympathizing friend, a safe counsellor, a true, tried, well-armed, Great-Heart.

"Under this remarkable man the Raleigh Academy grew and flourished, and the Raleigh people, insensibly looking up to him as a common guide, were a united community, unpretentious, sociable, cordial to one another, and cordial to strangers."

For a number of years this academy, previous to coming under its present management, was conducted by the Lovejoys, who during their lifetime were as noted educators as the Binghams.

Owing to the fact that Burke Square, where the school was conducted for many years from its organization, was fixed upon as the site of the new residence for the Governor, another location for the school had to be chosen. An entire square in the north-eastern part of the city was secured, on which a large, well-ventilated, and comfortable building was erected, fully adapted to the requirements of the school. This building has been occupied since September, 1883.

The DAVIS SCHOOL, a classical and military institution, established by Col. A. C. Davis, at La Grange, Lenoir County, in 1881, is rapidly gaining a wide reputation. In many respects it is modelled after the Bingham School. Its student attendance embraces a large number of States. The faculty is able and progressive and includes graduates from some of our best institutions. This school, as do the Bingham, the Horner, and other leading institutions of the State, maintains excellent literary societies in which the students are required to debate, declaim, and prepare essays. It also has a good cadet cornet band and orchestra.

Other schools for secondary instruction might be mentioned in this connection, but the above are sufficient to show the characteristic features of these institutions in North Carolina.

ANTE-BELLUM MALE SCHOOLS.

CALDWELL INSTITUTE.

This institution, named in honor of the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., first president of the State University, was instituted and managed by the Orange Presbytery. It was established at Greensborough and began the work of instruction January, 1836, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Wilson and Mr. Silas C. Lindsay being the first teachers. To these was added the Rev. John A. Gretter. Dr. Charles Phillips says: "This trio taught a school of the highest pretensions ever known in North Carolina. Its students joined the Junior class in the University."

This institute was removed to Hillsborough sometime about 1846. It succeeded the Bingham School at that place, and was in turn succeeded a few years later by the school of Mr. Ralph Graves, father of Professor Graves, of the University.

The Graves School was succeeded by the Hillsborough Military Academy.

HILLSBOROUGH MILITARY ACADEMY.

This school was founded in February, 1859, by Col. Charles C. Tew, a native of South Carolina. Colonel Tew was educated at the Citadel, the South Carolina Military Academy. Soon after being graduated he was appointed to a professorship in the Arsenal, a branch of the Military Academy, where he remained, with the exception of a year spent in study in Europe, until 1858, when he decided to establish a military academy in North Carolina. Excellent brick barracks, one mile from Hillsborough, were erected for this school.

At the outbreak of hostilities Colonel Tew entered the Confederate army and lost his life in the service. Major Gordon, one of the assistant teachers, conducted the school during the War. After the War it was attempted to revive the institution, at first under Colonel White and then under General Colston, but upon the latter's removal to Wilmington in 1868 the school was closed, until in 1874 it was revived under Messrs. Graves and Horner, who had been conducting a school at Oxford, but in a few years, for want of satisfactory patronage and other reasons, it was again closed and has not been re-opened since.

THE NORTH CAROLINA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

At one time this was one of the noted institutions in the State. It was located in the suburbs of Charlotte.

The corner-stone of the main building, an imposing brick edifice, built in the Norman castellated style of architecture, situated in a campus of twenty-seven acres well shaded by oaks, was laid in 1858, and, the building having been completed, the work of instruction was commenced the following year. It is said the building was planned by General "Stonewall" (T. J.) Jackson, who at one time contemplated opening a military academy with his brother-in-law, General D. H. Hill, in Charlotte. The school was opened with General D. H. Hill as superintendent, assisted by General Lane, Col. Charles Lee, and one or two others.

The War closed its halls. The institution was revived in 1873 by Col. John P. Thomas, of South Carolina, at one time principal of the Citadel Academy, in that State, who conducted it for several years. The building is now used by the graded school.

Other institutions could be mentioned, but the above were the most prominent of the schools organized before the Civil War, and which have since gone down.

REV. JOHN CHAVIS,

A DISTINGUISHED COLORED EDUCATOR.

One of the most remarkable characters in the educational history of North Carolina was a negro. His life finds no parallel in the South, nor, so far as the writer is aware, in any part of our country. To one who

is familiar with the status of the negro in the slave-holding States in the first half of this century, the following will read stranger than fiction, but of its truth there can be no question. This man, with a history so unique, was the Rev. John Chavis, a Presbyterian clergyman and an eminent teacher. His contemporaries admired him for his noble bearing as a gentleman, revered him for his fervent piety as a Christian, and respected him for his eminent ability as a teacher and preacher.

The Rev. Charles Phillips, D. D., LL. D., of the University of North Carolina, made an effort, several years ago, to collect materials for a sketch of Mr. Chavis, and the data for this account are drawn principally from correspondence which he has kindly placed at my service. These letters are from well-known citizens who were personally acquainted with the negro divine. He is remembered by them as an old man, after he had retired from the work of teaching, and of his early life but little is known.

The birthplace of John Chavis can not be located with certainty, but it is probable that he was born near Oxford, in Granville County. The name is still common in the northern central section of the State. It is evident that he was born free. He studied at Princeton as a private pupil of Dr. Witherspoon, to whom, it is said, he was sent to see if a negro were capable of receiving a collegiate education. His career in after life leaves no doubt as to the success of the experiment. It is believed that he went from New Jersey to Virginia with the Rev. Samuel Davies, where he actively engaged in the work of the ministry. At the instance of the Rev. Henry Patillo he returned to North Carolina about 1805.

Previous to his connection with the Orange Presbytery (N. C.) in 1809, he had been connected as a licentiate with the Lexington and Hanover Presbyteries in Virginia. The records of the Hanover Presbytery show that he was "riding as a missionary under the direction of the General Assembly" in 1801. In 1805 he was granted dismission from the Hanover Presbytery to join the Orange Presbytery. He united with the latter in 1809, being received as a licentiate. He ministered to churches in Granville, Wake, and Orange Counties. The late George Wortham, a distinguished lawyer of Oxford, in a letter of May 22, 1883, writes: "I have heard him read and explain the Scriptures to my father's family and slaves repeatedly. His English was remarkably pure, contained no 'negroisms;' his manner was impressive, his explanations clear and concise, and his views, as I then thought and still think, entirely orthodox. He was said to have been an acceptable preacher, his sermons abounding in strong common sense views and happy illustrations without any effort at oratory or any sensational appeals to the passions of his hearers. He had certainly read God's Word much and meditated deeply on it. He had a small but select library of theological works, in which were to be found the works of Flavel, Buxton, Boston, and others. I have now two volumes of Dwight's Theology which were

formerly in his possession. He was said by his old pupils to have been a good Latin and a fair Greek scholar. He was a man of intelligence on general subjects, and conversed well. I do not know that he ever had charge of a church, but I learned from my father that he preached frequently many years ago at Shiloh, Nutbush, and Island Creek churches to the whites."

Mr. Chavis opened a classical school soon after his return to his native State, and during his career as a teacher he taught in Granville, Wake, and Chatham Counties. His school was patronized by many of the most distinguished men in the State. Prominent among his pupils were Willie P. Mangum, Priestly Hinton Mangum, Archibald E. and John L. Henderson, sons of Chief Justice Henderson, Governor Charles Manly, Rev. Williams Harris, Dr. James L. Wortham, the Edwardses, the Enlows and the Hargroves. Many of his students became prominent as politicians, lawyers, preachers, physicians, and teachers. Prof. J. H. Horner, principal of the Horner School, Oxford, one of the oldest and best high schools in the State, in a letter of May 14, 1883, says: "He had a well attended classical school in Wake County. My father not only went to school to him but boarded in his family." He says that what his father knew he got at this school, and adds that, "Chavis was no doubt a good scholar and a good teacher, and hence was patronized by the best people of the country. * * * The school was the best at that time to be found in the State."

This worthy man of God was stopped from preaching by the law enacted by the Legislature in 1832, silencing all colored preachers in North Carolina, in consequence of "the Nat Turner insurrection of the previous year." At the one hundred and twenty-fourth session of the Orange Presbytery, held in Raleigh, we find the following on the record, dated April 21, 1832: "A letter was received from Mr. John Chavis, a free man of color, and a licentiate under the care of the presbytery, stating his difficulties and embarrassments in consequence of an act passed at the last session of the Legislature of this State, forbidding free people of color to preach: Whereupon, *Resolved*, That presbytery, in view of all the circumstances of the case, recommend to their licentiate to acquiesce in the decision of the Legislature referred to until God in His providence shall open to him the path of duty in regard to the exercise of his ministry." From this time till the death of Mr. Chavis, in 1838, when about seventy-five years old, we find the presbytery making provision for his support. In 1838 we find this record: "Presbytery resolved to continue the support of the widow of John Chavis." In 1842 it was reported to the presbytery that she no longer needed pecuniary aid from that source, and the case disappears finally from the records. After being debarred from preaching, Mr. Chavis published a sermon entitled "The Extent of the Atonement," which was sold for his benefit, at 15 cents per copy, and widely circulated. John Chavis is described as of dark brown complexion, without any admixture of white

blood in his veins. He was a robust, corpulent man, with large, round clean-shaven face, expressive of benevolence and its kindred virtues. His stature was about 5 feet 7 inches in height. He was always neat in dress and usually wore a suit of black home-spun, with spotless linen and a nicely-tied white cravat. In his latter years his woolly hair was as white as driven snow, adding to the dignity of his appearance.

He frequently visited his former pupils, by whom he was well received, heartily welcomed, and kindly entertained. Mr. Paul C. Cameron, a distinguished friend of the University, and probably the wealthiest man in the State, in a letter of April 24, 1883, writes: "In my boyhood life at my father's (Judge Cameron) home I often saw John Chavis, a venerable old negro man, recognized as a free man and as a preacher or clergyman of the Presbyterian Church. As such he was received by my father and treated with kindness and consideration, and respected as a man of education, good sense, and most estimable character." He says it excited the wonder of the slaves to see one of their race so pleasantly received by their master. Mr. Cameron further says: "He seemed familiar with the proprieties of social life, yet modest and unassuming, and sober in his language and opinions. He was polite—yes, courtly; but it was from his heart and not affectation. I remember him as a man without guile. His conversation indicated that he lived free from all evil or suspicion, seeking the good opinion of the public by the simplicity of his life and the integrity of his conduct. If he had any vanity, he most successfully concealed it. He conversed with ease on the topics that interested him, seeking to make no sort of display, simple and natural, free from what is so common to his race in coloring and diction. * * * I write of him as I remember him and as he was appreciated by my superiors, whose respect he enjoyed."

Such, in brief outline, was the life and activity of one of nature's noblemen.

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, '*This was a man!*'"

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE FRIENDS.

FIRST SETTLERS.

Friends and Baptists, who were, as a rule, fugitives from ecclesiastical oppression, were the first to make North Carolina their permanent home. New England Puritans and Virginia Churchmen were equally zealous in adopting and enforcing measures to maintain their respective creeds, and their restrictions and persecutions forced many good people to seek homes where liberty could be had to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. In Carolina such a refuge was found.

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, began preaching in England in 1647, and nine years later the first Friends to come to America settled in Massachusetts. Driven thence by hostile legal enactments, some fled to Virginia, but finding no more cordial reception there, they journeyed further south. Martin, in his history of North Carolina, under date of 1660, says: "The Legislature of Virginia having passed laws unfavorable to the Quakers, a number of whom had fled thither from the persecuting spirit of New England, many families sought an asylum on Albemarle Sound."

The first permanent settlement in the province was made about 1660 at Durant's Neck, in what is now Perquimans County, in the northeastern part of the State, by a small colony of Friends, which soon became and has since remained the nucleus of a large settlement of that sect. Hawks says that "The oldest land title in North Carolina, and that which we think was actually the first, is still on record. It is the grant made by Cistacanoe (Kilkocanen?), king of the Yeopim Indians, in 1662, to Durant, for a neck of land at the mouth of Little and Perquimans Rivers, which still bears the name of the grantee. In 1663 Berkeley confirmed this grant by a patent under his own signature." It has been established that this George Durant was a Friend, and here we find him purchasing land from the rightful owner as did that more illustrious follower of Fox, William Penn, at a later day. This grant of the Indian king antedates that given by Charles II to the Lords Proprietors by several months.

From the time of the first settlement till the transfer of the province to the Crown in 1729, it is estimated that the Friends numbered at least

one-half of the population. In 1671–72 the colony was visited by William Edmundson and George Fox, and it is probable that an organization of the Society of Friends was established about that time, it being the first religious body organized in the State. Dr. Nereus Mendenhall claims that it antedates the Penn organization in Philadelphia by some ten years. The first Quarterly Meetings established were the Eastern, previous to 1689, and the New Garden, in 1688. The earliest of the preserved records of the Yearly Meeting date from 1708.

It is worthy of note that it was in this State that the Friends first became influential in the administration of civil affairs. One of the best of the early Governors of North Carolina was a Friend, John Archdale, a Proprietor, whose administration began in 1795. By his wisdom, prudence, and sagacity, quietude and peace were brought to the hitherto badly governed and consequently turbulent colony.

With a population consisting of so large and representative a proportion of this sect, one of whose fundamental doctrines is freedom in civil and religious affairs, it is not to be wondered that the Old North State has such an honorable history in her efforts for independent self-government. And with the well-known record of the Friends for zeal in promoting education, it would be a matter of surprise if their history was not intimately connected with the educational advancement of the State. So it has been, but unfortunately no care was taken to preserve the records of their early educational undertakings. The Friends here, as elsewhere, have it as a part of their discipline that no child shall grow up among them without the rudiments of a good education. They have ever maintained schools, when practicable, whose influence has been widely felt beyond the limits of the Society. Since 1750 the Friends have constituted but a small proportion of the population of the State, the Society at this time numbering less than seven thousand members, yet they have been a potential factor in providing for the educational upbuilding of the people, especially since the late Civil War.

The oldest Friends' schools in North Carolina still in operation were established in 1833, and their history will next be considered.

FRIENDS' BOARDING SCHOOL.

This institution is located at New Garden, six miles west of Greensborough, in Guilford County.

New Garden was settled by Friends early in the eighteenth century and soon became the center of a large community of that sect. For a number of years the Yearly Meeting, the highest authority in discipline and other matters relating to the Society of Friends in the State, was held there, but since 1881 High Point, a neighboring town, owing to better railroad facilities has been the seat of that assembly.

For detailed information concerning the school the writer is indebted to Prof. L. Lyndon Hobbs for the use of an address which he deliv-

ered at a student's reunion at New Garden on August 23, 1883. This address was prepared with great care, and it is so admirably adapted to the purposes of this sketch that it is followed with closeness and freedom.

"This institution," says Professor Hobbs, "had its origin in a deep religious concern for the education of the members of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and for the promotion of the Society of Friends. No less powerful motive than a religious one could have sustained the worthy men and women who, fifty years ago, struggled against poverty and indifference for the establishment of a school for their own children and for those of future generations."

Steps preliminary to the establishment of the school were taken at the Yearly Meeting in 1830. Subordinate meetings were directed to report the following year upon the character of the schools attended by the children of Friends, and also to give the number of Friends' children of school age, and of these the number not in school.

At the next session of the Yearly Meeting the subordinate meetings reported as directed. Their report is thus recorded: "There is not a school in the limits of the Yearly Meeting that is under the care of a committee either of monthly or preparative meeting. The teachers of Friends' children are mostly not members of our Society, and all the schools are in a mixed state; which brought the meeting under exercise for a better plan of education, and Dougan Clark, Jeremiah Hubbard, Nathan Mendenhall, Joshua Stanley, and David White were appointed to prepare an address to the subordinate meetings on the subject of schools."

The following extract from the address, which was adopted, bears witness to the high estimate which the Friends place upon education: "We believe that the Christian and literary education of our children, consistent with the simplicity of our profession, is a subject of very deep interest, if not of paramount importance, in supporting the various testimonies that we profess to bear to the world, and even the very existance and continuance of the Society."

A committee was appointed to receive subscriptions of funds for the establishment of a boarding school. The amount secured that year amounted to $370.55. Another committee was appointed later to digest a plan relative to purchasing a suitable farm on which to locate the school and beginning work, and to report the same at the next annual meeting. In 1832 a plan was submitted and about $1,200 were subscribed for putting it in operation.

This plan proposed the purchase of a small farm with buildings necessary to accommodate forty or fifty boarding pupils. It was provided that the institution should be located near a meeting-house, and not on a public road. The farm was to have a sufficient orchard of fruit trees to furnish fruit for the students and be suited to the pasturage of cattle for the benefit and convenience of the institution. Care was to

be taken that this farm should be watered by a constantly running stream, located in a healthful neighborhood, and "be somewhere within the limits of New Garden, Deep River, Western, or Southern Quarterly Meetings."

The school was to be under the management of a committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting, consisting of two men and two women from each of the above-mentioned Quarterly Meetings. This committee was empowered to decide upon location and to appoint the superintendent and teachers. So far as the writer can learn this is the first time it was ever seriously proposed to appoint women for such duties in North Carolina.

All the students were to be boarders; not even those from the immediate neighborhood were to be received as day scholars. No girls under ten or boys under twelve years of age were to be admitted. It was expressly stated that "none but members of the Society of Friends and the children of members should be admitted, and none for a shorter time than three months." This provision, however, was soon done away with, and the only requirement for admission was evidence of good character.

The instructors were to teach studies approved by the committee, be present with the pupils at their meals, and lodge in their bed chambers with them.

In addition to regulations regarding the observance of the Sabbath, the following are some of the general rules to be observed by the children: "Upon awaking in the morning you should endeavor to turn your minds inward and wait upon your great Creator, the author of all your blessings, and think of his great loving-kindness to the children of men in sending his beloved Son into the world that whosoever shall believe shall have everlasting life.

"During the hours of recreation you should observe moderation and decency in all your conduct, carefully guarding against everything that would vex or provoke each other to wrath, and avoid throwing sticks, stones, etc., calling nick-names, or mocking one another or the aged or the deformed. * * * The boys are not to indulge themselves in the dangerous practice of climbing trees.

"You are neither to borrow, lend, buy, nor exchange without leave. When strangers speak to you, give modest, suitable answers, with your faces turned towards them.

"In the evening after supper you are again to collect together, and after the calling of your names retire to your bed-chambers in as much stillness as possible, avoiding conversation, folding up your clothes neatly and putting them in their proper places. And you are tenderly and affectionately advised to conduct and close the day with remembering your gracious Creator, that being the best preparation for quiet repose."

Each monthly meeting within the limits of the Yearly Meeting was to select one man or woman who would be willing, when sufficiently educated, to teach in primary or monthly meeting-schools, to be educated at the boarding school at the expense of the monthly meeting or from the general fund of the Yearly Meeting, if the parent or guardian should not be able to pay the board and tuition fee.

In 1833 the school was located on the site it still occupies, and through the influence of George C. Mendenhall, a prominent Friend and a member of the State Senate, the General Assembly of that year granted an act of incorporation.

The Friends, while neither strong in numbers nor wealth, made substantial progress towards placing the institution, which for several years had been an object of solicitous care, on a firm basis. They admitted and deplored the fact that their "members are generally very deficient in literary knowledge," but now they rejoiced in the dawn of a brighter day.

In accordance with the original plan, the trustees purchased a small farm, and in 1834 Elihu Coffin, a descendant of Admiral Coffin of Revolutionary fame, donated a tract of land containing seventy acres, adjacent to that first purchased, to be used for the benefit of the school. Mr. Coffin was one of the original trustees, and his gift was one of the first and largest that came to the institution.

Interest in the struggling school was not confined to the limits of a single commonwealth, for the Yearly Meetings of several States not only gave words of encouragement but also liberal contributions for constructing and furnishing the necessary buildings. The Friends in England have also manifested a lively interest in the institution since its incipiency. The following contributions are worthy of special note. As early as 1834 English Friends had contributed $2,000 for the erection of buildings. In 1837 Joseph John Gurney, of England, gave $500, one-half of which was to be applied as the trustees saw fit and the balance to be used in aiding the children of Friends who were not able to meet the expenses of their education. This was the beginning of the fund to aid students. Through the donations of English Friends "early provision was made to defray the expenses, wholly or in part, of ten children at the school. This assistance was given for several years at a period in the school's history when, but for this aid, the attendance would have been discouragingly small." George Howland, of the New England Yearly Meeting, contributed $1,000 in 1839, and subsequently gave another thousand. Of the early friends and benefactors, Roland Green, of Rhode Island, was one of the most ardent. Liberal contributions have been received from members of the New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings; Francis T. King, a noble philanthropist of Baltimore, alone contributing about $10,000.

Professor Hobbs says that, "Of the members of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting no one, perhaps, exerted a greater influence for the school at home and abroad than Nathan Hunt. An eminent minister

of the Gospel, ardently interested in the education of the young people of our State, he used his extraordinary eloquence to aid the effort which was being made for the establishment of a higher institution of learning. Through his influence many large donations were made."

The necessary buildings having been completed, the school was opened August 1, 1837. Fifty students were in attendance the first day—twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls. This equal representation of the sexes fitly symbolizes the equal advantages which they have enjoyed here throughout the entire history of the institution, notwithstanding the opposition shown in the State to the co-education of the sexes.

The first superintendents were Dougan and Asenath Clark, two well-known and accomplished Friends. The contract under which they were employed, a most formal instrument, begins thus: "This indenture, made on the 18th day of the 2nd month, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, between Dougan Clark and Asenath Clark, his wife, on the first part, and Nixon Henly and others, trustees of New Garden Boarding School, in the county of Guilford and State of North Carolina, on the other part, witnesseth: That said Dougan and Asenath Clark, his wife, for and in consideration of the interest they feel in the promotion of the objects of the said boarding school, together with the further consideration of the covenants here contained, have undertaken, promised, and agreed, and by these presents do undertake, promise, and agree, etc."

The first teachers were Jonathan L. Slocum, of Providence, R. I., principal of the boys' school; Catharine Cornell, principal of the girls' school; Harriet Peck and Nathan B. Hill. All of the instructors but the last-named were from New England. Mr. and Mrs. Clark served the institution for nearly six years.

During the first term the average attendance was sixty-eight. The Yearly Meeting fixed the charge for board and tuition at $65 per year.

Among the early rules adopted by the trustees were the following, which at this time will cause a smile, though at that time they were enforced with all seriousness: "It is the united judgment of the committee that the boys should have their hair cut smooth and decent." "No more frock coats to be admitted into the school."

For a decade preceding the Civil War the institution was much embarrassed financially, and in 1860 the sale of the property was proposed; but Friends, North and South, rallied to its support and it was decided that the school should be maintained. During that period many of the North Carolina Friends were emigrating to free soil; and in this time of political commotion New Garden suffered. The school was continued without interruption throughout the War on a gold basis.

In 1867, the trustees, encouraged by the Baltimore Friends, decided to make the school more efficient. The buildings were refurnished, the corps of teachers was increased, and a permanent endowment fund,

now amounting to $23,700 in invested securities, was inaugurated. During the present year an effort is being made to increase the endowment to $50,000. Several handsome subscriptions to that end have already been made and it is more than probable that the hoped-for amount will be obtained.

The institution has now three large and well-ordered brick buildings for class-room and dormitory purposes,—Founder's Hall, 126 by 40 feet, three stories; King Hall, 100 by 60 feet, with a front projection 16 by 40 feet, three stories; and Archdale Hall, 90½ by 42 feet, two stories.

The school is provided with a good library, and connected with it are two well-conducted literary societies.

Two courses of study, the "literary and scientific" and the "classical," each extending over four years, are provided. Special normal instruction is given. Diplomas of graduation, but not degrees, are conferred on those completing a course. The academic staff now numbers seven. The charges per academic year for board, tuition, and washing are $150.

Since its establishment more than 3,000 boys and girls have studied at New Garden. Their influence has been widely felt in North Carolina and in several States of the West, many of them having become teachers and preachers.

Referring to the influence of the institution, Professor Hobbs says, "Its effects have not been confined to the limits of the State. Many of her children have found homes in the West, where they have won distinction as teachers in high schools and colleges, as ministers of the Gospel, and as substantial conscientious farmers.

"When Kansas Yearly Meeting was organized, an aged and esteemed Friend, John Clark, of Indiana, was asked why it was that in all the Western Meetings, with rare exceptions, they chose for clerks either Carolinians or their immediate descendants. After a moment's reflection he replied, 'It is because they can do no better, for they would if they could.'"

The address above quoted closes as follows: "Inestimable as are the benefits which the founders and supporters of the boarding-school have conferred upon their fellow-men through an unbroken period of forty-six years, in view of the thorough improvements for the accommodation of pupils and the additions to our facilities for instruction, what has been accomplished may be regarded as the infancy and youth of an institution which is now entering upon its manhood; and this day may be a happy fulfilment of the prophecy of Jacob Green, a well-known Friend from Ireland, who, at a meeting of the trustees in 1839, uttered these words: 'This institution will do good to your children's children. It is the Lord's work and will prosper in your hands.'"

This prediction of Jacob Green is now on the point of being realized in a fuller sense than was anticipated at the time of its utterance. At

the students' reunion in 1883, Francis T. King said that he was encouraged to believe that in the near future, instead of New Garden Boarding School, the institution would bear the more imposing title of "Guilford College of North Carolina." The writer is informed that at a recent meeting of the trustees it was decided to change the name to Guilford College, and that the next General Assembly of the State will be asked to amend its charter and confer upon it all the privileges usual to colleges. It was proposed that the institution be christened King College, but through the preference of Mr. King it received the historic name, Guilford.

Steps are now being taken to secure an endowment sufficient to equip and maintain this school for a high grade of collegiate work. The institution has strong and influential friends, not only in North Carolina but in other States, and it bids fair to become one of the first colleges in the State.

BELVIDERE ACADEMY.

This school is situated at Belvidere, Perquimans County, near the seat of the first settlement made in the State. The following sketch of this well-known Quaker institution was prepared for this work by Josiah Nicholson, a prominent Friend and citizen of eastern Carolina:

"The Society of Friends, at their Quarterly Meeting held at Little River, 8th month 31, 1833, entertained a proposition to establish a school (at that time there were no organized schools in the Albemarle district of the State), and a committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, select a place, erect the buildings, employ a teacher, and put the school in operation.

"The committee purchased a lot at Belvidere and proceeded to erect a two-story building thereon, in which, on the 30th of 11th month, 1835, school was opened under the instruction of Edward S. Gifford, of Massachusetts.

"This school, though at first intended only for Friends' children, was in the second year opened for others besides Friends, by their conforming to the rules of the school.

"It has continued uninterruptedly from its organization, fifty years ago, up to the present time, and to-day enjoys a fair patronage."

There was a semi-centennial celebration of this school on December 24, 1885, and the following is an extract from the speech of Hon. Jonathan W. Albertson, made on the occasion:

"I have feebly pointed to some of the influences which have been fermenting within the last fifty years. For all that time, with trifling intermissions, this school has been open, its light shining, and it has contributed no trifling share to the thought of the age. All honor to these old walls! and all honor to that band of enlightened men who foresaw the needs of the young and prepared an *alma mater* to bring up children furnished forth for the battles of the century!

"For fifty years a stream of young men and women has left these doors and gone into the world, bearing with them the lessons taught them here, and here they were always taught what was right. Like a stone dropped into the water, the circling influence is felt to the extremity of the earth, and I have traced the pupils of Belvidere, some to where the surf beats upon the far Pacific shore, some to the land of the Montezumas, and some linger amidst the orange groves of Florida. The cities of the Atlantic sea-board claim some, some dwell in the mighty valley of the Mississippi, and some have not wandered far from the 'old school house.' Many of them, I know, are abreast of the age, and all are, consciously or unconsciously, imbued with its spirit.

"I was here when these doors were first opened, and at the length of fifty years I return to greet my *alma mater.*

"Many who were with me here when these doors first opened have passed beyond the river. I remember many of the lost ones. Of those who remain, I ask that we give a kind thought to the absent, living and dead; and now clasping your hands across the chasm of fifty years, I bid you all hail and God speed."

BALTIMORE FRIENDS.

North Carolina has reason to be grateful to the "Baltimore Association of Friends to advise and assist Friends of the Southern States" for its noble and successful efforts for the material and intellectual upbuilding of the State during the dark period succeeding the Civil War. At first the work of the association was confined to Friends occupying that section of the State devastated by Sherman in his march to the sea, but soon the limits of the charity were broadened until they embraced a large part of the State's territory and population without regard to differences in religious belief.

Then, too, unlike other aid associations then operating within the State, only help was given to the white race, and it was given in such a way as to elevate and not pauperize. The leaders in the movement believed that the best way to help the people was to put them in a condition to help themselves, and with this as a working principle their efforts met with success.

It is interesting to note the origin of this association. Soon after the outbreak of the War between the States, Friends from North Carolina occasionally passed through Baltimore on their way to the West to seek homes on free soil, where they would not be constantly menaced by the horrors of war. Many of these received assistance from individual Friends in Baltimore, but towards the close of the War the demands were so frequent and the exigencies so pressing that the Baltimore Friends decided to co-operate in giving aid, and this led to the formation of the association. The immediate cause leading to its organization is thus stated by Mr. Francis T. King: "One Sunday morning towards the close of the War, two men appeared in front of the Friends' meeting-house on Courtland Street, and quietly waited on the pavement till serv-

ices were over. As the members were coming out of the building, the two strangers informed several of the congregation that there were some North Carolina Friends at one of the city wharves in destitute circumstances. A committee at once repaired to the locality, and found there fifty persons of all ages and conditions whose homes had been ruined by the passage of Sherman's army through the section in which they lived. They had obtained permission to go to their friends in the North-west. Their sufferings excited the warmest sympathy of the Friends, and steps were at once taken for their comfort. But the charity did not stop there. Permission was obtained from President Lincoln to send a vessel load of provisions and agricultural implements to the Friends in North Carolina. Several hundred more Friends soon after this passed through Baltimore on their way West, and they, too, received assistance. The temporary aid thus extended became an established permanency, and the "Baltimore Association to aid Friends in the South" was formed in 1865. Since the War this association has expended about $150,000 in North Carolina in educational and agricultural work."

The association discouraged emigration from the State, and returned to their former homes some of the families that had gone West.

The following extract is taken from the first annual report of the association, made October 23, 1866:

"Whilst thus engaged in aiding our brethren and endeavoring to relieve their physical wants, we soon discovered that there were even stronger claims upon us to educate their children, many of whom, from the need of their labor at home, the scarcity of books, and the conscription of teachers, had lost four years of instruction, the period of a country child's school life.

"One of our number (Francis T. King) again visited North Carolina at the time of the Yearly Meeting in the eleventh month, 1865, and there met in consultation our friends Joseph Crosfield, of England, Samuel Boyce, of New England, and Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia, and conferred with the education committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. After carefully considering the whole subject, the association concluded to appropriate $5,000 to the boarding school (New Garden), $2,500 to be expended in repairing the school buildings and in refitting the furniture and school apparatus, and $2,500 to pay the board and tuition at the school of the children of Friends, who had suffered most by the War, which has since been done. Secondly, to establish primary schools in every Friends' neighborhood, under the direction of our association, and to appoint a competent superintendent to devote his whole time to their supervision. * * *

"We are satisfied that the most useful pecuniary aid to families that we can now render, and one that will be most general in its application and permanent in its results, is to assume the expense and oversight of the schools (except the boarding school), until our Friends recover from the effects of the War and we succeed in establishing a system which will sustain itself. * * *

"The subject of improved agriculture has claimed the attention of our board, and our president, Francis T. King, has been directed to confer with North Carolina Friends at the time of their Yearly Meeting, next month, and submit to us a plan for accomplishing this very important object; without it, it will be impossible to prevent the emigration of many young people whose energy and ambition have been stimulated."

The educational work of the association was commenced about the close of 1865 by assuming charge of twelve schools, numbering about six hundred students. In 1867 the number of schools had increased to thirty-eight, with two thousand one hundred and forty-three pupils. A graded course of instruction covering a period of four years was introduced and the necessary text-books were furnished the schools. The North Carolina Friends furnished the school-houses, boarded the teachers, and provided fuel, in return for which their children received free tuition. The children of those who did not belong to the Society of Friends were received at the rate of $1 per month.

In the summer of 1866 the association established a normal school to prepare teachers for the primary schools, which was continued from summer to summer, during the vacation of the other schools, until the State Normal was established. Capable instructors were secured from the North to direct the Normal. Tuition was free, and teachers of all denominations from various sections of the State attended. The aim of the Baltimore association was to prepare North Carolina teachers to teach in North Carolina schools, and in that way to secure the sympathy and co-operation of the people of the State. This it succeeded in doing.

At one time the association had under its management fifty-six schools, numbering about thirty-two hundred pupils, of whom only thirteen hundred were the children of Friends.

The following table, prepared by Mr. John C. Thomas, the secretary of the association, shows the amount spent for educational purposes, not including the sums appropriated to the model farm and subscriptions of members of the association to the boarding school:

Baltimore Association of Friends to aid Friends in the South.

AID TO EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

1866.	For New Garden school, in repairs, apparatus, and tuition of 36 scholars	$4,817.50
1866.	For 30 primary schools and 1 normal School, and aid to new school-houses	4,710.36
1867.	For New Garden School	1,332.75
1867.	For 38 primary schools and 1 normal school	11,327.12
1868.	For 40 primary schools and 1 normal school (about)	13,000.00
1868.	For New Garden School (about)	1,000.00
1869.	For New Garden School (about)	500.00
1869.	For primary schools and 1 normal school (about)	10,000.00
1870.	For primary schools and 1 normal school (about)	4,500.00
1870.	For New Garden School (about)	300.00
1871.	For primary schools and 1 normal school	3,150.00

1872.	For primary schools and 1 normal school	$2,575.00
1873.	For superintendent's services	825.00
1874.	For superintendent's services	500.00
1875.	For superintendent's services	400.00
1876.	For superintendent's services	1,200.00
1877.	For superintendent's services	800.00
1878.	For 36 primary schools and superintendent's services	1,953.09
1878.	For New Garden scholars	232.00
1879.	For primary schools and superintendent's services	1,254.17
1880.	For primary schools and superintendent's services	1,023.90
1881.	For primary schools and superintendent's services	544.00
		$65,944.87

THE MODEL FARM.

The model farm, established in 1867 near High Point, in Randolph County, was one of the greatest educational factors introduced into the State by the association.

The president of the association in his annual report for 1867, after referring to the low and unremunerative state of agriculture in North Carolina and the fact that many of her citizens were emigrating, says: "To educate and enlighten her people without at the same time demonstrating the possibility of greater returns to labor, would still further tend to depopulation. Our work, so general in its character, could not fail to stimulate Friends to desire improved agriculture. There has been a continual pressure upon us to establish a model farm and to place among them a practical farmer, who with improved farming implements, artificial manures, the introduction of grasses, selected seed and stock, could demonstrate to their eyes the great neglected wealth of the soil, awaiting only the call of improved cultivation; and who, by the establishment of agricultural clubs within the limits of each quarterly meeting, should stimulate a spirit of inquiry and enterprise which would be rewarded by the best practical results. We have accordingly purchased the farm of that honored and devoted servant of Christ, the late Nathan Hunt, at Springfield, on the dividing line of Guilford and Randolph Counties."

The farm contained 200 acres and cost $4,400. An experienced farmer was secured and the farm was supplied with the most improved farming implements and stocked with the best cattle. The farm proved a great success. A wide-spread interest in agriculture was awakened, leading to the formation of many farmers' clubs. W. A. Sampson, who had charge of the farm, gave occasional lectures before these clubs on agricultural topics. The farm soon became recognized as a practical agricultural school, and was visited frequently by farmers from distant parts of the State.

A department was established for the sale and distribution of improved stock, agricultural implements, and seeds. In a few months after the farm was established two tons of clover-seed were distributed at cost. To this and the farm together the association appropriated about $24,000. The farm, however, soon became self-sustaining.

The emigration of Friends was stopped, their numbers began to increase, and they are now numbered among the most cultured, prosperous, and enterprising citizens in the State.

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS.

The Philadelphia Friends have been doing much to elevate and advance the moral and educational interest of the colored people in North Carolina since the War.

The following statement in regard to the work of "The Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its vicinity for the relief of colored freedmen," was prepared for this chapter by the treasurer of the association, Mr. Richard Cadbury:

The Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its vicinity for the relief of colored freedmen was founded in the eleventh month, 1863. Its purpose, as tersely stated in the preamble to its constitution, "shall be to use every means in its power to further the object indicated in the title and preamble."

The work then begun extended over a wide area and embraced a great variety of objects, and any statement, therefore, of what was done in one branch and in one State must necessarily be imperfect, as the details would have to be almost entirely estimates.

The first school founded by this association in North Carolina was at Greensborough, Guilford County, in the eleventh month, 1865.

At the meeting of the executive board held in the sixth month of that year, the instruction committee reported that they "are desirous of procuring the services of an interested friend to locate and superintend schools in North Carolina and Western Virginia." Yardley Warner was soon after appointed to visit North Carolina to prepare the way for establishing schools, and in the ninth month report was made that "Nereus Mendenhall has been appointed superintendent of schools in North Carolina, and nine teachers selected to act under his care." In the twelfth month report was made that the following schools were in operation: Greensborough, 7 teachers; Salisbury, 4 teachers; Deep River, 1 teacher; Goldsborough, 3 teachers.

In the second month, 1866, report was made that over 3,000 children were being educated in the North Carolina schools. In the fourth month, 1866, the following schools were in operation: Goldsborough, 5 teachers; Hillsborough, 2 teachers; Durham, 1 teacher; Mebanesville, 1 teacher; Centre, 3 teachers; New Garden, 1 teacher; Greensborough, 3 teachers; Jamestown, 1 teacher; Deep River, 2 teachers; Sandy Ridge, 1 teacher; Oak Ridge, 1 teacher; Bruce's Cross Road, 1 teacher; Morehead's Mill, 1 teacher; Thomasville, 1 teacher; Charlotte, 3 teachers; Salisbury, 3 teachers; Lincolnton, 1 teacher; Mud Lick, 1 teacher; Madison, 1 teacher; Walnut Cove, 1 teacher.

During the year 1869, 29 schools were maintained in North Carolina with about 40 teachers. In addition to those in the above list (some of which had been discontinued) there were schools at Hopewell, Lexing-

ton, Salem, Mount Vernon, Cedar Grove, Company Shops, Warrenton, Boone Hill, and 10 small schools in Rowan, Iredell, and Davies Counties, under the care of a special superintendent.

This is probably the highest point reached, both in the number of schools and scholars. A reasonable estimate would place the average enrolment of these schools for a number of years at 2,000.

In 1871 there were 16 schools, 26 teachers; in 1878, 13 schools, 21 teachers; 1881, 4 schools, 11 teachers.

At the present time 2 schools are maintained by the association,—Goldsborough, 6 teachers; Salem, 2 teachers; besides some assistance given to the schools at Greensborough and Rutherfordton.

It is proper to state that in very few instances, even from the beginning, has the entire expense of supporting any school been borne by the association. The Freedmen's Bureau, the Peabody Fund, local taxation, the colored people themselves, and many of the white people, have all aided in the work.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of money expended in North Carolina for education. In 1869, probably $10,000 is within the mark; in the last fiscal year $750. Including, under educational purposes, bibles, tracts, etc., I think $60,000 within the mark, as the money expended by the association from its own contributions since 1865.

NEW YORK FRIENDS.

The Bible School and Missionary Board of New York Yearly Meeting of Friends has been doing important educational work in North Carolina among colored people since 1874, and among white people since 1878. The chairman of the board, Mr. Robert M. Ferris, has kindly furnished the following statement in regard to their educational undertakings in this State:

Schools for colored people.

Years—winter.	Number of schools.	Number of pupils.	Amount expended.
1874-75	1	45	$100.00
1875-76	5	170	243.00
1876-77	11	435	635.00
1877-78	16	695	1,246.00
1878-79	10	401	1,010.59
1879-80	16	755	1,613.60
1880-81	15	546	1,502.64
1881-82	15	615	1,225.95
1882-83	16	689	1,362.82
1883-84	17	764	1,5 2.1[illegible]
1884-85	19	788	1,969.00
1885-86	15	552	1,492.00
1886-87	8	348	1,786.70
			$15,785.54

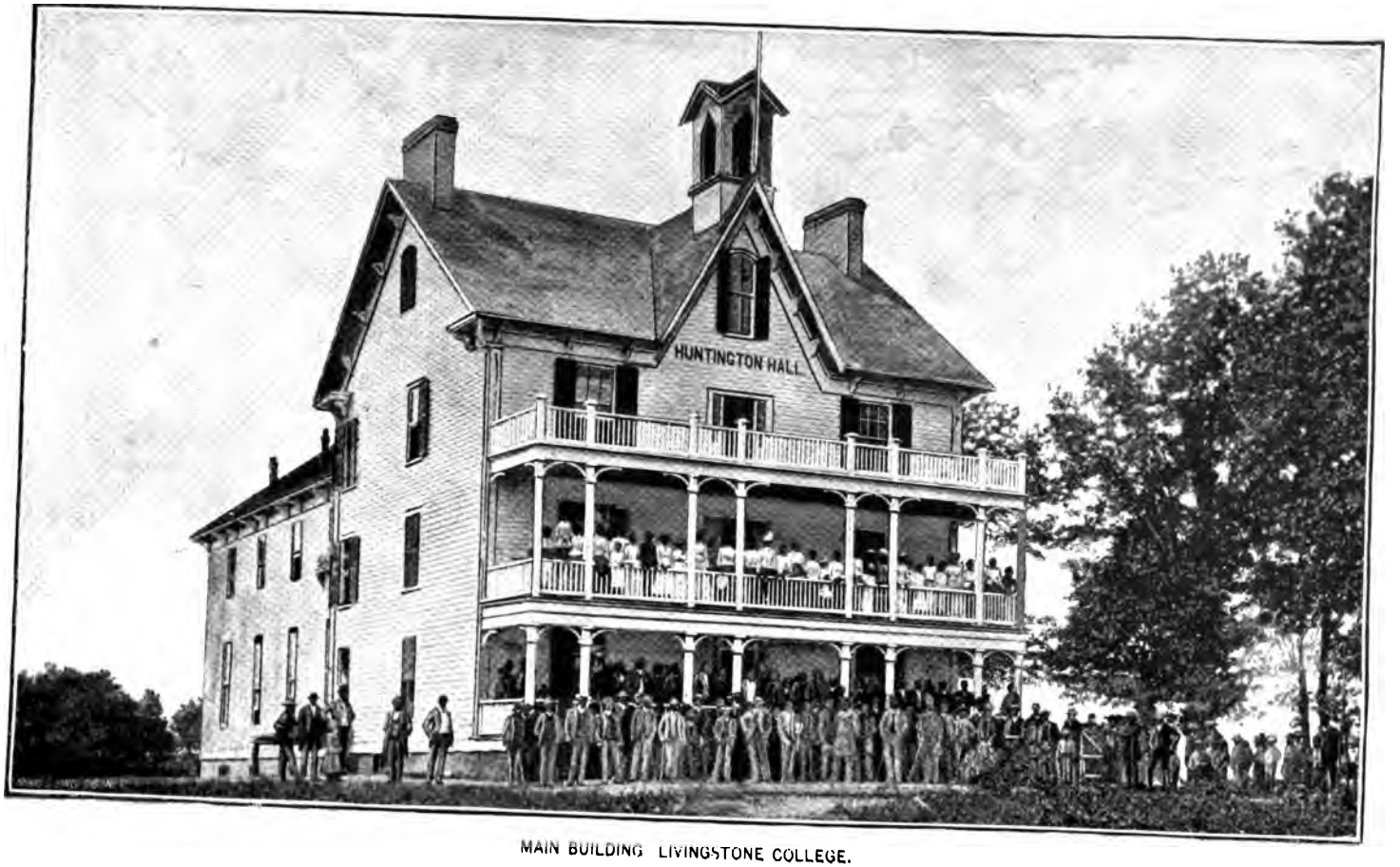
Nearly all these schools are in Randolph and Guilford Counties. In connection with the above schools, Sabbath schools are generally held; girls' sewing schools in connection with some, temperance organizations with many, and mothers' meetings for general instruction in family duties in connection with a few. With very few exceptions the teachers are professing Christians, and in most cases active workers. A superintendent, paid by the board, visits the schools from time to time. These schools draw a certain amount of public money, which is sufficient to maintain them for two to three months. The money from the Friends extends the time upon an average about five months, and makes it possible to secure a much better grade of teachers. The teachers are always selected and engaged as approved by the Board's superintendent, and the schools send reports to New York every month. Appropriations for physical relief, clothing, etc., are not included in the above report.

Schools for white people.

Years—winter.	Number of schools.	Number of pupils.	Amount of money.
1878–79	5	175	$160.00
1879–80	12	485	320.00
188 –81	9	343	294.00
1881–82	11	513	200.00
1882–83	11	278	260.00
1883–84	15	625	257.15
1884–85	11	484	275.00
1885–86	11	495	125.00
			$1,831.15

The above schools were among Friends mostly in Randolph and Guilford Counties.

The Friends have several excellent self-supporting schools in the State, and they were never more zealous than now in promoting education.



MAIN BUILDING LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY AND STATUS OF EDUCATION AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE.[1]

From what can be gathered from tradition and observation, it does seem that the colored people of North Carolina have, during the last hundred years, partaken of that hearty and independent spirit which has characterized their white masters and fellow-citizens of the same soil.

And while the above remark would not necessarily suggest educational progress, it is a fact that education has its most ready growth and development, with its attendant fruits, in an atmosphere pregnant with the spirit of thrift and independence. Hence the colored people of North Carolina for a long time have been the most noted of the race in the South for their ardent desire for education and for their zealous perseverance in trying to secure the same. This is confirmed in that so many, before the War, betook themselves to the States in the Union which would allow them an education. Hence, further, the fact that the emancipation found the North Carolina colored people so well prepared to receive its concomitant blessings, especially those of education. This will be confirmed by the following notes on the educational institutions of which North Carolina negroes can boast:

I. The oldest, and one of the most representative, of the colored schools in the State is the Shaw University, for both sexes, at Raleigh.

This school had its origin in the formation of a theological class of freedmen in Raleigh, December 1, 1865, taught by Rev. H. M. Tupper, of Massachusetts, who, with his wife, had arrived in Raleigh the 10th of the preceding October. The work was commenced under the auspices of the "American Baptist Home Mission Society." The school has developed with great rapidity, being commenced as the "Raleigh Institute," and successively changing its name, until now as the Shaw University it occupies several acres of land situated in one of the most desirable parts of the city, upon which have been erected five large handsome brick buildings. I suppose its property may not truly be estimated at less

[1] This interesting and valuable chapter was prepared for this monograph by Prof. S. G. Atkins, of Livingstone College, one of the foremost institutions in the State for the education of the colored people. The writer is thoroughly conversant with the status of his race, and what he says is worthy of careful attention.

than $200,000. It has six different departments—viz, college, scientific, normal, theological, medical, and industrial—in successful operation. A reference to the course of study shows that the amount of work done at Shaw is adequate to efficiency on the lines indicated by the courses. Special mention might be made of the medical department, whose Faculty includes some of the most eminent members of the medical profession in our State. The indications are that its appliances will soon be all that is necessary for thoroughly preparing the student for his special work. Further points will be noted in the tabular chart.

II. The second institution, in order of date, for the colored people in North Carolina is the Biddle University, at Charlotte, for young men. This institution was organized in 1867, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen. Its advancement has been steady, until its property is valued at $70,000, and its scope of work covers three departments of instruction, viz, theological, college, and preparatory. In the college and preparatory departments, either or both of two courses are pursued, a classical course and a scientific course. The preparatory is antecedent to the college.

The courses in the college department lead to the degrees of A. B. and B. S.; and it might be added that the character of work done at Biddle is no whit behind, if not superior to, that of any college for the race in the State. (See tabular chart.)

III. The third institution of learning, in order of date, founded in North Carolina for the education of the colored people is the St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute, for both sexes, at Raleigh, founded by the Rev. J. Britten Smith, D. D., and under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute was incorporated July, 1867, and opened January, 1868. Its threefold object is to afford young men and women superior advantages for obtaining a thorough academic education, to train and equip teachers for efficient service, and to prepare young men for the holy ministry. The scope of its work embraces four departments, viz, theological, collegiate, normal, and preparatory. The course in the theological department includes instruction in the prayer-book and Bible, Christian evidences, systematic divinity, ecclesiastical history, and homiletics. The course in the collegiate department embraces history, ancient and modern; mathematics to trigonometry; and so much of the sciences and classics as is necessary to make the student master of the more important facts and theories of science, and to lay the basis of a thorough scholarship in the Greek and Latin languages. In the normal department the course is arranged with special reference to the wants of teachers in the public schools. Those desiring to enter the institute, who are not prepared to pass examinations for admission to the academic or the normal department, are

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE - MEN'S DORMITORY

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE—WOMEN'S DORMITORY.

admitted to classes in the preparatory department. (See tabular chart.)

IV. The fourth institution, in order of date, founded in North Carolina for the colored people is the Scotia Seminary, for young ladies, at Concord. Scotia Seminary was chartered in 1870. It was founded by Rev. Luke Dorland, D. D., and is under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen. Its scope of work embraces three departments, viz, industrial, preparatory, and seminary. The seminary department embraces two courses of study, viz, a normal and scientific. The object of the normal course is to give a thorough preparation for teaching. The scientific course is intended to give some advantages not afforded by the normal course, and to bring the standard of Scotia up to that of similar institutions elsewhere. This course includes the sciences, ancient and modern literature, and mathematics to geometry. (See tabular chart.)

V. The fifth institution of learning, in order of date, founded in North Carolina for the education of the colored people is the Bennett Seminary, for both sexes, at Greensborough. It was opened in 1873. Its establishment was largely due to the prayers and labors of the Rev. Matthew Alston (colored), at whose earnest representations the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church founded the institution. The Bennett Seminary embraces five courses of study, viz, a college course, a normal course, an English course, a theological course, and an instrumental music course. The college course has not, I think, as yet been put into operation, but the other courses are similar, in character of work done, to similar courses of the institution previously noted. (See tabular chart.)

VI. The sixth institution, in order of date, established in North Carolina for the training of colored youth is the first high school founded by the State for the education of its colored citizens. It is known as the State Colored Normal School at Fayetteville. It was established by the State board of education, under an act of the General Assembly of 1876–77, for the training of teachers for the colored schools of the State. It receives an annual appropriation of $2,000 from the State. It might be remarked that the colored people of Fayetteville gave the land upon which the building in which the normal school is conducted was erected. The building was erected by the Freedmen's Bureau.

The State has since established four similar schools, at Salisbury, Goldsborough, Franklinton, and Plymouth. The design of these schools is:

1. Thorough instruction in all the branches required to be taught in the public schools of the State.

2. To present the best methods of teaching these branches and governing the schools.

The courses of study are adapted to these ends. (See tabular chart.)

VII. Among the youngest of North Carolina negro colleges is the

Livingstone College, for both sexes, at Salisbury, incorporated in 1879, opened in 1880, and under the auspices of the A. M. E. Zion Church.

This institution was incorporated in 1879 as "Zion Wesley Institute," chartered in 1884 as "Zion Wesley College," and name changed in 1887 to "Livingstone College." Its progress has been marked. It is now only in its eighth year, and has property valued at $75,000. Its Faculty numbers fourteen instructors. Its scope of work includes five departments, viz, preparatory, normal, collegiate, theological, and industrial departments.

The work of the preparatory department is represented by a grammar school course of four years, which serves as preparatory to the normal course.

The normal course is designed to prepare efficient teachers. It is, probably, more purely normal than the course of any similar department in the State. The college department offers an academic course, which includes instruction in the sciences, mathematics, and belles-lettres. The theological department comprehends two courses, a classic-theological and an English-theological.

The industrial department offers instruction in needle-work, printing, carpentry, and cooking.

This institution is unique in that it is directed, controlled, and officered entirely by negroes.

One of its most hopeful inspirations is the generous encouragement given by white friends, both at the North and in the South. (See tabular chart.)

VIII. The last institution to be named under this head is the "Franklinton Literary and Theological Christian Institute," for both sexes, at Franklinton. This school was founded in 1880 by the Christian Church at the North. It is now in its eighth session. Its curriculum embraces four departments, viz, a preparatory, an intermediate, a normal, and a theological. The scope of the courses of these departments is not so extensive as that of similar departments in the schools previously mentioned; but the Franklinton Literary and Theological Christian Institute is doing an effective work for good among the colored people of the State. (See tabular chart.)

Tabular chart, showing statistics, etc., of colored high schools in North Carolina.

Name of institution.	Location.	Date of organization.	Incorporated.	Chartered.	By whom founded.	Endowment.	Income.	Number of instructors.	Number of students.	Average attendance.	Name of president or principal.
Shaw University	Raleigh	1865	1875	1875	H. M. Tupper, D. D.	$5,000		23		400	H. M. Tupper, D. D.
Biddle University	Charlotte	1867		1877	Presbyterian Board of Missions.	8,000		10	133		W. F. Johnson, D. D.
St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute.	Raleigh	1867	1867		J. Britton Smith, D. D.	50,000		7	140		Rob't B. Sutton, D. D.
Scotia Seminary	Concord			1870	Luke Dorland, D. D.	1,300	$11,500	13	213	175	Rev. D. J. Satterfield.
Bennett Seminary	Greensborough	1873			Rev. Matt. Alston, (col.)			4		150	Rev. W. F. Steele, B. D.
State Colored Normal School.	Fayetteville	1877			State of North Carolina.		2,000	3	126		Rev. E. E. Smith, A. M.
Do	Salisbury				do		1,500	3	120		Rev. J. O. Crosby, A. M.
Do	Franklinton				do		1,500	3			S. A. Waugh, A. M.
Do	Goldsborough	1887			do		1,500	2			Chas. N. Hunter.
Do	Plymouth				do		1,500	3			H. C. Crosby, A. M.
Livingstone College	Salisbury	1882	1879	1879	North Carolina Conference A. M. E. Zion Church.		10,000	14	161	125	Jas. C. Price, D. D.
Franklinton Literary and Theological Christian Institute.	Franklinton	1880			The Christian Church at the North.	3,000		6	238	100	Rev. Geo. Young.

OBSERVATIONS.

This sketch might include a number of private high schools and academies not referred to above, among which should be mentioned the Kittrell Normal and Industrial School at Kittrell, the Whitin Normal School at Lumberton, the Albion Academy at Franklinton, the Yadkin Academy at Mebaneville, the Winton Academy at Winton, the M. E. Academy at Asheville, and the Congregational High School at Wilmington. These schools are doing an important work in the State in supplying the communities in which they are with a higher order of instruction than would ordinarily come to them. To the schools just mentioned might be added excellent graded schools in a number of towns in the State. These graded schools are subject to the same provisions as are the other graded schools referred to in the monograph.

It might be remarked that the industrial departments of the colleges are doing an important work, and are proving themselves admirably adapted to the needs of the lately emancipated race. These departments cover a wide field of operations, including carpentry, printing, cabinet-making, needle-work, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, and cooking.

The Bennett Seminary has recently added to its departments the Kent Home, a model home, "put up and opened in order to teach girls and young ladies how to make a perfect Christian home." In it are taught sewing and mending, dress and garment making, housekeeping and cooking, nursing, and laundry work. Other seminaries in the State contemplate having, if they have not already begun, similar departments.

It is the opinion of those most interested in and nearly connected with the work of education among the colored people that there can be no permanent advancement of the race on æsthetic and literary lines without improving and perfecting the home life. It is my opinion that the mission of the schools among us can never be fully served apart from making the females in the race to be good housekeepers—makers of perfect Christian homes. The industrial departments of most of the colleges above referred to are maintained by appropriations from the John F. Slater fund.[1]

The same remarks in general that would apply to the public schools of one race in North Carolina would apply to those of the other race. The North Carolina public schools are as yet inefficient, but have made and are making progress. True of one race, true of both. The same hindrances impede in the case of both, with perhaps one exception. To this one exception I wish to refer. It is the great want (not absolute) of qualified teachers among the colored people. To my mind it is just now the only practicable way of improving our public-school

[1] North Carolina has received from the Slater fund the following amounts for the years given: 1883, $2,000; 1884, $740; 1885, $4,400; 1886, $3,600; 1887, $4,200; apportioned for 1887–88, $5,300.

system. I mean the preparation of teachers through normal training schools. It can hardly be expected that the State will soon be able to materially lengthen the school terms (an average of 2½ to 3 months), the shortness of which causes chiefly the inefficiency already referred to, but the State can arrange to have better teachers.

There are just two ways—both of which should go together, one of which must obtain—to make the public schools passably efficient. They are school terms of full length, and teachers with full preparation. The one would afford the time; the other would furnish the means. The former is almost indispensable, the latter is entirely so. And since the latter is more practicable, I would say that schools and departments for preparing teachers are the great needs of our public school system at present, especially among the colored people of the State. It is a pleasing circumstance to note that the State is striking out on this line, and we are led to hope that our schools will soon be furnished with such teachers as will make the schools all they should be.

The last observation I wish to make appertains to the attendance in the colored schools of the State. In all the schools, high, intermediate, and primary, the attendance is increased this year by from 15 to 30 per cent., in some cases it is nearly doubled. This is significant. This fact can not arise from any lax tendencies in the management of the schools, for the schools have rather raised their standards, broadened their scope of work, and made more circumspect their discipline. These observations taken all in all, it seems to me, teach that the North Carolina negro is making his way slowly, but truly to the position of a useful, intelligent, Christian factor in the body-politic of this progressive, intelligent, and Christian commonwealth.

S. G. ATKINS.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM.

North Carolina was one of the first States to make constitutional provision for both the common and the higher education of her citizens. The heroes of 1776 recognized that liberty and enlightenment were complements of each other, and that the surest safeguard to democratic government is education; so in the initial Constitution of the State it was declared "That a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged in one or more universities."

The above, then, is the foundation of the public-school system; but such was the financial condition of the State in the early years of its history that a half century elapsed before the fair promise of the Constitution was realized, even in a measure, in so far as it related to common schools. The University, which was chartered in 1789, and began the work of instruction in 1795, was doubtless instrumental in educating public sentiment to the importance of a State system of schools.

Not until 1816 did the public authorities take any action on this question. In that year Governor Miller, in his message to the General Assembly, called attention to the need of public schools, and recommended that some action be taken looking to their establishment. The Legislature appointed a committee, with the Hon. Archibald D. Murphey as chairman, to report upon the subject of "affording means of education to every one, however indigent." Judge Murphey has been called the father of our public-school system, and well does he deserve this title.

On December 19, 1816, Judge Murphey, in behalf of the committee, submitted a report urging the establishment of "a judicious system of public education." This report, which he drafted, is worthy of close study. The first part is devoted to a learned dissertation upon the benefits of education and the needs of the State University. Following this are suggestions for a school system. "This general system," says the report, "must include a gradation of schools regularly supporting each other, from the one in which the first rudiments of education are taught to that in which the highest branches of the sciences are cul-

tivated. It is to the first schools in this gradation that your committee beg leave to draw the attention of the Legislature at this time, because in them will be taught the learning indispensable to all—reading, writing, and arithmetic. These schools must be scattered over every section of the State, for in them education must be commenced, and in them it will terminate as to more than one-half of the community. They will be the most difficult of organization and the most expensive to the State; but they will be the most useful, inasmuch as all the citizens will be taught in them, and many of the children are destined never to pass to any other."

No action was taken at this session of the Legislature, and Judge Murphey was made chairman of a committee to investigate the subject more fully and report at the next session. He was much interested in this subject, and before submitting his report in 1817 he not only made a careful study of education in the New England States, but also visited Europe to examine the Continental school systems. The result of his study and observations are embodied in the report of the committee, a voluminous but well written and eminently suggestive document.

A comparison with the reports as published in the records of the General Assembly for 1816 and 1817 shows that their main provisions are excellently summarized in the following extract from the admirable historical sketch of the North Carolina State school system in the Report of the Commissioner of Education (U. S.) for 1876:

"The report (of 1816) went on to suggest that from the youth educated in these schools at State expense teachers should be selected for schools in which they might be qualified to teach, and that discreet persons should be appointed in each county to superintend and manage the concerns of the sectional schools which should be established, to designate the children who should be educated in whole or in part at the public expense, and to apply the funds which should be consecrated to the purposes of these schools. It closed with a recommendation that the two houses should appoint three persons to digest a system of public instruction, founded upon the general principles which had been stated, and to submit the same to the next General Assembly.

"The house concurring with the senate on this motion, a committee was appointed, with the same gentleman as chairman, which made an elaborate report at the session of 1817. This new report recommended the formation of a fund for public instruction, and the constitution of a board to manage the fund and carry into execution the plan of public instruction contemplated. This plan was one which was meant 'to make the progress of education natural and easy,' beginning with primary schools, in which the first rudiments of learning were to be taught, and proceeding to academies, in which youth were to be instructed in languages, ancient and modern history, mathematics, and other branches of science, preparatory to entering the University, in which instruction should be given in all the higher branches of the sciences and the prin-

ciples of the useful arts. An institution for the deaf and dumb was also included in the plan.

"For the elementary instruction to be given it was proposed to divide each county in the State into two or more townships, and to have one or more primary schools established in each township, which should provide a lot of ground of not less than four acres, and erect thereon a sufficient house, and vest it in the board of public instruction. For secondary training this board was to divide the State into ten academic districts and have an academy erected in each district; the State to meet one-third of the expense of the erection and the site, and furnish one-third of the sum required for salaries of teachers, on condition of their instructing a certain number of poor children free of charge. As to the superior instruction which was meant to crown the whole, the Legislature was urged to provide the needed funds for sustaining and carrying forward the then struggling University. For knitting the whole together came the board of public instruction to be constituted, which was to consist of the Governor of the State as president, and six directors, to be appointed by the General Assembly. This board was to have power to locate the several academies to be established; to determine the number and titles of the professorships therein; to examine, appoint, and regulate the compensation of the professors and the teachers; to appoint, in the first instance, the trustees; to prescribe the course of instruction and discipline according to the general rules which should be first fixed by law; and to provide some just mode of advancing from the primary schools to the academies, and from the academies to the University, as many of the most meritorious children educated at the public expense as the proceeds of the funds for public instruction should suffice to maintain and educate."

The writer just quoted adds that "No better, more compact, or more connected scheme for the formation of a State system of instruction could well have been devised at that quite early day. The main fault in it was that it undertook too much, viz, to 'maintain' as well as 'educate' the children of the poor—an undertaking quite beyond the means of a State yet sparsely settled, and with the burdens of a recent war still weighing on the people. It was the expense which this portion of the plan involved that seems to have killed the project, for though the bill met with favor from the Legislature, was ordered to be printed, and put into a form for passage, the consideration of the large sums it would annually require to carry out its liberal provisions induced a pause, and that pause was fatal to it. Instead of eliminating from it the one specially impracticable feature and trying to work out the practicable ones, its advocates desired and urged its passage as a whole, and so friends fell from it and it failed."

PROVISION FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

No further legislative action was taken on this question till 1825. In that year "a fund for the establishment of common schools" was estab-

lished by the General Assembly "consisting of the dividends arising from the stocks then held or afterwards acquired by the State in the banks of New Berne and Cape Fear, the dividends arising from the stocks owned by the State in the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Roanoke Navigation Company, and the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal Company, the tax imposed by law on license to retailers of spirituous liquors and auctioneers, the unexpended balance of the agricultural fund, all moneys paid to the State for entries of vacant lands, and all the vacant and unappropriated swamp lands of the State, together with such sums of money as the Legislature may hereafter find it convenient to appropriate from time to time."

Hon. S. M. Finger, superintendent of public instruction of North Carolina, in a recent address on public education said:

"From those sources it might seem that a large fund would soon have been accumulated, but the generosity of the State as shown by act of Assembly, at Fayetteville, 1789, cut off what, under the above-recited provision, would soon have yielded a magnificent school fund. I refer to the act ceding to the United States all her territory now included in the great State of Tennessee. I recite the preamble giving the reasons for the cession of this magnificent domain, and as indicative of the character of our people at that early date.

"'Whereas the United States in Congress assembled have repeatedly and earnestly recommended to the respective States, owning or claiming western territory to make cession of part of the same as a further means, as well of hastening the extinguishment of the debts, as of establishing the harmony of the United States; and the inhabitants of the said western territory being also desirous that such cession should be made in order to obtain a more ample protection than they have heretofore received. Now this State being ever desirous of doing ample justice to the public creditors, as well as establishing the harmony of the United States and complying with the reasonable desires of her citizens:

"'*Be it enacted, etc.*' The act goes on to recite the manner of making the deed, and various conditions of the grant, among which is this:

"'*Provided, always*, That no regulations made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate slaves.'

"The deed was made February, 1790, for the reason stated in the preamble above recited, and the grant was accepted by Congress on the 2d day of April of that year. Thus it was that North Carolina parted with this valuable domain, because Congress requested it to be done as a means of paying the public debt, which had been incurred by the thirteen original States in their common struggle for independence. Thus it was that North Carolina surrendered what would have yielded her a magnificent school fund, under such legislation as that of 1825, above recited. This action on the part of North Carolina was in marked contrast with the action of Connecticut in reference to her public lands,

Connecticut, instead of contributing her public lands to the payment of the common debt of the country, held her 'western reserve' for her own uses and from it laid the foundation of her school fund."

The following State officials were appointed to manage the school fund: the Governor, the chief justice of the supreme court, the speaker of the senate, the speaker of the house, and the State treasurer, with their successors in office. These were constituted a body corporate and politic under the title of "The president and directors of the literary fund." They were empowered to hold property, and to dispose of and improve the same, for the promotion of learning and the instruction of youth. In 1836 the constitution of the board was changed, and it was made to consist of the Governor and three others to be appointed by him biennially.

In 1837 the literary fund was largely augmented by the transfer of $1,433,757 by the General Government to North Carolina, being this State's share of the surplus deposit fund. That sum, less $300,000, was added to the literary fund, increasing this fund to more than $2,000,000. The Legislature of that year directed the president and directors of the literary fund to digest a plan for common schools suited to the condition and resources of the State, and to report the same at the next session of the General Assembly. The State was now ready to carry out the educational provisions of the Constitution, and to inaugurate a system of common schools which would, to some extent, meet the needs and requirements of the people.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED.

On December 4, 1838, the president and directors of the literary fund made their report to the General Assembly in accordance with the resolution which was passed by that body at its previous session. The principal provisions of this report and the workings of the system before the late Civil War are thus given in the Report of the Commissioner of Education (U. S.) for 1876: "It proposed to have the State divided into 1,250 school districts, each to have a school-house erected in it, as pleasantly situated and as neat and commodious as possible; to have a normal department organized in the State University for the training of teachers for the schools; to have the income of the literary fund, amounting then to about $100,000 annually, distributed among the districts at the rate of about $240 for each, to aid in the maintenance of schools, and to be supplemented by a local tax of twice that amount, levied by the county court; and, finally, to have five superintendents of schools for each county and three committee-men for each school district. The scheme provided only for common schools, and left academies to succeed these at no long interval, and colleges and universities in due time to crown the whole.

"The adoption or rejection of this system it was proposed to submit to a vote of the people; and on the 8th of January, 1839, a little more

than one month after the submission of the report, the Legislature, under the lead of Mr. W. W. Cherry, chairman of the committee on education, passed an act to divide the State into school districts, six miles square, and to refer to the people the question of the establishment and maintenance of schools in these. The establishment of a school for teachers was passed by. In counties where the vote should be in favor of common schools the county court was to select five superintendents for the county, whose first duty was to divide the county into school districts, for each of which three committee-men were to be chosen 'to assist the superintendents in all matters pertaining to the establishment of schools' within their districts. The court was also to see to the levying of a tax sufficient to build a school-house for fifty scholars in each district, and the further tax above referred to for meeting the State allowance to each school, which tax, however, most mistakenly was cut down in 1844 to one-fourth of what had been recommended.

"Nearly every county in the State voted for the schools and the school-tax proposed, and at the next session of the Legislature in 1840, a law embodying the main features of the report was passed, and the new school system was at once set in operation. It was modified somewhat in 1844, especially by an allowance of an increase of the school districts, diminishing, in proportion to that increase, the amount of school money to be paid to each, and also, by express allowance, the amount of local tax to be collected. In 1852 a State superintendent was appointed, The census of 1850 gave the number of schools as 2,657; of teachers. 2,730; of pupils, 104,095; the income being $158,564, most of it from local taxes and from public funds. In 1860 there was a slight advance upon these figures as to schools, teachers, and pupils, and an increase of the income to $268,719, the greater part still from taxation in the counties and from the income of the literary fund."

In order that the reader may have an idea of the progress of education in North Carolina during the twenty years preceding the War the following school statistics of the census of 1840 are given. It must be remembered that the common-school system had not gone into operation at this time. In 1840 there were 2 colleges (including the University), 141 academies and grammar schools, 632 primary and common (county) schools, making a total of 775 educational institutions. The number of students in attendance was as follows: at colleges, 158; at academies, 4,398; at other schools, 14,937; making a total of 19,483.

The following comparative statistics are gathered from an article in the North Carolina Journal of Education of February, 1858, prepared by Rev. Calvin H. Wiley, D. D., superintendent of common schools.

The average length of the schools of Maine at that time was four months and three weeks; of New Hampshire, five months; of North Carolina, four months. Maine and New Hampshire distributed about 70 cents per capita for white population; Connecticut and Pennsylvania, about 95 cents; New York and Ohio, about $1; Virginia, about 8 cents;

North Carolina about 50 cents. North Carolina had a larger school fund than Maine or New Jersey (by $1,500,000), or Maryland or Virginia (by $600,000), or Massachusetts (by $500,000), or Georgia (by $1,700,000). North Carolina and Georgia were about equal in white population, yet the former had 2,000 more common schools than the latter, more than 100 more academies, and as many colleges. North Carolina had more colleges than South Carolina, more academies by 100, and nearly three times as many children at school. Virginia had 340,000 white population more than North Carolina, yet the latter had as many colleges, as many academies, and 500 or 600 public schools more than Virginia. Kentucky had 200,000 white population more than North Carolina, yet the latter had as many colleges as the former, as many academies, more common schools by 1,000, and as many children at school. The same is substantially true in the comparison between Tennessee and North Carolina. It should also be remembered that at that time North Carolina had but few towns of any consequence and no large cities.

Dr. Wiley, after stating the above facts, adds: "Upon a calm review of the entire facts, it is neither immodest nor unjust to assert that North Carolina is clearly ahead of all the slave-holding States with her system of public instruction, while she compares favorably in several respects with some of the New England and North-western States."

The public-school system had reached its highest efficiency at the outbreak of the War. As a result of that conflict the permanent school fund was almost entirely destroyed, and the public schools were closed until about 1870.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS SINCE THE WAR.

The War not only swept away the school fund, but at the same time left the country impoverished. The freeing of the negro added largely to the school population of the State and increased the difficulty of the educational problem. The negroes numbered about three-eighths of the whole population. Major Finger, in the address before referred to, said:

"The problem then was how the five-eighths, impoverished as they were, owning all the lands, but essentially nothing but the lands, could educate themselves and also the three-eighths of paupers recently made citizens. I do not think that any civilized people ever had thrust upon them a more difficult problem than the South had, for it applied to the whole South, in the formation of safe political society out of such material. Of course, general education was seen to be a necessity. Our people, recognizing the necessity, with that wonderful adaptability which characterizes them, did not fold their hands in tame submission to what seemed to many inevitable political, social, and material destruction, but they went earnestly to work to educate."

In the State Constitution which was adopted in 1868, it was provided

that "The General Assembly at its first session under this Constitution shall provide by taxation and otherwise, for a general and uniform system of public schools, wherein tuition shall be free of charge to all the children of the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years." The Constitution, as it now stands, contains, among others, the following provisions relating to public education: "The General Assembly shall levy a capitation tax on every male inhabitant in the State, over twenty-one and under fifty years of age, which shall be equal on each to the tax on property value at $300 in cash.

"The proceeds of the State and county capitation tax shall be applied to the purposes of education and the support of the poor, but in no one year shall more than 25 per cent. thereof be applied to the latter purpose.

"Each county in the State shall be divided into a convenient number of districts, in which one or more public schools shall be maintained, at least, four months in every year; and if the commissioners of any county shall fail to comply with aforesaid requirments of this section they shall be liable to indictment.

"The proceeds of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this State, and not otherwise appropriated by this State or by the United States; also all moneys, stocks, bonds, and other property, now belonging to any State fund for purposes of education; also the net proceeds of all sales of swamp lands belonging to the State, and other grants, gifts, or devises that have been or hereafter may be made to the State, and not otherwise appropriated by the State, or by the term of the grant, gift, or devise, shall be paid into the State treasury; and, together with so much of the ordinary revenue of the State as may be by law set apart for that purpose, shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining in this State a system of free public schools, and for no other uses or purposes whatsoever."

It is also provided in the Constitution that the clear proceeds of all penalties and forfeitures and of all fines collected in the several counties for any breach of the penal or military laws of the State shall be appropriated in the respective counties for maintaining free public schools.

The above provisions are the basis of the present system of public schools. The expenses of these schools are met, for the most part, by the taxation on polls and property. The State board of education holds about 1,000,000 acres of swamp lands, but there is not much prospect that these will be a source of income for many years yet. Before the War some $200,000 were expended in attempts to drain them, but without success. The State has no large fund for educational purposes, and what has been done for schools since the War has been accomplished mainly by taxation, and unless the General Government comes to the assistance of the States, and distributes the surplus so rapidly accumu-

lating in the treasury, the people must still rely upon their own efforts for the further promotion of public education.

As has been stated, the public schools were re-opened in 1870, and though they have not yet reached any marked degree of efficiency, yet there has been steady improvement since that time. The disbursements for these schools have been as follows: In 1871, $177,497.94; in 1872, $173,275.62; in 1873, $196,675.07; in 1874, $297,090.85; in 1875, no report, about the same as in 1874; in 1876, $334,163.14; in 1877, $319,813; in 1878, $324,827.10; in 1879, $326,040.35; in 1880, $352,882.65; in 1881, $409,658.88; in 1882, $509,736.02; in 1883, $623,430.98; in 1884, $640,245.20; in 1885, $630,552.32.

The following statistics[1] for 1886 will give an idea of the present status of public schools: Number of public school-houses for whites 3,443; for colored, 1,592; total, 5,035; value of public-school property for whites, $449,824.60; for colored, $203,281.79; total, $653,106.39; number of public schools taught, for whites, 4,115; for colored, 2,223; total, 6,338; average length of school terms, for whites, 11¾ weeks; for colored, 12 weeks; enrollment of whites, 188,036; of colored, 117,562; total, 305,598; average attendance of whites, 117,121; of colored, 68,585; total, 185,706; average salary of public-school teachers per month, white, $25.05; colored, $22.52½.

The following is a summary of the receipts for public schools in 1886: Poll-tax, $253,261.49; property tax, $258,799.85; special poll-tax, $7,110.48; special property tax, $20,618.83; special poll-tax under local acts, $1,184.98; special property tax under local acts, $6,820.17; fines, forfeitures, and penalties, $22,876.22; liquor licenses, $83,002.75; auctioneers, $32.66; estrays, $14.38; other sources, $16,950.60; making the total receipts for the year, $670,672.41. Funds which came in afterwards increased this total to $671,115.65. The amount expended in 1887 was $653,037.33.

Major Finger says that "the General Assembly now levies a tax of 12½ cents on every $100 of property and 37½ cents on each poll for schools; and at least 75 per cent. of all other poll-taxes, whether levied in the revenue law or by the county commissioners, must be appropriated for schools. All these moneys so appropriated are collected by the sheriffs of the respective counties, and by them turned over to the county school officers. If the fund accumulated in each county is not sufficient to maintain schools for a period of four months the statute requires the county commissioners, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution above cited, to levy a special tax for that purpose. Our supreme court has recently decided in the case of Barksdale *vs.* Commissioners of Sampson County that this requirement is constitutional only within the limits of 66⅔ cents on property and $2 on the poll, but that

[1] Gathered from report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, for 1885–86.

special taxes for special purposes under special acts of Assembly are not to be included."

Many of the larger towns, under special acts of the Legislature, have excellent graded schools, each employing from six to fourteen teachers. In 1886 there were seventeen of these schools in the State. They are supported principally by voluntary taxation.

According to the school census for 1886 the total number of children in the State of school age (between the ages of six and twenty-one years) was 547,308; of these there were 338,059 white and 209,249 colored children. The total enrollment at the public schools was 305,598; at private schools, about 30,000. When it is taken into consideration that many of the younger children of school age do not attend school and many stop their education before the age of twenty-one, it will appear that a large proportion of the children are in school.

PEABODY FUND.

North Carolina has received large benefactions from the Peabody Fund, which have been appropriated to public, normal, and graded schools, and to the holders of the Peabody scholarships in the Nashville Normal College. This State has now fourteen scholarships at that institution, each yielding $200 per annum. Appointments are made for two years by the State superintendent of public instruction. Only those are appointed who expect to make teaching a profession, and who guarantee to teach at least two years in North Carolina.

The appropriations from the Peabody Fund to this State, from 1868 to 1887, inclusive, have been as follows: 1868, $2,700; 1869, $6,350; 1870, $7,650; 1871, $8,750; 1872, $8,250; 1873, $9,750; 1874, $14,300; 1875, $16,900; 1876, $8,050; 1877, $4,900; 1878, $4,500; 1879, $6,700; 1880, $3,050; 1881, $4,125; 1882, $6,485; 1883, $8,350; 1884, $6,075; 1885, $5,430; 1886, $5,500; 1887, $5,500—making a total of $143,315. This noble charity has been of great advantage to the State.

PRESENT PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

The Constitution provides for a "State board of education," consisting of the following State officials, viz: Governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, attorney-general, and superintendent of public instruction. This board has full power to legislate in relation to free public schools and the State educational fund. Any action which it may take, however, is subject to change or amendment by the General Assembly. The superintendent of public instruction is the head of the system of public schools, and has general supervision in their management.[1]

[1] *State superintendents.*—The first superintendent of common schools was the Rev. Calvin H. Wiley, D. D., 1852–65. While occupying this position he prepared a "North Carolina Reader," giving the history of each county in the State, with an account of the soil, climate, etc. It also contained selections from the writings and public ad-

Each county has a county board of education and a county superintendent of education. The county board consists of three men, elected biennially by the commissioners and justices of the peace of the county. This board has the general management of the public schools in the county and lays off the school districts, the convenience of each neighborhood being consulted in the division. In each of these districts there is a school committee, consisting of three persons, whose duty it is to provide school-houses, employ teachers and give orders for the payment of the sums due for their services, and take at a stated period a census of the children within the school age. The compensation of teachers of the first grade is left to the committee; teachers of the second grade receive $25, and those of the third grade $15 per month. The schools for the two races are separate. The school districts for the two races may be the same in territorial limits or not, according to the convenience of the parties concerned. Major Finger says that "these districts are irregular in size, but not many of them contain an area of more than 4 miles square, and many are much smaller, so that, except n the very sparsely populated sections of the State, there is annually a school in easy reach of every child."

The county superintendent is elected by the county board of education, the county commissioners, and the justices of the peace, for a term of two years. The county superintendent has the general oversight of the schools in his county, and examines all applicants for positions as teachers. The census reports and school statistics are reported to him by the district committees, and he makes an annual report to the State superintendent of public instruction. His salary is decided by the county board, but is not to be less than $2 nor more than $3 per day for the time in which he is necessarily engaged in the discharge of his duties, provided his salary shall not exceed 4 per cent. of the school fund apportioned in the county.

The studies required by law to be taught in the public schools are spelling, defining, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, elementary physiology and hygiene, and the history of North Carolina and of the United States.

NORMAL INSTRUCTION.

In 1885, in accordance with the Constitution of the State, the General Assembly established a "normal department" in the University of North Carolina, which is open to young men preparing to teach, free of tuition, on condition that they sign a pledge to teach at least one year after leaving the institution.

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dresses of eminent North Carolinians. It is an excellent work, and before the War was used in the public schools. On the reconstruction of the system in 1870, under the law of April 12, 1869, the Rev. S. S. Ashley was made State superintendent, 1870–72. His successors have been Alexander McIver, 1873–75; Stephen D. Pool, 1875–77; John C. Scarborough, 1877–85; Sidney M. Finger, 1885–.

There are now in the State eight normal schools for the whites and five for the negroes.

In 1876 the Legislature established the University Normal School for the whites and the Fayetteville State Normal for the negroes, making an annual appropriation for each of $2,000. In 1881 four additional normal schools for each race were established, each school receiving an annual appropriation of $500. In 1885 the University Normal was discontinued, and the annual appropriation of $2,000 which this school had formerly received was divided equally between four white normal schools which were established at that time. In 1887 an additional appropriation of $1,000 was made to each of the four colored normals which were established in 1881, making the total appropriation to each $1,500. The annual appropriations for the white normals amount to $4,000, and the annual appropriations for the colored normals amount to $8,000.

The normals for the whites are in the nature of teachers' institutes, and are held annually at convenient points in the State for a period of one month. As these are held in the summer, during the vacation of the other schools, the best teachers in the State are secured to teach in them, as well as noted teachers from other States.

The colored normals are established at fixed points and are regularly in session eight or nine months during the year. They annually supply a large number of teachers for the colored schools.

The statutes of the State provide for county teachers' institutes for both races; many of the counties hold them one or two weeks during each summer. The State superintendent of public instruction says that these normal schools and county institutes have had a fine effect in elevating the standard of common-school teachers.[1]

FEDERAL AID.

The State has a well-appointed system of public instruction, but is hampered on every hand by want of funds. The financial condition of the people does not warrant an increase of taxation sufficient to meet the educational needs of the State. When it is remembered that the white population bears the burden of taxation not only for their own children but also for those of the negro race, it can be seen how onerous is this charge.

Superintendent Finger makes an earnest appeal for national aid to education. He says:

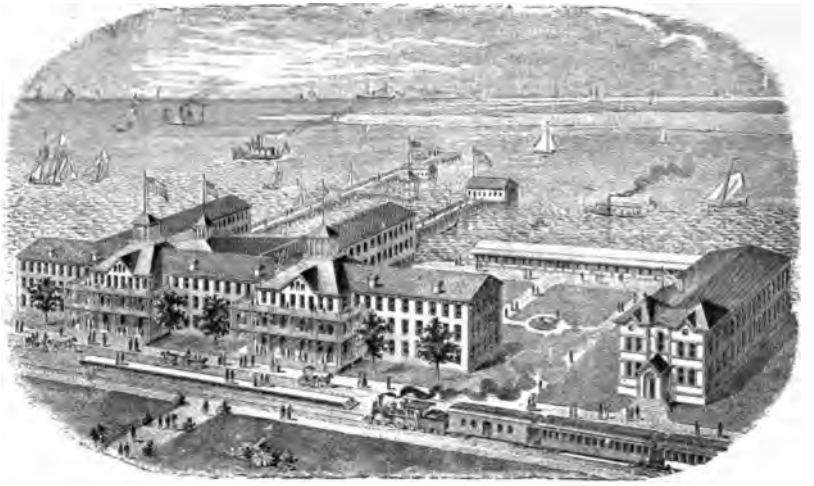
"The State has done well in the revival of her public schools, and she will continue to struggle on, carrying her burden, earnestly looking forward to the time when the Congress of the United States will open the doors of the Treasury and extend aid. North Carolina and other Southern States gave to the United States vast domains which were used to pay a common debt, a debt of the original thirteen States, and in the course of events it turns out that the United States frees the slaves of

[1] In addition to the public schools, the State makes excellent provision for the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind of both races.

the South, and makes them citizens and voters while in a condition of extreme ignorance. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the close of the War; almost another generation has been raised up since the South laid down her arms; it is too late to look back now and engage in crimination and recrimation; it is surely time for the United States to lend a helping hand to the South in carrying her burden.

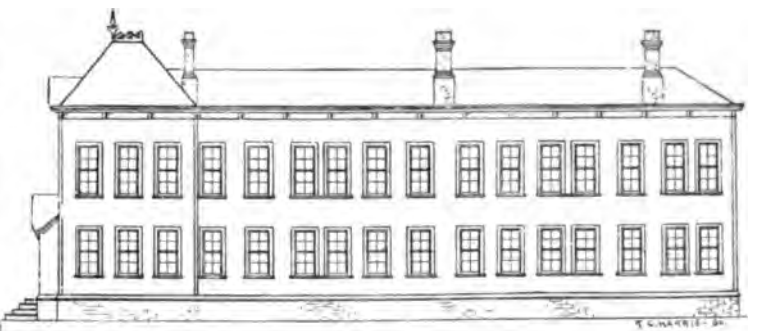
* * * * * * *

"Surely the Government that could find warrant in the Constitution to free the negroes and make them citizens can also find authority to distribute from its overflowing Treasury funds to educate them for the proper discharge of the duties of freemen and citizens."



THE ATLANTIC HOTEL AND TEACHERS' ASSEMBLY BUILDING, MOREHEAD CITY, N. C.

FRONT ELEVATION.



SIDE ELEVATION.

NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS' ASSEMBLY BUILDING, MOREHEAD CITY.

CHAPTER X.

THE NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS' ASSEMBLY.

HISTORY AND INFLUENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION.

In studying the present dynamics of education in North Carolina the writer has observed no one force more powerful for good than the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, which, in the opinion of the State superintendent of public instruction, is doing more to further the educational advancement of the State than all other agencies combined.

This organization was originated by that earnest and progressive friend of education, Eugene G. Harrell, editor of The North Carolina Teacher. He conceived the idea in August, 1883, and it at once became popular throughout the State. Owing to his wise and energetic management the movement has been a success from the first, and through its agency, the teachers of the State have been brought into closer relations than ever before. It bids fair to revolutionize the school system of the State, or rather to systematize the schools, for it is a misnomer to speak of a school system as existing in North Carolina.

The first session of the Assembly was held in June, 1884, at the Haywood White Sulphur Springs, one of the favorite resorts in "the land of the sky," that part of our country so beautifully pictured by Miss Fisher (Christian Reid). The next two annual sessions were held at Black Mountain, some 7 miles from the famous Mount Mitchell, the highest peak east of the Rockies.

The last session convened at Morehead City, on the Atlantic coast, one of the most popular of Southern watering places. The presidents, elected annually, have been as follows: 1884, Prof. J. J. Fray, of the Raleigh Male Academy, whose death the State mourned before the close of that year; 1885, Dr. R. H. Lewis, of Kinston College; and 1886 and 1887, Professor E. A. Alderman, of the Goldsborough Graded and High School. Mr. Harrell has been unanimously continued as secretary since the organization. The growing interest is manifested by the attendance, which, for the four sessions of its history, has been as follows: 365, 620, 720, and 1,765. The present membership numbers about 3,000, and includes teachers from every known educational institution in the State. All teachers, and all friends of education who are recommended by the county superintendents of public schools, are eligible for membership. The annual dues are $2 for males and $1 for females.

The exercises of the Assembly consist in the discussion of educational topics at the day sessions by the members, and lectures in the evening by distinguished educators of this and other States who are especially engaged for this purpose. Sometimes, in place of the lecture, a musical and literary entertainment is substituted. After the lecture or entertainment there is usually a dance for the benefit of those who enjoy that pastime. At both the mountain and seaside sessions many little excursions for pleasure and recreation are made. The close of the session is generally marked by a grand excursion. At the close of the last session the teachers made a trip to Baltimore and Washington, where they were tendered a special reception by President Cleveland. A trip to New York, Niagara Falls, and other points of interest has already been planned for the coming year. These trips are always mapped out with wise forethought and are made both pleasant and profitable.

The Assembly has been permanently established at Morehead City, and an "Assembly building" is now being erected, at a cost of $2,750, the funds for this purpose having been given by a few friends of the organization; Mr. Julian S. Carr, of Durham, who has endeared himself to the people of his State by many noble benefactions to education, alone giving $1,750 of the amount. The building when completed will be a handsome, two-storied structure. The following description of it is taken from the North Carolina Teacher for October, 1887: "The hall is on the second floor, 40 by 80 feet, 15 feet pitch, well lighted and ventilated. On the same floor is the secretary's office, and the reading-room and library, each 15 by 18 feet. The first floor has a passage 10 feet wide, the entire length of the building, and on either side are four rooms, each 15 by 18 feet. These rooms include special ones for teachers' bureau, visiting editors, parlor, office, and committees; the others are to be used for an educational exposition, exhibiting all classes of school furniture and conveniences for educational work.

"The Assembly hall will be seated with folding settees, and well furnished with globes, maps, charts, slate blackboards, and everything needed in our assembly work, and it will not be long before the teachers of North Carolina will have not only the most pleasant place in the South for an annual gathering, but will also have one of the best assembly rooms to be found in America."

The officers of the Assembly are making arrangements for a park, embracing 50 acres of land, on Bogue Sound, about 5 miles from Morehead City, and will run a small steamer regularly between those places for the pleasure of the members.

The teachers of North Carolina now have a delightful summer home for rest, recuperation, and enjoyment, of which they may well be proud.

Through the influence of the Assembly, "reading circles," with a prescribed course of reading, and local "teachers' councils," are being

established throughout the State. The organization has been well termed "The North Carolina Chautauqua."

IN CONCLUSION.

Never in North Carolina was the educational outlook brighter than at present. Since the revival of the University in 1875 there has been manifest progress in every department of education. The public schools have been made more efficient; the graded school system has been introduced in the principal towns; the endowments of several of the denominational colleges have been largely increased, their curricula made more thorough, and their standard of graduation raised; normal schools and teachers' institutes are conducted at convenient points, the State and counties making provision for their maintenance; and at the last session of the Legislature (1886–87) provision was made for the immediate establishment of a college of agriculture and the mechanic arts, to which the State, besides granting the interest from the land-scrip fund, amounting to $7,500 per annum, guarantees a liberal income from certain specified taxes. All the young men of the State who can successfully pass the entrance examination will receive free tuition. This college has been established at Raleigh, and it is expected that the work of instruction will begin in the fall of 1889. The interest now so manifest in all that pertains to the intellectual advancement of the Old North State promises grand results for the future.

APPENDIX.

List of the Principal Works Consulted in the Preparation of this Monograph.

[Note.—Those sources from which the writer has derived the greatest help—personal interviews with those who are or have been prominent in the educational work in the State, correspondence, pamphlets, newspaper articles, school catalogues, etc.—it would be impossible to enumerate here. He would, however, make special acknowledgment to Rev. J. Rumple, D. D., for information concerning the early Presbyterian schools; to President Kemp P. Battle, LL. D., for assistance in collecting materials for the sketch of the University; to Rev. Charles Phillips, D. D., for many important facts relating to education previous to the late War; to Hon. S. M. Finger, for statistics of the public schools; and to Hon. William L. Saunders, for advance sheets of the first four volumes (1662–1754) of the Colonial Records, and other favors.]

Colonial Records of North Carolina. Edited by Hon. William L. Saunders, Raleigh.

History of Carolina. By John Lawson, Gent., surveyor-general of North Carolina. London, 1714; Raleigh, 1860.

The Natural History of North Carolina. With an account of the trade, manners, and customs of the Christian and Indian inhabitants. By John Brickell. Dublin, 1737.

History of North Carolina. Two vols. By Hugh Williamson. Philadelphia, 1812.

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History of North Carolina. Two vols. By J. H. Wheeler. Philadelphia, 1851.

History of North Carolina (1584–1729). Two vols. By F. L. Hawks. Fayetteville, N. C., 1857.

History of North Carolina. Two vols. By J. W. Moore. Raleigh, 1880.

Sketches of North Carolina. By W. H. Foote. New York, 1846.

History of the Moravians in North Carolina. By L. S. Reichel. Salem, N. C., 1857.

History of the German Settlements in North Carolina. By G. D. Bernheim. Philadelphia, 1872.

Eastern North Carolina. By L. C. Vass. Richmond, Va., 1886.

The Old North State in 1776. By E. W. Caruthers. Philadelphia, 1854.

History of Rowan County. By J. Rumple. Salisbury, N. C., 1881.

Sketches of Western North Carolina. By C. L. Hunter. Raleigh, 1877.

Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians. (Part III.) By J. H. Wheeler. Columbus, Ohio, 1884.

North Carolina in the Colonial Period. By Daniel R. Goodloe. (Introduction to Wheeler's Reminiscences, Part III.)

Life of Rev. David Caldwell. By E. W. Caruthers. Greensborough, N. C., 1842.

Life of Macon. By Edward R. Cotton. Baltimore, 1840.

Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina. By L. S. Burkhead. Raleigh, 1876.

Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century. (Biographical sketches of graduates.) By S. D. Alexander, New York, 1872.

History of the College of New Jersey. Two vols. By John Maclean. Philadelphia, 1877.

De Bow's Industrial Resources of the South and West. New Orleans, 1852.

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The standard histories of the English Colonies in America and of the United States.

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